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# Harrison's Description of England.

A.D. 1577—1587.

THE SECOND AND THIRD BOOKS.

# LONDON

(The original List is to the foot of the Map.)

Of one of the former 12 Companies is the Lo. Mayor of the Cyte comonly chosen.

a. Bishops gate streete.
b. Poole.
c. Athelmare in the wall.
d. S. Topkyns.
e. Sylver streete.
f. Aldermanbury.
g. Barbican.
h. Aldersgate streete.
i. Charterhouse.
k. Holborne Conduit.
l. Chauncery lane.
m. Temple barr.
n. Holborne.
o. Gregors Inn lane.
p. S. Andrewes.
q. Newgate.
r. S. Iames.
s. S. Nic Shambels.
t. Chep Syde.
u. Bucklers bergs.
w. Bowbell streete.
x. The Stocks.
y. The Exchange.
z. Cornehill.

(Not in Map.)

1. Colmanstreete.
2. Bishops hall.
3. Hanyditche.
4. London hall.
5. Grotsmor streete.
6. Hennyng lane.
7. Finchurche.
8. Marke lane.
9. Mincheu lane.
10. Pinnies.
11. Eeghcape.
12. Hartforne.
13. Fetter lane.
14. S. Dunstons.
15. Thomas streete.
16. London stone.
17. Olde Burgh.
18. Clarkenwell.
19. Wheelers hall.
20. Battle bridge.
21. Bonnyffe streete.

Innere Norden Angelus delineabat anno 1593.

Mercers.
Grocers.
Drapers.
Fishmongers.
Goldsmiths.
Skynners.
Merchantaylors.
Haberdashers.
Salters.
Ironmongers.
Vintners.
Clothworkers.

# Harrison's

# Description of England

IN

## SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH.

BEING

THE SECOND AND THIRD BOOKS

OF HIS

## Description of Britaine and England.

EDITED FROM THE

FIRST TWO EDITIONS OF HOLINSHED'S *CHRONICLE*, A.D. 1577, 1587,

BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL,

FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR OF *THE NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY*, &c.

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aC

PART I. THE SECOND BOOK,

WITH

EXTRACTS FROM THE AUTOGRAPH MS OF HARRISON'S *CHRONOLOGIE*, AND FROM FOREIGN WRITERS ON ENGLAND;

ALSO WITH

*NORDEN'S MAP OF LONDON*, 1593, AND NOTES ON IT BY

HENRY B. WHEATLEY.

PUBLISHT FOR

The New Shakspere Society

BY N. TRÜBNER & CO., 57, 59, LUDGATE HILL,

LONDON, E.C., 1877.

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# FOREWORDS TO PART I.


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*His qualifications for his work*, p. v (*His* Chronology, p. v, xlvii)
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§ 1. As a general rule, till a book is complete, no Forewords to it should appear. But, tho' only half of the present book is in this Part I, I am unwilling to send out this *Harrison*, the friend of some twenty years' standing, without a few words of introduction to those readers who don't know it.

The book is full of interest, not only to every Shakspere student, but to every reader of English history, every man who has the least care for his forefathers' lives. And, though it does contain sheets of padding now and then,[1] yet the writer's racy phrases are continually turning up, and giving flavour to his descriptions, while he sets before us the very England of Shakspere's day. From its Parliament and Universities, to its beggars and its rogues; from its castles to its huts, its horses to its hens; from how the state was managd, to how Mrs Wm Harrison (and no doubt Mrs William Shakspere[2]) brewd her beer; all is there. The book is a deliberately drawn picture of Elizabethan England; and nothing could have kept it from being often reprinted and a thousand times more widely known

[1] Perhaps the worst instance is Chapter 21, 'Of Waters generallie,' p. 332.

[2] You are shown the foundations of the brew-house, at New Place, Stratford.

than it is, except the long and dull historical and topographical Book I,—*The Description of Britaine*—set before the interesting account in Books II[1] and III, of the England under Harrison's eyes in 1577-87. Because this Book I is so dull, I have left it out, though I shall print from it, as a kind of Appendix to Bk III, Chapters 18, 19, 20, 24, 'Of the aire, soile, and commodities of this Iland; Of the foure high waies sometime made in Britaine by the princes of this Ilande; Of the generall constitution of the bodies of the Britons; Of the maruels of England;' with a few other extracts, in these Forewords and elsewhere.

§ 2. How Harrison came to write his book[2] was on this wise. Reginald Wolfe, the Printer to Queen Elizabeth, meant to publish "a universall Cosmographie of the whole world,[3] and therewith also certaine particular histories of every knowne nation." For the Historical part of the work, he engagd Raphael Holinshed, among other men; and when the work was nearly done, Wolfe died, after twenty-five years' labour at his scheme. Then the men who were to have borne the cost of printing the Universall Cosmographie, were afraid to face the expense of the whole work, and resolvd to do only so much of it as related to England, Scotland, and Ireland.[4]

[1] Chapters 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 21 of Book II are dullish.

[2] Who 'll write a like one for Victorian England? Oh that we had one for Chaucer's England!

[3] The Elizabethan sweep in this, as in so many other plans of the day.

[4] See Holinshed's Dedication to Lord Burghley in vol. iii. of his *Chronicle:*

"I haue thought good to aduertise your Honour, by what occasion I was first induced to vndertake the same, although the cause that moued me thereto hath (in part) yer this beene signified vnto your good Lordship. Whereas therefore, that worthie Citizen *Reginald Wolfe*, late Printer to the Queenes Maiestie, a man well known and beholden to your Honour, meant in his life time to publish an vniuersall Cosmographie of the whole world, and therwith also certaine particular histories of euery knowne nation, amongst other whom he purposed to vse for performance of his intent in that behalfe, he procured me to take in hand the collection of those histories; and hauing proceeded so far in the same, as little wanted to the accomplishment of that long promised worke, it pleased God to call him to his mercie, after fiue and twentie yeares trauell spent therein; so that by his vntimelie deceasse, no hope remained to see that performed, which we had so long trauelled about. Neuerthelesse, those whom he put in trust to dispose his things after his departure hence, wishing to the benefit of others, that some fruit might follow of that whereabout he had imployed so long time, willed me to continue mine endeuour for their furtherance in the same. Which, although I was redie to doo, so far as mine abilitie would reach, and the rather to answere that trust which the deceassed reposed in me, to see it brought to some perfection; yet when the volume grew so great, as they that were to defraie the charges for the impression, were not willing to go through with the whole, they resolued

Holinshed having the History of these countries in hand, application was made to Harrison, who had long been compiling a Chronologie[1] of his own, to furnish the Descriptions of Britain and

first to publish the histories of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with their descriptions; which descriptions, bicause they were not in such readinesse as those of forren countries, they were inforced to vse the helpe of other better able to doo it than my selfe."

Wolfe also had Maps of the English counties; but as they were poor ones, 'maister Thomas Sackford' got, and drew or had drawn, new 'Charts of the seuerall prouinces of this realme;' but unluckily they were never publisht.

[1] William Harrison's *Chronologie* is mentiond on the last leaf of the Preface to vol. iii. of *Holinshed*, p. 1, at foot,—

"For the computation of the yeares of the world, I had by Maister Wolfes aduise followed *Functius;* but after his [Wolfe's] deceasse, M. W[illiam] H[arrison] made me partaker of a Chronologie, which he had gathered and compiled with most exquisit diligence, following *Gerardus Mercator*, and other late chronologers, and his owne obseruations, according to the which I haue reformed the same."—Holinshed, in the Preface to his *Chronicles*, vol. iii. sign. A 4, ed. 1587,—

and in his *Description*, p. 70, 357 below, "I haue reserued them vnto the publication of my great *Chronologie*, if (while I liue) it happen to come abroad." II. ii. end, p. 70. It was never publisht. My search for the MS. of it results in my having just received (Aug. 28) its large folio vols. 2, 3, 4, from the Diocesan Library of Derry, in Ireland. The Rev. H. Cotton, *Thurles, Ireland*, (Dec. 21, 1850,) said where it was, in I *Notes and Queries*, iii. 105, col. 2; and after two fruitless searches it was found, and lent me by the Bishop, through his Librarian, the Rev. B. Moffett of Foyle College, Londonderry, as well as a curious and terribly-corrected MS. of an English work on Weights and Measures, Hebrew, Greek, English, &c., dated 1587, which must be Harrison's too.

The 3 folio volumes of the *Chronologie* are 8 inches deep as they lie, each being 10¾ inches broad, by 17⅝ high, with 73, and sometimes more, lines to a page. An enormous amount of work is in them, and all of them are in Harrison's own hand, at different times of his life. Vol. 2, "The second part of the English Chronologye written by Wm Harrison," runs from the Creation to Christ's birth. Vol. 3, "The third part of the Chronology conteining a just & perfite true &c. as followeth in the next Leafe, to thend of the title, & to be brought hether [see *Appendix* I.]," stretches from the birth of Christ to William the Norman's Conquest of England. Vol. 4, "The iiij$^{th}$ and Last part of the great English Chronology written By Wm H.," [title in another hand?] goes from the beginning of William the Conqueror's reign, Oct. 14, 1066, to the February of 1592-3, only two months before Harrison's own death (or burial) on April 24, 1593. And each volume tells, in Chronicle fashion, what went on all over the world in each successive year, so far as Harrison knew. The contemporary part of vol. 4 is of course the most interesting; and from it I shall make a few extracts in Appendix I. to these *Forewords*, as there's no room here, in the gap left by the print of Mr Moffett's first letter saying the MSS. could not be found.

'A William Harrison wrote some Latin lines on the deaths of the Brandons, Dukes of Suffolk, printed with the collection published on that occasion, 4to, London, 1552.'

England. He was then Household Chaplain to the well-known Sir William Brooke, Lord Cobham (so praisd by Francis Thynne [1]), and was staying in London, away from his rectory of Radwinter in Essex, and his Library there.[2] He had also travelld little himself. As he honestly tells Lord Cobham,[2]

"I must needs confesse, that vntill now of late, except it were from the parish where I dwell, vnto your Honour in Kent; or out of London where I was borne, vnto Oxford & Cambridge where I haue bene brought vp, I neuer trauelled 40 miles forthright and at one iourney in all my life; neuerthelesse, in my report of these things, I vse their authorities, who either haue performed in their persons, or left in writing vpon sufficient ground (as I said before) whatsoeuer is wanting in mine."

Still, mainly by the help of Leland[2]—"and hitherto Leland, whose words I dare not alter," p. 69, col. i, l. 57, ed. 1587, of the Severn,—as well as of 'letters and pamphlets from sundrie places & shires of England,' and 'by conference with diuers folk[3],' and 'by mine owne reading[4],' together with Master Sackford's charts or Maps[5], Harri-

[1] Holinshed, iii. 1499; extract in my edition of Thynne's *Animadversions*, 1875, p. lxxxv.

[2] See his Dedication to Lord Cobham, below, p. cix

[3] In his account of the rivers, &c., Harrison sometimes quotes other people in the first person, 'I, we,' as if he had himself been to the places they describe.

[4] Folio Harrison, p. 103, col. 2, ed. 1587. After he has described the course of the Granta from its head, he goes on,—"it runneth to Horningseie, & Water Bech, and finallie here ioining with the Bulbecke water, it goeth by Dennie, and so forth into the Ouze, fifteene miles from Cambridge, as Leland hath set downe. And thus much of the third Isis or Ouze, out of the aforesaid author*; *whereunto I haue not onelie added somewhat of mine owne experience*, but also of other mens notes, whose diligent observation of the course of this riuer hath not a little helped me in the description of the same."

[5] Folio Harrison, p. 107, col. 2. (ed. 1587):

"Thus haue I finished the description of such riuers and streames as fall into the Ocean, according to my purpose, although not in so precise an order and manner of handling as I might, if information promised had been accordinglie performed; or others would, if they had taken the like in hand. But this will I saie of that which is here done, that from the Solueie by west, which parteth England & Scotland on that side, to the Twede which separateth the said kingdoms on the east, if you go backeward, contrarie to the course of my description, you shall find it so exact, as beside a verie few by-riuers, you shall not need to vse anie further aduise for the finding and falles of the aforesaid streames. *For such hath beene my helpe of maister Sackfords cardes, and conference with other men about these*, that I dare pronounce them to be perfect and exact. Furthermore, this I have also to remember, that in the courses of our streames, I regard not so much to name the verie towne or church, as the limits of the paroch. And therefore if I saie it goeth by such a towne, I thinke my dutie discharged, if I hit

* i.e. Leland, who calls the Ouze the third Isis.

son—notwithstanding the failure of his correspondents[1] and the loss of part of his material—'scambled up,' what he depreciatingly calls 'this foule frizeled Treatise of mine,' to 'stand in lieu of a description of my Countrie.' But, he says, 'howsoeuer it be done, & whatsoeuer I haue done, I haue had an especiall eye vnto the truth of things.' And this merit, I think every reader will allow Harrison. Though he

vpon anie part or parcell of the paroch. This also hath not a little troubled me, I meane the euill writing of the names of manie townes and villages; of which I have noted some one man, in the description of a riuer, to write one towne two or three manner of waies, whereby I was inforced to choose one (at adventure most commonlie) that seemed the likeliest to be sound in mine opinion and iudgement.

"Finallie, whereas I minded to set downe an especiall chapter of ports and creeks, lieng on ech coast of the English part of this Ile, and had provided the same in such wise as I iudged most convenient, it came to passe, that *the greater part of my labour was taken from me by stealth*, and therefore as discouraged to meddle with that argument, I would have giuen ouer to set downe anie thing thereof at all, and so much the rather, for that I see it may prooue a spurre vnto further mischeefe, as things come to passe in these daies. Neverthelesse because a title thereof is passed in the beginning of the booke, I will deliuer that parcell thereof which remaineth, leauing the supplie of the rest either to my selfe hereafter, (if I may come by it) or to some other that can better performe the same.

"Againe, vnderstanding of the great charges & notable enterprise of that worthie gentleman *maister Thomas Sackford, in procuring the Charts of the seuerall prouinces of this realme to be set foorth, we are in hope that in time he will delineate this whole land so perfectlie.*" &c.—R. Holinshed's *Epist. Dedicatory*, p. 2.

[1] He complains of help promist, and never given: see in the folio Harrison, p. 45, col. 1 (beginning of cap. 11, Book I. about the Thames):—

"Having (as you [Lord Cobham] haue seene) attempted to set downe a full discourse of all the Ilands, that are situat upon the coast of Britaine, and finding the successe not correspondent to mine intent, it has caused me some what to restreine my purpose in this description also of our riuers. For whereas I intended at the first to haue written at large, of the number situation names quantities townes villages castles mounteines fresh waters plashes or lakes, salt waters, and other commodities of the aforesaid Iles, *mine expectation of information from all parts of England was so deceiued in the end, that I was faine at last onelie to leane to that which I knew my selfe either by reading, or such other helpe as I had alreadie purchased and gotten of the same.* And even so it happeneth in this my tractation of waters, of whose heads, courses, length, bredth, depth of chanell (for burden) ebs, flowings, and falles, I had thought to haue made a perfect description under the report also of an imagined course taken by them all. *But now for want of instruction, which hath beene largelie promised, & slacklie perfourmed, and other sudden and iniurious deniall of helpe voluntarilie offered, without occasion giuen on my part*, I must needs content my selfe with such observations as I haue either obteined by mine owne experience, or gathered from time to time out of other mens writings: whereby the full discourse of the whole is vtterlie cut off, and in steed of the same, a mangled rehearsall of the residue set downe and left in memorie."

swallowd too easily some of the stories told in old chronicles,[1] &c., though (in his 2nd ed. only) he put Chertsey above, instead of below, Staines, on the Thames,[2] &c., yet in all the interesting home-life part, he evidently gives both sides of the case, 'speaks of it as it was; nothing extenuates, nor sets down aught in malice' (*Oth.*, V. ii. 341). When he tells with pride, on the one hand, of the grand new buildings and the many chimnies put up in his day; on the other hand, he brings in the grumble, p. 337-8,

*Desire of much wealth and ease abateth manhood, & ouerthroweth a manlie courage.*

"And yet see the change, for when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oke, our men are not onlie become willow, but a great manie, through Persian delicacie crept in among vs, altogither of straw, which is a sore alteration."

"Now haue we manie chimnies; and yet our tenderlings complaine of rheumes, catarhs and poses. Then had we none but reredosses; and our heads did neuer ake. For as the smoke in those daies was supposed to be a sufficient hardning for the timber of the house, so it was reputed a far better medicine to keepe the goodman and his familie from the quacke or pose, wherewith, as then, verie few were oft acquainted."

—when he describes the beauty, virtue, learning, and housewifery, of Queen Elizabeth's Maids of Honour, p. 271, he yet acknowledges that as the men

"our common courtiers (for the most part) are the best lerned and indued with excellent gifts, so are manie of them the worst men, when they come abroad, that anie man shall either heare or read of."

Even the Papist Monks,[3] whom—as a marrid Protestant parson and vicar,—he hates, he praises for their buildings, p. 261. And when he does abuse or chaff heartily any absurdity, like Englishmen's dress,—"except it were a dog in a doublet, you shall not see anie so disguised as are my countrie men of England," p. 168,—we may

[1] Still you get his side-note—I suppose 'tis his—at p. 254 below, on the report of two old British books being found in a stone wall at Verolamium, "*This soundeth like a lie.*" Other bits of wholesome doubt turn up elsewhere.

[2] The Thames "hieth to Sudlington, otherwise called Maidenhead, and so to Windleshore (or Windsore), Eaton, and then to Chertseie. . . From Chertseie it hasteth directlie vnto Stanes, and receiuing an other streame by the waie, called the Cole (wherevpon Colbrooke standeth) it goeth by Kingstone, Shene, Sion, and Brentford or Bregentford" . . . Bk I. p. 46, col. 1, l. 30, vol. i., folio ed. 1587.

[3] Still, I find it very hard that he spoke so harshly of Andrew Boorde, p. 168.

be sure it was deservd; Shakspere does it too[1] (*Merchant*, I. ii. 80; *Much Ado*, III. ii. 36, &c.).

Harrison's book will inform and amuse the reader, but the padding from old histories, &c., may well be skipt.

Besides writing the *Descriptions of Britaine and England* for Holinshed's *Chronicle*, William Harrison also translated for it, from Scotch into English, Archdeacon Bellenden's version of Hector Boetius's Latin Description of Scotland. This work took him only 'three or foure daies' he says: "Indeed, the trauell taken heerein is not great, bicause I tie not my translation vnto his [Bellenden's] letter." Harrison dedicated this translation—the *Description of Scotland*—to the Maister Sackford or Secford, whose 'cards,' charts, or Maps, had been of such use to him in his account of the English rivers in his *Description of Britaine*:—

To the Right worshipfull Maister Thomas Secford Esquire and Maister of the Requests, William Harison wisheth all knowledge of God, with dailie increase of his gifts at this present, and in the world to come, life everlasting.

Having by your singular curtesie receiued great help in my description of the riuers & streames of Britaine, and by conference of my trauell with the platforms of those few shires of England which are, by your infinite charges, alreadie finished (as the rest shall be in time by God's helpe, for the inestimable benefit of such as inhabit this Iland) not a little polished those rough courses of diuers waters not exactly before time described by Leland our countrieman, or any ancient writer, I could not deuise any thing more agreeable with mine abilitie and your good nature (which greatlie fauoureth any thing that is doone for a commoditie vnto many), than to shew some token of my thankefulnesse for these your manifold kindnesses, by the dedication of my simple translation of 'the description of Scotland' at this time vnto your worship.

Indeed the trauell taken heerein is not great, bicause I tie not my translation vnto his letter, neither the treatise of it selfe such, as taketh vp any huge roome in the volume of this chronicle. But such as it is, and whatsoeuer it is, I yeeld it wholie vnto you, as a testimonie of my good will, which detesteth vtterlie to receiue any benefit, though it be neuer so small, and not to be thankfull for it. Certes my vocation is such, as calleth me to a farre other kind of studie, so that I exercise these things onlie for recreation sake; & to saie the truth, it is much vnfitting for him that professeth

[1] Harrison doesn't scold the women for painting their faces and wearing false hair, in the persistent way that Shakspere does. These two bits of falseness (in town women only?) evidently made a great impression on the country-bred Shakspere's mind. Stubbes complaind bitterly of them too.

Diuinitie, to applie his time any otherwise vnto contemplation of ciuill histories. And this is the cause wherfore I haue chosen rather, onlie with the losse of three or four daies, to translate *Hector* out of the Scotish (a toong verie like vnto ours), than with more expense of time to deuise a new, or follow the Latine copie, which is far more large and copious. How excellentlie, if you consider the art, *Boetius* hath penned it, and the rest of his historie in[1] Latine, the skilfull are not ignorant: but how profitablie and compendiouslie *John Bellenden*, archdeacon of Murrey, his interpreter, hath turned him from the Latine into the Scotish toong, there are verie few Englishmen that know, bicause we want the books.

Wherefore, sith the learned read him in his owne stile, and his countrimen in their naturall language, why should not we borow his description, and read the same in English likewise, sith the knowledge therof may redound to the great benefit of so manie as read or hear the same? Accept therefore (right worshipfull) this my simple offer, and although I assure my selfe, your naturall inclination to be such, as that it will take nothing in ill part that is well meant toward you, how rudelie soeuer it be handled in the doing, yet I will not let to craue pardon for my presumption, in that I dare be so bold as to offer such a triffle to you, whom more weightie affaires doo dailie call from things of so small importance. Almightie God keepe your worship from time to time in his feare, and blesse you, and my good ladie your wife, with such increase of his benefits, as may most redound to his glorie, & your own advantage.

The title is as follows:—

The Description of Scotland, written at the first by Hector Boetius in Latine, and afterward translated into the Scotish speech by John Bellenden Archdeacon of Murrey, and now finallie into English by R. H.[2]

§ 3. Happily for us, William Harrison was not one of those dignified prigs who are afraid of writing about themselves in their books. He tells us that he was born in London[3] (p. vi above, xxxiii below, &c.; "I will remember the fame of London my natiue citie," p. 65-6).[4]

[1] in the: 1577 ed.

[2] A mistake for W. H. Raphael Holinshed compiled the *History of Scotland.*

[3] "Before the earliest date of Parish Registers (1538). I have all the Marriage Licences issued by the Bishop of London, beginning as early as 1521; but they do not include that of Harrison's father."—J. L. CHESTER.

[4] As Harrison left by his will 20*s.* to the poor of St Thomas the Apostle in London, Col. Chester thinks he may have been born in that parish.

P.S. Aug. 31. I've just found in Harrison's MS. *Chronologie*, under 1534, "The Author of this boke is borne, vpon y^e^ 18 of Aprill, hora 11, minut 4, Secunde 56, at London, in Cordwainer streete, otherwise called bowe lane in y^e^ [*crosst thro'*: house next to y^e^ holly lambe towards chepeside, & in y^e^] p*a*rish of St Thomas the Apostle."

Also (p. li) that he was first at St Paul's school, and then (p. 83,) at "Westminster[1] school (in which I was sometime an vnprofitable Grammarian vnder the reuerend father, master Nowell, now deane of Paules)." And again at p. 68, of the Deans of the see of London (or St Paul's), "I will deliuer in like sort the names of the deanes, vntill I come to the time of mine old master now liuing in this present yeare 1586, who is none of the least ornaments[2] that haue beene in that seat." He was at both universities.[3] When speaking of Cambridge and Oxford, he says, p. 75-6—

"In all other things there is so great equalitie betweene these two vniuersities, as no man can imagin how to set downe any greater; so that they seeme to be the bodie of one well ordered common wealth, onlie diuided by distance of place, and not in

[1] Dr Scott, the present Head-Master, tells me that the early registers are not. "My dear Sir,—I regret to say that no early records of Westminster School are known to be in existence anywhere, except the names of those admitted to the Foundation, and even these merely from an old 'Buttery Book' in the earliest times, to which Noel belongs; only those who were elected to Ch. Ch. or Trinity are recorded. There is no trace of such a name as Harrison. I have done my best to hunt up old records, but with very small result.—Faithfully yours, CHAS. B. SCOTT."

After Harrison's days, Dean Goodman gave the School for a time a Sanatorium at Chiswick:—"*Cheswicke*, H. 14, belonging to a prebend of Paules now in the handes of Doctor *Goodman*, Deane of *Westminster*, where he hath a faire house, whereunto (in the time of any common plague or sicknes, as also to take the aire), he withdraweth the schollers of the colledge of *Westminster*." 1596. Jn. Norden's *Discription of Middlesex*, p. 17, ed. 1723.

[2] Alexander Nowell was one of the most famous divines of the Reformation. Born in Lancashire about 1507, he got a fellowship at Brasenose in 1540; in 1543 became second master of Westminster School; and in 1551 Prebendary of Westminster. He was elected M.P. for Looe in Cornwall, in the first Parliament of Queen Mary, but his election was voided because he was a Church dignitary. He then went to Strassburg; returnd on the accession of Elizabeth, and was made Dean of St Paul's in 1560. He publisht his celebrated Larger Catechism, and an abridgment of it, both in Latin, in 1570; and is supposd to have written the greater part of the Church-of-England Catechism. He was elected Master of Brasenose in 1595, and died 13 Feb. 1601-2.—Cooper.

[3] Cooper, in his *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, says of Harrison, "He was a member of this university [Cambridge] in 1551, and afterwards studied at Oxford. We are unable to ascertain his house at either university." ? Merton, Oxf. see p. xvi. (There's no Merton Admission book so early as Harrison's time, the Bursar says.)

Cooper's authorities for his article on Harrison in *Ath. Cant.* are, 'Tanner's Bibl. Brit. 381. Wood's Ath. Oxon. ed. Bliss, i. 537. MS. Richardson [Cambr. Registry], 39. Newcourt's Repert. ii. 479, 674. Churton's Nowell, 9. Nicolson's Engl. Hist. Lib. 3, 58. Nicolson's Scotch Hist. Lib. 4, 82. Restituta, ii. 242. Cooper's Annals of Cambr. ii. 349. Ashmole's Berks. iii. 263. Gough's Brit. Topogr. i. 5, 24, 25; ii. 563.'

freendlie consent and orders. In speaking therefore of the one, I can not but describe the other; and in commendation of the first, I can not but extoll the latter; and so much the rather, for that they are both so deere vnto me, as that I can not readilie tell vnto whether of them I owe the most good will. Would to God my knowledge were such, as that neither of them might haue cause to be ashamed of their pupill; or my power so great, that I might woorthilie requite them both for those manifold kindnesses that I haue receiued of them."[1]

He must have graduated at Oxford first, for in 1569 he proceeded to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity at Cambridge under a grace[2] which calls him M.A. of Oxford of seven years' standing.[3] He was before this, Household Chaplain to Sir Wm. Brooke, Lord Cobham, to whom he dedicated, as we have seen, his *Description of England*, and who gave him the Rectory of Radwinter in Essex,[4] to which he was inducted on Feb. 16, 1558-9, and which he held till his death. On Jan. 28, 1570-1, he became a pluralist,[5] and obtaind the vicarage of Wimbish in Essex,[6] but resignd it in 1581, his successor

[1] He us'd his eyes too at both places, and at school; for he says of the buildings: "The common schooles of Cambridge also are farre more beautifull than those of Oxford, onelie the diuinitie schoole at Oxford excepted, which for fine and excellent workemanship, commeth next the moold of the kings chappell in Cambridge, than the which two, with the chappell that king Henrie the seauenth did build at Westminster, there are not (in mine opinion) made of lime & stone three more notable piles within the compasse of Europe."

[2] Mr Luard of Trinity, the Registrar of the University, has kindly copied the grace for me:—"1569. Grace Book Δ, fol. 97 *b*: Conceditur 10 Junii magistro Willelmo Harryson ut studium 7 annorum in Theologia postquam rexerit in artibus Oxoniæ cum oppositionibus etc. perficiendis etc. sub pœna x librarum ponendarum etc. sufficiat ei tam ad opponendum quam ad intrandum in sacra Theologia, præsentatus per D. Longeworth* et admissus 17 Junii."

[3] Wood's *Ath. Ox.*, ed. Bliss., i. col. 537; Cooper's *Ath. Cant.* ii. 164.

[4] The Manor and advowson of *Great Radwinter* had been part of the property of the Cobham family since 1433, if not before. (See Wright's *Hist. of Essex*, II. 92; Morant's do., II. 535.)

[5] See his defence of pluralism, p. 21-2. It was vehemently condemnd by most of his contemporaries.

[6] The Vicarage of *Wimbish* not being a "competent maintenance," and the adjoining vicarage of *Thunderley* being so small that no one would accept of it, Dr Kemp, Bishop of London in 1425, united the two. The presentation to these incorporated vicarages was made alternate in the Rector of Wimbish (it is a sinecure rectory) and the Priory of Hatfield Regis (who had the great tithes and advowson of Thunderley). In 1547, Ed. VI. granted this Priory's advowson or right of presenting alternately to Wimbish, to Ed. Waldgrave, Esq.; and it passed on in private hands, so that from 1567 to 1599 it belonged to Francis de

* Master of St John's.

being appointed on the 16th of November in that year. Between 1559 and 1571 he must have marrid Marion Isebrande, "daughter to William Isebrande and Ann his wife, sometyme of Anderne, neere vnto Guisnes in Picardie, and whome" (he says in his Will, referring no doubt to the sometimes suppos'd unlawfulness of priests' marriages), "by the lawes of god I take and repute in all respectes for my true and lawfull wife." By her he left issue,[1] one son Edmund, and two daughters,—one, Anne, unmarried, and another the wife of Robert Baker. He tells us on p. 158 how his wife and her maid brewd him 200 gallons of beer for 20*s.*, as he was 'scarse a good malster' himself, p. 155, and a poor man on £40 a year, p. 159. And no doubt his kindly "Eve will be Eve, tho' Adam would saie naie," p. 34, tho' said of widows, showd that he understood the sex, was 'to their faults a little blind, and to their virtues very kind' —or however the old saw runs. At Radwinter he must have workt away at his *Chronologie*, p. 357; collected his Roman coins (p. 356), got savage with the rascally Essex lawyers (p. 206-7), attended to his garden,

"For mine owne part, good reader, let me boast a little of my garden, which is but small, and the whole *Area* thereof little aboue 300 foot of ground, and yet, such hath beene my good lucke in purchase of the varietie of simples, that notwithstanding my small abilitie, there are verie neere three hundred[2] of one sort and other

la Wood, who thus, it would seem, must have been the patron who presented William Harrison. See Morant's *Hist. of Essex*, pp. 560, 561.

By the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Hen. VIII. the clear yearly value of *Wimbish Vicarage* was £8; tithes 16*s.* That of *Radwinter Rectory* £21 11*s.* 4*d.*; tithes £2 3*s.* 2½*d.* Some of the parson of Radwinter's tithes were made up thus:

"to the parson of Radwynter forseid for the yerely tythes of the said maner [Bendish Hall, in the parish of Radwinter], one acre of whete in harvest price x s, one acre of otes price v s iiij d, a lambe price viij d, a pigg, price iiij d, and in money iij s iiij d."—*Valor Eccl.* Vol. I. p. 85, col. 2.

[1] I assume that Harrison had once, more children, whom he flogged occasionally. When speaking of mastiffs in Bk. 3, chap. 7, p. 231, col. 1, l. 60, ed. 1587, he says, "I had one my selfe once, which would not suffer anie man to bring in his weapon further than my gate, neither those that were of my house, to be touched in his presence. Or if I had beaten *anie of my children*, he would gentlie haue assaied to catch the rod in his teeth, and take it out of my hand, or else pluck downe their clothes to saue them from the stripes: which in my opinion is not vnworthie to be noted. And thus much of our mastiffes, creatures of no lesse faith and loue towards their maisters than horses." Still, girls were flogged in Elizabeth's days, no doubt (compare Lady Jane Grey's case, in Ascham), as well as a hundred years before. See how Agnes Paston beat her daughter Elizabeth in 1449, *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, vol. i, Introd., p. cxvi.

[2] Gerard had above a thousand;—

conteined therein, no one of them being common or vsuallie to bee had," p. 331-2,

kept his eyes open to everything going on round him, and lookt after his parishioners, when he wasn't writing his *Description of England* in London, or visiting at Lord Cobham's house in Kent.

On April 23, 1586, William Harrison was appointed Canon of Windsor, and was installd the day after. The Dean has kindly sent me the following extract from the Chapter Book, St George's Chapel, Windsor:—

| Anni Install. | Canonici | Anni obitus |
|---|---|---|
| 1586. | Gulielmus Harrison 24^to^ Aprilis, loco Ryley, Theologiæ Baccalaureus. Obijt, et Sepultus est Windsoriæ, et White Successit.—Rector fuit de Radwinter.[1] | 1593. |

but says there is no grave-stone or other notice of where Harrison was buried.[2] (I can't get a line from the now rector of Radwinter.)

§ 4. For the following abstract of Harrison's Will, I am indebted to Colonel Chester:—

(81 Nevell.) "William Harrison, Clerk, parson of Radwinter and Prebendary of Windsor—dated at Radwinter 27 July 1591—to be buried at Radwinter or Windsor, as I may die at either place. My goods to be divided into 4 equal parts 'of which one parte and an

"*Gerard's Catalogue of his Garden.*—A reprint of 'the first professedly complete catalogue of any one garden, either public or private, ever published' certainly deserves putting on record here. Gerard's *Herball* is by no means a rare book; but the *Catalogus arborum fruticum ac plantarum tam indigenarum quam exoticarum in horto Johannis Gerardi civis et chirurgi Londinensis nascentium* is exceedingly rare. This reprint, therefore, which we owe to the liberality of Mr B. Daydon Jackson, will be extremely welcome to all interested in the early introduction of exotic plants. The reprint consists of a limited number of copies for private circulation only. Without being an absolute fac-simile it is almost an exact reproduction of the original, the first edition of which was published in 1596. A second edition appeared in 1599, which Mr Jackson also reprints, together with some of his own remarks and notes on the *Herball*, and a Life of Gerard. But what will be found especially useful is the list of modern names affixed to the old ones. Gerard's *physic* garden was in Holborn, and included upwards of a thousand different kinds of plants. . . . There are several other lists of this kind we should be glad to see reprinted—Tradescant's, among others, as the younger Tradescant made a voyage to Virginia and introduced many American trees."—*Academy*, July 1876.

[1] (Note by the late Dr Goodall): Erat quidem Gulielmus Harrison Socius Etonensis Mar. 3. 1592, Vice præpositus Collegii et Rector de Everdon in Comitatu Northampt. Ut ille mortuus est Etonæ, et ibidem Sepultus Dec. 27, 1611.

[2] Mr J. Higgs of Sheet Street, Windsor, has kindly searcht the parish Register of Burials, which dates from 1564, but he finds no entry of Canon Harrison's burial.

'halfe shall remaine vnto Marion Harrison alias Marion Isebrande 'and the daughter of William Isebrande sometyme of Anderne, 'whome by the lawe of god, I take for my true and lawfull wife;'[1] another part and a half equally to my son Edmund and my daughter Anne—my son in law Robert Baker and his wife I remember not in this my will, as I have already given them their portion; to the quire in Windsor 40*s.*; to the poor of Radwinter 40*s.*; to the poor children of the hospital at London 20*s.*; to the poor of St Thomas Apostle in London 20*s.*; to each child of my son Baker 10*s.*; to each child of my cousin Morecroft, Clerk 5*s.*—'I make & ordayne 'the sayed Marion Isebrande alias Marion Harrison, daughter to 'William Isebrande and Ann his wife, sometyme of Anderne neere 'vnto Guisnes in Picardie, and whome by the lawes of god I take and 'repute in all respectes for my true and lawfull wife,' and my son Edmund Harrison, my Executors.—Witnesses, Mr Wm. Birde, Esq., Thos. Smith, yeoman; Lancelott Ellis, vicar of Wimbishe; & Thos. Hartlie the writer hereof."

The Will was proved on 22 Nov. 1593, by the said Edmund Harrison, son and executor named therein, the relict and executrix Marion, being dead.

Letters of administration to the goods, &c., of Marion Harrison, late of New Windsor, in the county of Berks, were granted on 12 Dec. 1593 to her son Edmund Harrison

§ 5. William Harrison had opinions of his own about public and social matters in his day, and also had often racy ways of expressing those opinions. I'll extract some:—In Chap. 1, he calls Becket "the old cocke of Canturburie" (p. 9, l. 4 from foot); notes how the Conferences of clergy and laity stirrd the parsons "to applie their books . . . which otherwise . . would giue themselues to hawking, hunting, tables, cards, dice, tipling at the alehouse, shooting of matches, and other like vanities" (p. 18, at foot); he complains of the subsidies and taxes that the clergy are made to pay, "as if the church were now become the asse whereon euerie market man is to ride and cast his wallet" (p. 25, at foot); also of "the couetousnesse of the patrones, of whom some doo bestow aduousons of benefices vpon their bakers, butlers, cookes, good archers, falconers, and horse-keepers" (p. 26, at foot), while others "doo scrape the wool from our clokes" (p. 34); he notes how Popish "images . . and monuments of idolatrie are remooued" from the churches, "onelie the stories in glasse windowes excepted," which are let stay for a while, from the scarcity and cost of white glass (p. 31-2); he 'd like to get rid of

[1] See his defence of priests leaving "their substances to their wives and children," in his *Description*, p. 33-4 below.

Saints' Days (p. 32); he commends the decent apparel of the Protestant parsons, as contrasted with that of the Popish blind sir-Johns, who went "either in diuerse colors like plaiers, or in garments of light hew, as yellow, red,[1] greene, &c., with their shooes piked,[2] . . . so that to meet a priest in those daies was to behold a peacocke that spreadeth his taile when he danseth before the henne" (p. 33); and then he denounces the cheating at elections for College fellowships, scholarships (p. 35, 77).

Ch. 2. On p. 43 Harrison says that he had for a time the 'collection' (of MSS., maps, &c.) of "William Read,[3] sometime fellow of Merteine college in Oxford, doctor of diuinitie, and the most profound astronomer that liued in his time." He has a cut, on p. 48, at the Popes' nephews—"for nephues might say in those daies: Father, shall I call you vncle?"—says, on p. 55, that he knew one of the Norwich-diocese churches turnd "into a barne, whilest the people heare seruice further off vpon a greene: their bell also, when I heard a sermon there preached in the greene, hanged in an oke for want of a steeple. But now I vnderstand that the oke likewise is gone." On p. 63, after saying what England in old time paid the Pope, he asks, "and therevpon tell me whether our Iland was one of the best paire of bellowes or not, that blue the fire in his kitchen, wherewith to make his pot seeth, beside all other commodities."

In describing the Universities in Chapter 3 (see p. xi above), Harrison dwells again (p. 77, and 35) on the packing and bribing

[1] Compare the smart red dress with blue hood and long blue liripipe from it, of the Nun's Priest, in the colourd illumination of the Ellesmere MS. given in my Six-Text *Canterbury Tales*.

[2] Proude preestes coome with hym, Mo than a thousand,
In paltokes and *pyked shoes*, And pisseris longe knyves.
*Vision of Piers Plowman*, Pass. xx. l. 14360, ii. 438, ed. Wright.

[3] William Rede or Reade, made Bp. of Chichester 1369, died 1385, "is said to have been a native of Devonshire, and to have received his early education in Exeter Coll. Oxford, from whence he removed to Merton, having been elected a fellow. He soon discovered a singular genius for the sciences, as they were then known and practised, and excelled in geography, astronomy, and architecture. About the year 1349, he gave a design for a library at Merton College, and superintended the building, which is very spacious, if considered as a repository of MSS. only. . . . . He contributed greatly to furnishing the library with valuable MSS., adding his own, which consisted of several scientific treatises, astronomical tables, and maps."

"He was a great encourager of learning, particularly by procuring many rare MSS. from the continent, which were transcribed at his expense." He built Amberley Castle, an episcopal residence for Chichester.—Dallaway's *History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex*, 1832, Vol. I. pp. 54, 55.

practist at elections for fellowships and scholarships, and how 'poore mens children are commonlie shut out by the rich,' whose sons "ruffle and roist it out, exceeding in apparell, and hanting riotous companie (which draweth them from their bookes[1] vnto an other trade)," p. 77-8. He also complains of the late-nam'd "idle fellowships" that are still a disgrace to our Universities, tho' now their holders don't work for "eighteene or peraduenture twenty yeeres,"

"For after this time, & 40 yeeres of age, the most part of students doo commonlie giue ouer their woonted diligence, & liue like drone bees on the fat of colleges, withholding better wits from the possession of their places, & yet dooing litle good in their own vocation & calling," p. 80.

And he repeats, in milder words, Ascham's[2] caution against sending young men to Italy, for 'an Italianate Englishman is a devil incarnate,' as the Italians themselves said.[3] "And thus much at this time of our two vniuersities, in each of which I haue receiued such degree as they have vouchsafed, rather of their fauour than my desert, to yeeld and bestow vpon me" (p. xii and vi above).

Chapter 4, of the Partition of England into Shires, is dull; but there are interesting bits on Harrison's determination to say only what he knows (p. 90, 94, 95), and about the inquests or juries being nearly starvd, thro' the stronger side packing, or getting some partisans into, the quest (p. 101-2); about the nuisance of the great increase of lawyers (p. 102: see too p. 131, 204-7); 'the burning of vagabounds through their eare' (p. 103), and the absurd custom at the Court Baron of Raleigh[4] (p. 104). On p. 105 too we get

[1] Cambridge studies. 1516, Aug. 31. Er. Ep. II. 10. Erasmus to Bovill. Thirty years ago, nothing was taught at Cambridge except Alexander's *parva Logicalia*, some scraps from Aristotle, and the *Quæstiones* of Duns Scotus. In process of time improved studies were added; mathematics, a new Aristotle, a knowledge of Greek letters. What has been the consequence? The University can now hold its head with the highest, and has excellent theologians. Of course they must now study the New Testament with greater attention, and not waste their time, as heretofore, in frivolous quibbles.—Brewer's *Calendar of Hen. VIII's Time*, vol. II. pt. i. p. 716.

[2] As a usually accurate friend of mine always calls this name 'Asham,' I note that it's often spelt 'Askham' in old writers.

[3] On pages 129-30, Harrison repeats his warning in stronger terms, "This neuerthelesse is generallie to be reprehended in all estates of gentilitie, and which in short time will turne to the great ruine of our countrie, and that is the vsuall sending of noblemens & meane gentlemens sonnes into Italie, from whence they bring home nothing but meere atheisme, infidelitie, vicious conuersation, & ambitious and proud behauiour, wherby it commeth to passe that they returne far worsse men than they went out." See the sequel.

[4] Not Rabeigh as in text.

the welcome notice "of my freend *W. Cambden*" whose *Britannia* was soon to be publisht, and appeard in 1586.

Of Chapter 5 the most interesting parts to me[1] are those on the evil of sending young Englishmen to Italy (p. 129-30: see note 3, p. xvii overleaf); the anticipation of the modern J. S. Mill & Coöperative doctrine of the evil of too many middlemen in trade (p. 131: the argument will cover distributors as well as importers, tho' it's made clearer on p. 300), and lawyers in business; the improvement in the condition of yeomen (p. 133); the often complaind-of evil[2] of "our great swarmes of idle seruing men" (p. 134 and 230); and our husbandmen and artificers never being better tradesmen, tho' they sometimes scamp their work (p. 136).

Chapter 6, 'of the Food and Diet of the English,' is very interesting, with its accounts of the dinners of the nobility "whose cookes are, for the most part, musicall-headed Frenchmen and strangers" (p. 144), and who eat "delicates wherein the sweette hand of the seafaring Portingale is not wanting" (p. 145). Then p. 147 notices the rage for Venice glass among all classes—as Falstaff says, A.D. 1598, in 2 *Hen. IV.*, II. i. 154, "Glasses, glasses, is the only drinking."—This is followd by capital accounts of the diet of the gentlemen and merchants (p. 148), and the artificers (p. 150); the bread[3] (153), and drink (155), of all classes; and how Mrs Wm. Harrison brewd the family beer (158-160),—"and hereof we make three hoggesheads of good beere, such (I meane) as is meet for poore men as I am, to liue withall, whose small maintenance (for what great thing is fortie pounds a yeare, *Computatis computandis*, able to performe?) may indure no deeper cut," p. 159;—with touches like *Theologicum* being the best wine of old, because "the merchant would haue thought that his soule should have gone streightwaie to the diuell, if he should haue serued them [the monks] with other than the best," p. 149-150; and this kindly

[1] Note an addition while Harrison's book was going thro' the press: the top sidenote on p. 112. There's a cut at Dissenters, 'the lewd religious sort,' on p. 117.

[2] See Sir T. More's *Utopia*, 'a huge number of idle fellows, who never learned any art by which they may gain their living,' &c.

[3] On the finest kind of bread, *manchet*, note that Queen Elizabeth's was made from Heston wheat, Middlesex:—

"*Heston*, H. 10. a most fertyle place of wheate, yet not so much to be commended for the quantitie, as for the qualitie, for the wheat is most pure, accompted the purest in manie shires. And therefore Queene ELIZABETH hath the most part of her provision from that place for *manchet* for her Highnes own diet, as is reported."—1596. Jn. Norden, *Discription of Middlesex*, p. 25, ed. 1723.

opinion of working-men, for which one can't help liking the old parson[1]:—

"To conclude, both the artificer and the husbandman are sufficientlie liberall, & verie freendlie at their tables; and when they meet, they are so merie without malice, and plaine without inward Italian or French craft and subtiltie, that it would doo a man good to be in companie among them. . . This is moreouer to be added in these meetings, that if they happen to stumble vpon a peece of venison, and a cup of wine or verie strong beere or ale . . . they thinke their cheere so great, and themselues to haue fared so well, as the lord Maior of London, with whome, when their bellies be full, they will not often sticke to make comparison, because that of a subject there is no publike officer of anie citie in Europe, that may compare in port and countenance with him during the time of his office." p. 151 (see 152-3 too).

Chapter 7 is the amusing one on the 'Apparell and Atire' of English folk already referrd to (p. xvi above); and though it's not so bitter as Stubbes's or Crowley's, yet it's fun, with its 'dog in a doublet,' p. 168, and its beard bit, p. 169, if a man "be wesell becked [beakt], then much heare left on the cheekes will make the owner looke big like a bowdled hen, and so grim as a goose, if Cornelis of Chelmeresford saie true."

In Chapter 8, on the Parliament, the only personal bit is Harrison's saying that he copies from Sir Thomas Smith,[2] "requiting him with the like borrowage as he hath vsed toward me in his discourse of the sundrie degrees of estates in the common-wealth of England" (p. 176). But in Chap. 9, 'Of the Laws of England,' after a dull account of the Trial by Ordeal, &c., we get Harrison breaking out again against the Lawyers, their prosperity and rascality, and taking fees (as barristers often do still) and doing nothing for 'em (p. 204-7, with a good bit about Welshmen's love of law-suits on p. 206). On p. 207 we find a pleasant notice of John Stow, the hard-working chronicler so shamefully neglected in his own age: "my freend *Iohn Stow*, whose studie is the onelie store house of antiquities in

[1] But he speaks, at p. 69, "of the common sort, whose mouthes are alwaies wide open vnto reprehension, and eies readie to espie anie thing that they may reprooue and carpe at." Still, Harrison took more kindly to the common sort than Shakspere did in his plays.

[2] *De Republica Anglorum.* The maner of Gouernement or policie of the Realme of England, compiled by the Honorable Sir Thomas Smyth, Knight, Doctor of both the lawes, and one of the principal Secretaries vnto the two most worthy Princes, King Edward the sixt, and Queen Elizabeth . . . London . . 1584 (some copies 1583). A posthumous publication.—*Hazlitt.*

my time, and he worthie therefore to be had in reputation and honour."

Chapter 10, 'Of Prouision made for the Poore,' notes the weekly collection made in every parish for the deserving poor (p. 214), and gives Harrison's opinion on the Malthusians of his day :—

"Some also doo grudge at the great increase of people in these daies, thinking a necessarie brood of cattell farre better than a superfluous augmentation of mankind. But I can liken such men best of all vnto the pope and the diuell, who practise the hinderance of the furniture of the number of the elect to their vttermost, to the end the authoritie of the one upon earth, the deferring of the locking vp of the other in euerlasting chaines, and the great gaines of the first, may continue and indure the longer. But if it should come to passe that any forren inuasion should be made, which the Lord God forbid for his mercies sake!—then should these men find that a wall of men is farre better than stackes of corne and bags of monie, and complaine of the want when it is too late to seeke remedie." p. 215-16.

The sham beggars,[1] he says, 'are all theeues and caterpillers in the commonwealth, and by the word of God not permitted to eat' (p. 217). Then he makes extracts from Harman about the rogues (p. 218), among whom, by statute, are 'plaiers and minstrels' (p. 220).

In Chapter 11, on the 'Punishments appointed for Malefactors,' our author notes that "our condemned persons doo go . . cheerfullie to their deths, for our nation is free, stout, hautie, prodigall of

[1] Here are two of Mr Halliwell's rejected cuts of beggars, copi'd from engravings of about 1630 A.D.

Other earlier and rougher cuts of rogues are in the edition of Awdeley and Harman on Vagabonds, by Mr Viles and myself for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series in 1869. Harman livd in Kent, and his book is very curious.

life and bloud" (p. 221); that the punishment for 'robbing by the high waie' (like Sir John Falstaff's), 'cutting of purses,' 'stealing of deere by night' (like Shakspere's, if he ever stole deer from Sir Thos. Lucy, who had no park in his time), was death (p. 224); and that the punishment for adultery and fornication was not sharp enough:—

"As in theft therfore, so in adulterie and whoredome, I would wish the parties trespassant, to be made bond or slaues vnto those that receiued the iniurie, to sell and giue where they listed, or to be condemned to the gallies: for that punishment would proue more bitter to them than halfe an houres hanging, or than standing in a sheet, though the weather be neuer so cold" (p. 226).

On p. 230 he complains of the robberies by unthrift young gentlemen, and "seruing-men whose wages cannot suffice so much as to find them breeches;" and on p. 232 that selfish men, and even constables, in the country, won't leave their work to follow up thieves and take them to prison[1]: this "I haue knowne by mine owne experience."

Chapter 12, 'Of the manner of Building and Furniture of our Houses,' is perhaps the best, and the best-known, in the book. It describes how English houses were built, and notes these new things, 1. that rich men were beginning to use stoves for sweating baths (p. 235); while, 2. all men were using glass for windows; 3. that timber-houses were giving way to brick and stone; and that though our workmen were excellent, their demands for high wages often causd strangers to be employd in building (p. 238); 4. the increast richness of furniture, not only in rich men's houses, but in those of 'the inferiour artificers and manie farmers,' who "now garnish their cupbords with plate, their ioined beds with tapistrie and silke hangings, and their tables with carpets & fine naperie, whereby the wealth of our countrie . . . dooth infinitelie appeare" (p. 239); [5.] "the multitude of chimnies latelie erected;" [6.] "the great (although not generall) amendment of lodging, for (said they) our fathers (yea, and we our selues also) haue lien full oft vpon straw pallets, on rough mats couered onelie with a sheet, vnder couerlets made of dagswain or hopharlots (I vse their owne termes,) and a good round log vnder their heads in steed of a bolster or pillow. . . . Pillowes (said they) were thought meet onelie for women in childbed. As for seruants, if they had anie sheet aboue them, it was well, for seldome had they anie vnder their bodies,

[1] Did Shakspere ever turn out and chevy a Stratford thief, I wonder? He must have been able to hit and hold hard.

to keepe them from the pricking straws that ran oft through the canuas of the pallet, and rased their hardened hides." . . [7.] "The exchange of vessell, as of treene[1] platters into pewter, and woodden spoones into siluer or tin. For so common were all sorts of treene stuffe in old time, that a man should hardlie find four peeces of pewter (of which one was peraduenture a salt) in a good farmers house, and yet for all this frugalitie, (if it may so be iustly called) they were scarse able to liue and paie their rents at their daies without selling of a cow, or an horsse, or more, although they paid but foure pounds at the vttermost by the yeare."

The farmer was very poor too; and yet now, though his £4 rent is raised to £40, he can not only buy plate, and featherbeds, &c., but can purchase a renewal of his lease, 6 years before the expiration of the old one; and the paying the money "shall neuer trouble him more than the haire of his beard, when the barber hath washed and shaued it from his chin" (p. 241). Against these signs of prosperity, these fat kine, are 3, nay 4, lean kine, which eat up their plump brethren (p. 241-2),

"three things . . are growen to be verie grieuous vnto them, to wit, the inhansing of rents, latelie mentioned; the dailie oppression of copiholders, whose lords seeke to bring their poore tenants almost into plaine seruitude and miserie, dailie deuising new meanes, and seeking vp all the old, how to cut them shorter and shorter, doubling, trebling, and now & then seuen times increasing their fines; driuing them also for euerie trifle to loose and forfeit their tenures, (by whome the greatest part of the realme dooth stand and is mainteined,) to the end they may fleece them yet more, which is a lamentable hering. The third thing they talke of is vsurie, a trade brought in by the Jewes, now perfectlie practised almost by euerie christian, and so commonlie, that he is accompted but for a foole that dooth lend his monie for nothing."

Interest has run up to 12 per cent.; wherefore, "helpe I praie thee in lawfull maner to hang vp such as take *Centum pro cento*, for they are no better worthie as I doo iudge in conscience" (p. 242). The 4th grievance is that Gentlemen (!) have actually "themselves become grasiers, butchers, tanners, sheepmasters, woodmen, and *denique quod non!*" (p. 243).

Chapter 13, 'Of Cities and Townes in England,' is dull, but has, on p. 254-5, a short account of the antiquities found in old Verulam, and Harrison's visit there in the summer of 1586 or 1585; and on p. 258-60, his groan over the decay of houses, their destruction by greedy land-owners, and the hard fare of poor men. On p. 261 he

[1] made of tree or wood.

evidently would put a limit to the land that one man might hold. In Chapter 14, 'Of Castles and Holds,' he wants the East coast fortified (p. 265), notes the frequency of old camps 'in the plaine fields of England' (p. 266), and says:

"I need not to make anie long discourse of castles, sith it is not the nature of a good Englishman to regard to be caged vp as in a coope, and hedged in with stone wals, but rather to meet with his enimie in the plaine field at handstrokes, where he may trauaise his ground, choose his plot, and vse the benefit of sunne shine, wind and weather, to his best aduantage & commoditie," p. 265.

In Chap. 15 he describes the Queen's palaces, but prefers the Henry VIII. buildings to the Elizabethan:

"Certes masonrie did neuer better flourish in England than in his time. And albeit that in these daies there be manie goodlie houses erected in the sundrie quarters of this Iland; yet they are rather curious to the eie, like paper worke, than substantiall for continuance: whereas such as he did set vp, excell in both, and therefore may iustlie be preferred farre aboue all the rest," p. 268.

He then gives an interesting account of the virtues of the Queen's Maids of Honour, the vices of the Courtiers (see extract above, p. viii); the studies of the yoůng Ladies, and the medical powers of the old; all of them being able to cook admirably, and the Carte or Bill of Fare of the dinner having been just introduc't (p. 272). Lastly he notes the admirable order and absence of ill-doing in the Queen's court (p. 274). Her 'Progresses' he approv'd of on p. 270.

Chap. 16 treats 'Of Armour and Munition;' but, says Harrison, "what hath the longe blacke gowne to doo with glistering armour?" p. 282. Still, he echoes the universal lament of Ascham, the Statutes, &c. &c., over the decay of Long-Bow shooting in England:

"Certes the Frenchmen and Rutters deriding our new archerie in respect of their corslets, will not let in open skirmish, if anie leisure serue, to turne vp their tailes and crie: 'Shoote English,' and all bicause our strong shooting is decaied and laid in bed. But if some of our Englishmen now liued that serued king Edward the third in his warres with France, the breech of such a varlet should haue beene nailed to his bum with one arrow, and an other fethered in his bowels, before he should haue turned about to see who shot the first," p. 279.

He then says that all the young fellows above 18 or 20 wear a dagger; noblemen wear swords or rapiers too, while 'desperate

cutters' carry 2 daggers or 2 rapiers, 'wherewith in euerie dronken fraie they are knowen to worke much mischief' (p. 282-3). And as trampers carry long staves, the honest traveller is obliged to carry pistols, "to ride with a case of dags at his sadlebow, or with some pretie short snapper," while parsons have only a dagger or hanger, if they carry anything at all (p. 283). The tapsters and ostlers at inns are in league with the highway-robbers,[1] who rob chiefly at Christmas time, to get money to spend at dice and cards, till they 'be trussed vp in a Tiburne tippet,' p. 284.

Passing over Chap. 17, on the Navy, Queen Elizabeth's delight in it (p. 290), and the fast sailing of our ships, we come on a characteristic and interesting chapter in Chap. 18, 'Of Faires and Markets.' This subject is within Harrison's home life, as a buyer; and it's on the buyer's side, which includes the poor man's, that he argues. Magistrates don't see the proclamation price and goodness of bread kept to (p. 294-5); bodgers are allowd to buy up corn and raise the price of it (p. 296-9); to carry it home unsold, or to a distant market, if they want more money than the buyer likes to give (p. 301-2); nay, they've leave to export it for the benefit of enemies and Papists abroad, so as to make more profit (p. 298). Again, pestiferous purveyors buy up eggs, chickens, bacon, &c.; buttermen travel about and buy up butter at farmers' houses, and have raisd its price from 18*d.* to 40*d.* a gallon (p. 300). These things are ill for the buyer and the poor man, and should not be allowd

"I wish that God would once open their eies that deale thus, to see their owne errours: for as yet some of them little care how manie poore men suffer extremitie, so that they may fill their purses, and carie awaie the gaine."

Good doctrine, no doubt; but "*nous avons changé tout cela.*" However, in one thing the modern Political-Economist can agree with Harrison:—

"I gather that the maintenance of a superfluous number of dealers in most trades, tillage alwaies excepted, is one of the greatest causes why the prices of things become excessiue," p. 300.

There's a comical bit about the names for ale, "huffecap, mad dog, angels food," &c., on p. 295, and the way "our maltbugs lug at this liquor, euen as pigs should lie in a row, lugging at their

[1] Of hostlers, Harman says, "not one amongst twenty of them but haue well left their honesty, as I here a great sorte saye."—Harman's *Caueat*, p. 62, ed. Viles and Furnivall.

dames teats, till they lie still againe, and be not able to wag . . . and . . hale at hufcap, till they be red as cockes, & litle wiser than their combs."

In Chap. 19, "Of Parkes and Warrens," Harrison tells us how coney warrens have increast, from the value of the creatures' black skins and the quick sale for young rabbits in London (p. 304); and what a shocking thing it is that one Lady has sold her husband's venison to the Cooks, and another Lady has ridden to market to see her butter sold! it's as bad as an Earl feeling his own oxen to see whether they're ready for the butcher! (p. 305). He then gives us a refreshing bit of his mind on owners of parks who enclose commons:

"And yet some owners, still desirous to inlarge those grounds, as either for the breed and feeding of cattell, doo not let dailie to take in more, not sparing the verie commons whervpon manie towneships now and then doo liue, affirming that we haue alreadie too great store of people in England; and that youth by marrieng too soone doo nothing profit the countrie, but fill it full of beggars, to the hurt and vtter vndooing (they saie) of the common wealth.

"Certes, if it be not one curse of the Lord, to haue our countrie conuerted in such sort, from the furniture of mankind, into the walks and shrowds of wild beasts, I know not what is anie. How manie families also these great and small games (for so most keepers call them) haue eaten vp, and are likelie hereafter to deuoure, some men may coniecture, but manie more lament, sith there is no hope of restraint to be looked for in this behalfe, because the corruption is so generall," p. 306-7.

*The decaie of the people is the destruction of a kingdome, neither is any man borne to possesse the earth alone.*

Chapter 20, 'Of Gardens and Orchards,' is interesting, not only as containing the bit quoted above, p. xiii, on Harrison's own garden, but for its note of how vegetables, roots, and salad herbs, that had gone out of use since Henry IV.'s time, had in Henry VIII. and Elizabeth's days come into daily consumption (p. 324), so that men even eat dangerous fruits like mushrooms. Also, hops and madder were grown again, and rare medicinable herbs. Gardens were beautified (p. 325), plants imported (p. 326); orchards supplied with apricot, almond, peach, fig, and cornel trees; nay, capers, oranges, lemons and wild olives (p. 329-30: with a little bit of sermonising). Grafting was practist with great skill and success (p. 330); even dishwater was utiliz'd for plants. And as to roses, there was one in Antwerp in 1585 that had 180 leaves on one button or flower, and Harrison could have had a slip of it for £10 (£60 now?) if he hadn't thought it "but a tickle hazard."

Chapter 22 is interesting, from Harrison's laments in it over the

destruction of English woods, which he saw yearly disappearing around him,[1] one man, as he says, having turnd 60 woods into one pair of breeches,[2] p. 343. And then, mov'd by the thought of what will become of England without its oaks, the unselfish old parson utters the four dearest wishes of his heart :—

"I would wish that I might liue no longer than to see foure things in this land reformed, that is: (1) the want of discipline in the church: (2) the couetous dealing of most of our merchants in the preferment of the commodities of other countries, and hinderance of their owne: (3) the holding of faires and markets vpon the sundaie to be abolished, and referred to the wednesdaies: (4) and that euerie man, in whatsoeuer part of the champaine soile enioieth fortie acres of land and vpwards, after that rate, either by free deed, copie hold, or fee farme, might plant one acre of wood, or sowe the same with oke mast, hasell, beech, and sufficient prouision be made that it may be cherished and kept. But I feare me that I should then liue too long, and so long, that I should either be wearie of the world, or the world of me; and yet they are not such things but they may easilie be brought to passe," p. 343-4.

[1] Harrison wasn't the only man who felt thus. See Arthur Standish's two tracts: "'The Commons Complaint. Wherein is contained two speciall Grievances: The first, the generall destruction and waste of Woods in this Kingdome . . . The Second Grievance is, The extreame dearth of Victvals. Fovre Remedies for the same, &c. London Printed by William Stansby, 1611." 4°. F 2 in fours.

"'New Directions of Experience to the Commons Complaint by the incouragement of the Kings most excellent Maiesty, as may appeare, for the planting of Timber and Fire-wood. With a neere Estimation what Millions of Acres the Kingdome doth containe, what Acres is waste ground, whereon little profit for this purpose will arise . . . Inuentid by Arthur Standish. Anno Domini. MDCXIII.' 4°. A—D in fours; E, 4 leaves, and a leaf of F."—*Hazlitt's Collections and Notes*, p. 401-2. Also Massinger's *Guardian*, II. iv.

[2] "If woods go so fast . . . . I have knowne a well burnished gentleman that hath borne threescore at once [weren't they trees?] in one paire of galigascons, to shew his strength and brauerie." Brick-burning also consumd much wood:

Compare Harrison, bk. 3, chap. 9, p. 234, col. 2, l. 46, ed. 1587 :—"such is the curiositie of our countrimen, that notwithstanding almightie God hath so blessed our realme in most plentifull maner, with such and so manie quarries apt and meet for piles of longest continuance, yet we, as lothsome of this abundance, or not liking of the plentie, doo commonlie leaue these naturall gifts to mould and cinder in the ground, and take vp an artificiall bricke, *in burning whereof a great part of the wood of this land is dailie consumed and spent*, to the no small decaie of that commoditie, and hinderance of the poore that perish off for cold." See, too, chap. 10, p. 236, col. 2, l. 44, "Of colemines we haue such plentie in the north and westerne parts of our Iland, as may suffice for all the realme of England: and so must they doo hereafter in deed, if wood be not better cherrished than it is at this present." See too the extract from Bk I, under § 6, No. 9, p. xxxviii below.

This same chapter 22 contains the capital bit about the oaken men and willow houses and their smoke-dried inhabiters, quoted above, p. viii (p. 337-8 below); and a strong protest against rascally tanners (p. 340) and wood-fellers who, for private gain, evade the laws (p. 343); also some good advice about draining (p. 346).

In his 23rd Chapter, on Baths and Hot Wells, Harrison says that he's tasted the water of King's Newnham well, near Coventry, and that it had "a tast much like to allume liquor, and yet nothing vnplesant nor vnsauorie in the drinking" (p. 348). From his description of Bath, it is clear that he had been there, p. 350-5, unless he quotes an eyewitness's words as his own. His 24th Chapter, 'of Antiquities found,' tells us of his own collection of Roman coins (p. 356) which he intended to get engrav'd in his *Chronologie*, though, he says, the cost of engraving,

"as it hath doone hitherto, so the charges to be emploied vpon these brasen or copper images will hereafter put by the impression of that treatise: whereby it maie come to passe, that long trauell shall soone proue to be spent in vaine, and much cost come to verie small successe," p. 357. (See p. iv, note 4, above.)

His words on p. 358 seem to imply that he'd visited Colchester (as no doubt he had) and York, in his search for coins. His account 'Of the Coines of England,' chap. 25, ends his Book 2, the first of his *Description of England*.

This Section is longer than I meant it to be; and it doesn't bring out the religious side of Harrison's character. But I hope it leaves the reader with a kindly impression of the straightforward racy Radwinter parson and Windsor Canon. A business-like, God-fearing, truth-seeking, learned, kind-hearted and humorous fellow, he seems to me; a good gardener, an antiquarian and numismatist, a true lover of his country, a hater of shams, lazy lubbers and evil-doers; a man that one likes to shake hands with, across the rift of 200 years that separates us.

§ 6. As Harrison, in his Description of the Rivers, &c., of England in Book I. has, here and there, bits giving his own experiences or opinions, I pick out those that were, in this regard, interesting to me as I skimd over the book, in the hope that they will interest the reader too. These bits comprise 1. his opinion on giants, and his seeing a 7-foot man; 2. his view of the English Language (p. xxix); 3. his English name '*By-land*' for the Latin *Peninsula* (p. xxx); 4. his report on the Isle of Man superstitions and sheep (p. xxxi);

5. and his opening some barnacles that he found on a ship's bottom in the Thames (p. xxxii); 6. some one's (? not his) visit to the Shetland Isles and Scotland, and being very glad to rest his wearied bones at home (p. xxxii); 7. his cruise up the mouth of the Thames (p. xxxiii); 8. his praise and description of that 'noble river,' and the salmon, &c., daily caught there (p. xxxiv); and 9. his account of his own parish, Radwinter, of which he was rector (p. xxxviii). Any reader whom these bits bore, can easily skip 'em. They end at p. xl.

### 1. HARRISON ON GIANTS.

"[Of the giant of Spaine that died of late yeares by a fall vpon the Alpes, as he either went or came fro Rome, about the purchase of a dispensation to marrie with his kinswoman (a woman also of much more than common stature) there be men yet liuing, and may liue long for age, that can saie verie much euen by their owne knowledge. Wherfore it appeareth by present experience, that all is not absolutelie vntrue which is remembred of men of such giants.] For this cause therfore I haue now taken vpon me to make this breefe discourse insuing, [as indeuouring] therby to prooue, that the opinion of giants is not altogither grounded vpon vaine and fabulous narrations, inuented onelie to delight the eares of the hearers with the report of maruellous things: but that there haue beene such men in deed, as for their hugenesse of person haue resembled rather *high towers than mortall men, although their posterities are now consumed, and their monstruous races vtterlie worne out of knowledge."—p. 8, col. 1, l. 68, to col. 2, l. 13.

* Esay. 30, vers. 25.

"[Now to say somwhat also of mine owne knowledge, there is the thighbone of a man to be seene in the church of S. Laurence neere Guildhall in London, which in time past was 26. inches in length, but now it beginneth to decaie, so that it is shorter by foure inches than it was in the time of king *Edward*. Another also is to be seene in Aldermarie burie, of some called Aldermanburie, of 32. inches and rather more, whereof the symmetrie hath beene taken by some skilfull in that practise, and an image made according to that proportion, which is fixt in the east end of the cloister of the same church, not farre from the said bone, and sheweth the person of a man full ten or eleuen foot high, which, as some say, was found in the cloister of Poules, that was neere to the librarie, at such time as the Duke of Somerset did pull it downe to the verie foundation, and carried the stones thereof to the Strand, where he did build his house. These two bones haue I seene, beside other, whereof at the beholding I tooke no great heed, bicause I minded not as then to haue had any such vse of their proportions, and therefore I will speake no more of them: this is sufficient for my purpose that is deliuered out of the christian authors]."—p. 10, col. 2, l. 69, to p. 11, col. 1, l. 17.

*Harrison has seen a lame giant, 7 feet high.*

12. i. 35. "I could rehearse manie mo examples of the bodies of such men, out of *Solinus*, *Sabellicus*, [*D.*] *Cooper*, and others. [As of *Oetas* and *Ephialtes*, who were said to be nine orgies or paces in heigth, and foure in bredth, which are taken for so many cubits, bicause there is small difference betweene a mans ordinarie pace and his cubit, and finallie of our Richard the first, who is noted to beare an axe in the wars, the iron of whose head onelie weighed twentie pound after our greatest weight, and whereof an old writer that I haue seene, saith thus:

*This king Richard I vnderstand,*
*Yer he went out of England,*
*Let make an axe for the nones,*
*Therewith to cleaue the Saracens bones,*
*The head in sooth was wrought full weele,*
*Thereon were twentie pound of steele,*
*And when he came in Cyprus land,*
*That ilkon axe he tooke in hand, &c.*

"I could speake also of *Gerards* staffe or lance, yet to be seene in Gerards hall at London in Basing lane, which is so great and long that no man can beweld it, neither go to the top thereof without a ladder, which of set purpose and for greater countenance of the wonder is fixed by the same. *I haue seene a man my selfe of seuen foot in heigth, but lame of his legs.* The chronicles also of Cogshall speake of one in Wales, who was halfe a foot higher, but through infirmitie and wounds not able to beweld himselfe. I might (if I thought good) speake also of another of no lesse heigth than either of these and liuing of late yeares,] but these here [remembred] shall suffice to prooue my purpose withall. I might tell you in like sort of the [marke] stone which *Turnus* threw at *Æneas*, [and] was such as that twelue chosen and picked men [(saith *Virgil*,]

(*Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus*)

were not able to stur and remooue out of the place: but I passe it ouer, and diuerse of the like, concluding that these huge blocks were ordeined and created by God: first for a testimonie vnto vs of his power and might; [and] secondlie for a confirmation, that hugenes of bodie is not to be accompted of as a part of our felicitie, sith they which possessed the same, were not onelie tyrants, doltish, & euill men, but also oftentimes ouercome euen by the weake & feeble."—p. 12, col. 2, l. 4.

*Vis vnita fortior est eadem dispersa.*

2. HARRISON'S VIEW OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

14. i. 2. "But in vaine, for in the time of king Edward the first, to wit,[1] toward the latter end of his reigne, the French it selfe ceased to be spoken generallie, [but most of all, and by law, in the midst of

[1] and *for* to wit, ed. 1577. '[ ]' mean, 'added in the 2nd ed. 1587.'—F.

Edward the third,] and then began the English to recouer and grow in more estimation than before; notwithstanding that among our artificers, the most part of their implements, tooles and [words of art] reteine still their French denominations [euen] to these our daies, as the language it selfe is vsed likewise in sundrie courts, bookes [of record,] and matters of law; whereof here is no place to make any particular rehearsall. Afterward also, by diligent trauell of *Geffray Chaucer*, and *Iohn Gowre*, in the time of Richard the second, and after them of *Iohn Scogan*, and *Iohn Lydgate* monke of Berrie, our [said] toong was brought to an excellent passe, notwithstanding that it neuer came vnto the type of perfection, vntill the time of Queene Elizabeth, wherein [1]*Iohn Iewell*, B. of Sarum, *Iohn Fox*, and sundrie learned &[1] excellent writers haue fullie accomplished the ornature of the same, to their great praise and immortall commendation; although not a few other doo greatlie seeke to staine the same, by fond affectation of forren and strange words, presuming that to be the best English, which is most corrupted with externall termes of eloquence, and found of manie syllables. But as this excellencie of the English toong is found in one, and the south part of this Iland; so in Wales the greatest number (as I said) retaine still their owne ancient language, that of the north part of the said countrie being lesse corrupted than the other, and therefore reputed for the better in their owne estimation and iudgement. [This also is proper to vs Englishmen, that sith ours is a meane language, and neither too rough nor too smooth in vtterance, we may with much facilitie learne any other language, beside Hebrue, Greeke & Latine, and speake it naturallie, as if we were home-borne in those countries; & yet on the other side it falleth out, I wot not by what other meanes, that few forren nations can rightlie pronounce ours, without some and that great note of imperfection, especiallie the French men, who also seldome write any thing that sauoreth of English trulie. It is a pastime to read how *Natalis Comes* in like maner, speaking of our affaires, dooth clip the names of our English lords. *But this of all the rest dooth breed most admiration with me, that if any stranger doo hit vpon some likelie pronuntiation of our toong, yet in age he swarueth so much from the same, that he is woorse therein than euer he was, and thereto peraduenture halteth not a litle also in his owne, as I haue seene by experience in Reginald Wolfe, and other, whereof I haue iustlie maruelled*]."—p. 14, col. 1, l. 2—53.

The helpers of our English toong.

Englishmen apt to learne any forren toong.

3. HARRISON'S ENGLISH *BYLAND* FOR THE LATIN *PENINSULA*.

30. i. 47. "In beginning therefore, with such as lie in the mouth of the aforesaid riuer, I must needs passe by the How[2], which is not an Iland, [3]and therefore not within the compasse of my description at

[1]—[1] many, 1577. [2] Hoo, 1577.

[3]—[3] but (if I may giue such peeces a new name) a bylande, bycause we may passe thyther from the maine Isle, by an Isthums or strictlande, that is to say, by lande, without anye vessell, at the full sea, or any horse at the ebbe. 1577.

this time, but almost an Iland, which parcels the Latins call *Peninsulas, and I doo english a Byland*, vsing the word for such as a man may go into drie-footed at the full sea, or on horssebacke at the low water without anie boat or vessell: and such a one almost is Rochford hundred in Essex also, yet not at this time to be spoken of, bicause not the sea onelie, but the fresh water also doth in maner enuiron it, and is the cheefe occasion wherfore it is called an Iland. This How[3] lieth between Cliffe [(in old time called Clouesho, to wit, Cliffe in How, or in the hundred of How)] & the Midwaie that goeth along by Rochester, [of which hundred there goeth an old prouerbe in rime after this maner:

*He that rideth into the hundred of How,*
*Beside pilfering sea-men shall find durt ynow*]."—30. i. 65.

### 4. HARRISON ON THE ISLE OF MAN.

37. ii. 61. "*Giraldus* noteth a[1] contention[2] betweene the kings of England & Ireland for the right of this Iland, but in the end, when by a comprimise the triall of the matter was referred to the liues or deaths of such venemous wormes as should be brought into the same, and it was found that they died not at all, as the like doo in Ireland, sentence passed with the king of England, & so he reteined the Iland. But howsoeuer this matter standeth, and whether anie such thing was done at all or not, sure it is that the people of the said Ile were much giuen to witchcraft and sorcerie (which they learned of the Scots, a nation greatlie bent to that horrible practise) in somuch that their women would oftentimes sell wind to the mariners, inclosed vnder certeine knots of thred, with this iniunction, that they which bought the same, should for a great gale vndoo manie, and for the lesse, a [fewer or] smaller number. The stature of the men and also fertilitie of this Iland are much commended, and for the latter supposed verie neere to be equall with that of Anglesei, in all commodities."—p. 38, col. i, l. 7. Tall men in Man.

38. i. 40. "Moreouer the sheepe of this countrie are exceeding huge, well woolled, and their tailes of such greatnesse as is almost incredible. In like sort their hogs are in maner monstrous. They haue furthermore great store of barnacles breeding vpon their coasts, but yet not so great store as in Ireland, and those (as there also) of old ships, ores, masts, [peeces of rotten timber as they saie,] and such putrified pitched stuffe, as by wrecke hath happened to corrupt vpon that shore. Howbeit neither the inhabitants of this Ile, nor yet of Ireland can readilie saie whether they be fish or flesh, for although the religious *there* vsed to eat them as fish, yet elsewhere, some haue beene troubled, for eating of them in times prohibited, for[4] heretikes and lollards." Sheepe. Hogs. Barnacles. Barnacles neither fish nor flesh.

[1] how there was, 1577. [2] sometyme between, 1577. [4] as, 1577.

### 5. HARRISON'S INVESTIGATIONS INTO BARNACLES.

38. i. 54. "[For my part, I haue beene verie desirous to vnderstand the vttermost of the breeding of barnacls, & questioned with diuers persons about the same. I haue red also whatsoeuer is written by forren authors touching the generation of that foule, & sought out some places where I haue beene assured to see great numbers of them: but in vaine. *Wherefore I vtterlie despaired to obteine my purpose, till this present yeare of Grace* 1584, *and moneth of Maie, wherein, going to the court at Greenewich from London by bote, I saw sundrie ships lieng in the Thames newlie come home, either from Barbarie or the Canarie Iles (for I doo not well remember now from which of these places) on whose sides I perceiued an infinit sort of shels to hang so thicke as could be one by another. Drawing neere also, I tooke off ten or twelue of the greatest of them, & afterward hauing opened them, I saw the proportion of a foule in one of them more perfectlie than in all the rest, sauing that the head was not yet formed, bicause the fresh water had killed them all (as I take it) and thereby hindered their perfection.* Certeinelie the feathers of the taile hoong out of the shell at least two inches, the wings (almost perfect touching forme) were garded with two shels or sheeldes proportioned like the selfe wings, and likewise the brestbone had hir couerture also of like shellie substance, and altogither resembling the figure which *Lobell* and *Pena* doo giue foorth in their description of this foule: so that I am now fullie persuaded that it is either the barnacle that is ingendred after one maner in these shels, or some other sea-foule to vs as yet vnknowen. For by the feathers appearing, and forme so apparant, it cannot be denied, but that some bird or other must proceed of this substance, which by falling from the sides of the ships in long voiages, may come to some perfection. But now it is time for me to returne againe vnto my former purpose]."—38. ii. 16.

### 6. A VISIT (? NOT HARRISON'S) TO THE SHETLAND ISLES.

44. i. 6. "From [1]these Shetland Iles, and[1] vntill we come southwards to the Scarre, which lieth in Buquhamnesse, I find no mention of anie Ile situat vpon that coast, neither greatlie from thence, vntill we come at the Forth, that leadeth vp to Sterling, [neither thought we it safetie for vs to search so farre as Thule, whence the most excellent brimstone commeth, & thereto what store of Ilands lie vnder the more northerlie climats, whose secret situations though partlie seene in my time, haue not yet bin perfectlie reueled or discouered by anie, bicause of the great aboundance of huge Ilands of ice that mooueth to and fro vpon their shores, and sundrie perilous gulfes and indraughts of water; and for as much as their knowlege doth not concerne our purpose, wherfore casting about, we came at the last into the Firth or Forth, which some call the Scotish sea,] wherein we passe by seuen or eight [iles[2]] such as they be, of which the first

[1]—[1] the Orchades, 1577. [2] iles *not in either edition.*

called the Maie, the second Baas, and Garwie the third, doo seeme to be inhabited. From these also holding on our course toward England, we passe by another Ile, wherein Faux castell standeth, and this (so far as my skill serueth) is the last Iland of the Scotish side, in compassing whereof I am not able to discerne, whether their flats and shallowes, number of Ilands without name, confusion of situation, lacke of true description, or mine owne ignorance, hath troubled me most. No meruell therefore that I haue beene so oft on ground among them. But most ioifull am I that am come home againe: & although not by the Thames mouth into my natiue citie (which taketh his name of Troie) yet into the English dominion, where good interteinement is much more franke and copious, and better harborough wherein to rest my wearie bones, and refresh at ease our wetherbeaten carcasses.[1]"—p. 44, col. 1, l. 41.

### 7. A CRUISE UP THE THAMES TO LONDON.

44. 2. 33. "Going forward from hence, by the Eston nesse (almost an Iland) I saw a small parcell cut from the maine in Orford hauen, the Langerstone in Orwell mouth, [&] two peeces or Islets at Cattiwade bridge; [and] then casting about vnto the Colne, we beheld Merseie which is a pretie Iland, well furnished with Merseie.
wood. It was sometime a great receptacle for the Danes when they inuaded England; howbeit at this present it hath beside two decaied blockehouses, two parish churches, of which one is called east Merseie, the other west Merseie, and both vnder the archdeacon of Colchester, as parcell of his iurisdiction. Foulenesse Foulnesse.
is an Ile void of wood, and yet well replenished with verie good grasse for neat and sheepe, whereof the inhabitants haue great plentie: there is also a parish church; and albeit that it stand somewhat distant from the shore, yet at a dead low water a man may [(as they saie)] ride thereto if he be skilfull of the causie; [it is vnder the iurisdiction of London. And at this present, master William Tabor, bacheler of diuinitie and archdeacon of Essex, hath it under his iurisdiction & regiment, by the surrender of maister John Walker doctor also of diuinitie, who liued at such time as I first attempted to commit this booke to the impression.]

"In Maldon water are in like sort three Ilands inuironed all with salt streames, as saint Osithes, Northeie, and an- Osithe.
other (after a mersh) that beareth no name so far as I Northeie.
remember. On the right hand also as we went toward the sea againe, we saw Ramseie Ile, or rather a *Peninsula* or Ramseie.
Biland, & likewise the Reie, in which is a chappell of Reie.

[1] my wetherbeaten carkase, 1577. He goes on (ed. 1587) with "The first Iland therefore which commeth to our sight after we passed Berwike, is that which was somtime called Lindesfarne, but now Holi Iland . . . Being therfore past S. Edmunds point, we found a litle Ile . . . I saw a small parcel cut from the maine in Orford hauen" . . .—F.

saint Peter. And then coasting vpon the mouth of the Bourne, we saw the Wallot Ile and his mates, whereof two lie by east Wallot, and the fourth is Foulnesse, except I be deceiued, for here my memorie faileth me on the one side, and information on the other, I meane concerning the placing of Foulenesse. But to proceed. After this, and being entered into the Thames mouth, I find no Iland of anie name, except you accompt Rochford hundred for one, whereof I haue no mind to intreat, more than of Crowland, Mersland, Elie, [Andredeseie in Trent, so called of a church there dedicated to saint Andrew,] and the rest, that are framed by the Ouze, and Auon (two noble riuers hereafter to be described) sith I touch onelie those that are inuironed with the sea or salt water round about, as Canwaie. we may see in the Canwaie Iles, which some [call marshes onelie, and] liken [them][1] to an ipocras bag, some to a vice, scrue, or wide sleeue, bicause they are verie small at the east end, and large at west. The salt rilles also that crosse the same doo so separat the one of them from the other, that they resemble the slope course of the cutting part of a scrue or gimlet, in verie perfect maner, if a man doo imagine himselfe to looke downe from the top of the mast vpon them. Betweene these, moreouer, and the Leigh towne, lieth another litle Ile [or Holme,] whose name is to me vnknowne. Certes I would haue gone to land and viewed these parcels as they laie, [or at the least haue sailed round about them by the whole hauen, which may easilie be doone at an high water:] but for as much as a perrie of wind (scarse comparable to the makerell gale, whereof John Anele of Calis, one of the best seamen that England euer bred for his skill in the narow seas, was woont to talke) caught hold of our sailes, & caried vs forth the right waie toward London, I could not tarie to see what things were hereabouts. Thus much therefore of our Ilands, & so much may well suffice [where more cannot be had]."—p. 45, col. i, l. 29.

### 8. HARRISON'S PRAISE OF THE NOBLE RIVER THAMES.

46. i. 52. "[2] Having in this maner breefelie touched this noble riuer, and such brookes as fall into the same; I will now adde a particular description of each of these last by themselues, whereby their courses also shall be seuerallie described to the satisfaction of the studious. But yer I take the same in hand, I will insert a word or two of the commodities of the said riuer, which I will performe with so much breuitie as is possible. Heereby also finding out his whole tract and course from the head to the fall thereof into the sea. It appeareth euidentlie[2] that the length thereof is at the least, one hundreth and eightie miles, if it be measured by the iourneies of the land. And as it is in course, the longest of the three famous riuers of this Ile, so it is nothing inferiour vnto them in aboundance of all

[1] some doe liken, 1577.

[2—2] Thus we see the whole tract and course of y^e^ Thames, by whose head and fall it is euident—1577.

kind of fish, whereof it is hard to saie, which of the three haue either most plentie, or greatest varietie, if the circumstances be duelie weighed. [What some other write of the riuers of their countries it skilleth not, neither will I (as diuerse doo) inuent strange things of this noble streame, therewith to nobilitate and make it more honorable: but this will I in plaine termes affirme, that it neither swalloweth vp bastards of the Celtish brood, or casteth vp the right begotten that are throwne in without hurt into their mothers lap, as *Politian* fableth of the Rhene, *Epistolarum lib.* 8. *epi.* 6. nor yeeldeth clots of gold as the Tagus dooth: but an infinit plentie of excellent, sweet and pleasant fish, wherewith such as inhabit neere vnto hir bankes are fed and fullie nourished.]

"What should I speake of the fat and sweet sal- Salmons.
mons[1], dailie taken in this streame, and that in such plentie [(after the time of the smelt be past)] as no riuer in *Europa* is able to exceed it. What[2] store also of barbels, trouts, cheuins, pearches, smelts, breames, roches, daces, gudgings, flounders, shrimps,[3] &c: are commonlie to be had therein, I refer me to them that know[4] by experience better than I, by reason of their dailie trade of fishing in the same. And albeit it seemeth from time to time, to be as it were defrauded in sundrie wise of these hir large commodities, by the insatiable auarice of the fishermen, yet this famous riuer complaineth [commonlie] of no want; but the more it looseth at one time, the more it yeeldeth at another. Onelie in carps it seemeth to be scant, sith it is not long since that kind of fish was brought ouer into England, and but of late to speake of into this streame, by the violent rage of sundrie land-flouds, that brake open the heads and dams of diuers gentlemens ponds, by which means it became [somewhat] partaker also of this said commoditie, whereof earst it had no portion that I could euer heare.[5] [Oh that this riuer might be spared but euen one yeare from nets, &c! But alas then should manie a poore man be vndoone. In the meane time it is lamentable to see, how it is and hath beene choked of late with sands and shelues, through the penning and wresting of the course of the water for commodities sake. But as this is an inconuenience easilie remedied, if good order were taken for the redresse thereof: so now, the fine or prise set vpon the ballasse sometime freelie giuen to the merchants by patent, euen vnto the lands end (*Iusques au poinct*) will be another cause of harme vnto this noble streame, and all through an aduantage taken at the want of an *i* in the word *ponct:* which grew through an error committed by an English notarie vnskilfull in the French toong, wherein that patent was granted.]

Carps, a fish late brought into England, and later into the Thames.

[1] In 1809, Priscilla Wakefield says of the Thames at Putney Bridge: "In the spring, smelts are caught here, in great abundance, and *a few salmon;* besides small flounders, shad, roach, dace, barbel, eels and gudgeons."—*Perambulations in London*, p. 428.

[2] but what, 1577.

[3] 1577 adds 'Eles.'

[4] know the same, 1577.

[5] heare of, 1577.

"Furthermore, the said riuer floweth and filleth all his chanels twise in the daie and night, that is, in euerie twelue houres once; and this ebbing & flowing, holdeth on for the space of seauentie miles, within the maine land: the streame or tide being alwaies highest at London, when the moone dooth exactlie touch the north-east and south or west points of the heauens, of which one is visible, the other vnder the earth, and not subiect to our sight. These tides also differ in their times, each one comming latter than other, by so manie minuts as passe yer the reuolution and naturall course of the heauens doo reduce, and bring about, the said planet vnto those hir former places: whereby the common difference betweene one tide and another, is found to consist of twentie foure minuts, which wanteth but twelue of an whole houre in foure and twentie, as experience dooth confirme. [In like sort we see by dailie triall, that each tide is not of equall heigth and greatnesse: for at the full and change of the moone we haue the greatest flouds; and such is their ordinarie course, that as they diminish from their changes and fuls, vnto the first and last quarters; so afterwards they increase againe, vntill they come to the full and change. Sometimes also they rise so high (if the wind be at the north or northeast, which bringeth in the water with more vehemencie, bicause the tide which filleth the chanell, commeth from Scotland ward) that the Thames ouerfloweth hir banks neere vnto London: which hapneth especiallie in the fuls and changes of Ianuarie and Februarie, wherein the lower grounds are of custome soonest drowned.] This order of flowing in like sort[1] is perpetuall, [so that when the moone is vpon the southwest and north of points, then is the water by London at the highest: neither doo the tides alter,] except [2]some rough winds out of the west or southwest doo keepe backe and checke the streame in his entrance, as the east and northeast doo hasten the comming in thereof,[2] or else some other [extraordinarie] occasion, put by the ordinarie course of the northerne seas, which fill the said riuer by their naturall returne and flowing. And that both these doo happen eft[3] among, I refer me to such as haue not sildome obserued it, as also the sensible chopping in of three or foure tides in one naturall daie, wherof the vnskilfull doo descant manie things."—p. 47, col. i. l. 18.

The iust distance between one tide and another.

The streame oft checked in hir entrance into the land.

"[But how so euer these small matters doo fall out, and how often soeuer this course of the streame doth happen to be disturbed; yet at two seuerall times of the age of the moone, the waters returne to their naturall course and limits of time exactlie. *Polydore* saith that this riuer is seldome increased, or rather neuer ouerfloweth hir banks, by landflouds: but he is herein verie much deceiued, as it shalbe more apparantlie seene hereafter. For the more that this

[1] flowing likewise, 1577.

[2]—[2] rough winds doe happen to checke the streame in hir comming, 1577.

[3] ? oft, often (among = at intervals).—F.

riuer is put by of hir right course, the more the water must of necessitie swell with the white waters which run dowe from the land: bicause the passage cannot be so swift and readie in the winding as in the streight course. These landflouds also doo greatlie straine the finesse of the streame, in so much that after a great landfloud you shall take haddocks with your hands beneath the bridge, as they flote aloft vpon the water, whose eies are so blinded with the thicknesse of that element, that they cannot see where to become, and make shift to saue themselues before death take hold of them. Otherwise the water of it selfe is very cleere, and in comparison next vnto that of the sea, which is most subtile and pure of all other; as that of great riuers is most excellent, in comparison of smaller brookes: although *Aristotle* will haue the salt water to be most grosse, bicause a ship will beare a greater burden on the sea than on the fresh water; and an eg sinke in this, that swimmeth on the other. But he may easilie be answered by the quantitie of roome and aboundance of waters in the sea; whereby it becommeth of more force to susteine such vessels as are committed to the same, and whervnto the greatest riuers (God wot) are nothing comparable.] I would here make mention of sundrie bridges placed ouer this noble streame, of which that of London[1] is most chieflie to be commended, for it is [in] maner a continuall street, well replenished with large and statelie houses on both sides, and situat vpon twentie arches, whereof ech one is made of excellent free squared stone, euerie of them being threescore foot in heigth, and full twentie in distance one from another, [as I haue often viewed.]

*London bridge.*

"In like maner I could intreat of the infinit number of swans dailie to be seene vpon this riuer, the two thousand wherries and small boats, wherby three thousand poore watermen are mainteined, through the cariage and recariage of such persons as passe or repasse from time to time vpon the same: beside those huge tide-boats, tiltbotes, and barges, which either carrie pas-

*2000 boates[2] vpon the Thames and 3000 poore men mainteined by the same, whose gaines come in most plentifullie in the tearme time.*

[1] There was betweene *London* and *Southwarke* long time passage by ferrie vntill the Citizens caused a bridge of woode to be erected: after that, in the time of RIC. 2, *anno* 1176, they beganne to build a bridge of stone, which in the time of king JOHN they most artificially finished, *anno* 1209, contriuing it of 20 arches, and in the midst a drawe bridge, and vppon the same bridge on either side, the houses so artificially combined, that the whole bridge seemeth not onely a mayne and faire streete, but men seeme to pass vnder a continuall roofe: the bridge is in height 60 foote, in bredth 30 foote, the arches are in sunder 20 foote: there are, vnder the north arch of this bridge, most artificially erected, certain wheeles or tide myles, which rise and fall according to the ebs and flouds, and they raise the water [brackish, partly salt?] by pypes and counductes so high that it serueth such citizens houses in all places of *London*, as will bestow charge towarde the conducting thereof: The buildings vppon this bridge, on either side, were consumed with fire anno 1208 [but rebuilt].—1596. Jn. Norden, *Discription of Middlesex*, p. 35, ed. 1723.

[2] wherries, 1577.

sengers, or bring necessarie prouision from all quarters of Oxfordshire, Barkeshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Herfordshire, Midlesex, Essex, Surrie, and Kent, vnto the citie of London. But for somuch as these things are to be repeated againe in the particular description of London, annexed to his[1] card, I surceasse at this time to speake anie more of them [2] here, as not lingering but hasting to performe my promise made euen now, not yet forgotten, and in performance whereof I thinke it best to resume the description of this noble riuer againe into my hands, and in adding whatsoeuer is before omitted, to deliuer a full and perfect demonstration of his course".[2]—p. 47, col. i. l. 19.

## 9. HARRISON ON HIS OWN PARISH, RADWINTER, ESSEX.

Gwin or Pant.

106. i. 40. "There is a pretie water that beginneth neere vnto Gwinbach or Winbeche church in Essex, [3] [a towne of old, and yet belonging to the Fitzwaters, taking name of Gwin, which is beautifull or faire, & Bache that signifieth a wood: and not without cause, sith not onelie the hilles on ech side of the said rillet, but all the whole paroch hath sometime abounded in woods; but now in manner they are vtterlie decaied, as the like commoditie is euerie where,[4] not onelie thorough excessiue building for pleasure more than profit, which is contrarie to the ancient end of building; but also for more increase of pasture & commoditie to the lords of the soile, through their sales of that emolument, whereby the poore tenants are inforced to buie their fewell, and yet haue their rents in triple maner inhanced. This said brooke[3]] runneth directlie from thence vnto Radwinter, [now] a parcell of your lordships[5] possessions in those parts, [6] descended from the Chamberleins, who were sometime cheefe owners of the same.[6] By the waie also it is increased with sundrie pretie springs, of which Pantwell is the cheefe [(whereof some thinke the whole brooke to be named Pant)] and [which] (to saie the truth) hath manie a leasing fathered on the same. [Certes by the report of common fame it hath beene a pretie water, and of such quantitie, that botes haue come in time past from Bilie abbeie beside Maldon vnto the moores in Radwinter for corne. I haue heard also that an anchor was found there neere to a red willow, when the water-courses by act of parlement were surueied and reformed throughout England, which maketh not a little with the aforesaid relation. But this is strangest of all, that a lord sometime of Winbech (surnamed the great eater, because he would breake his fast with a whole calfe, and find no bones therein, as the fable goeth) falling at contention with the lord John of Radwinter, could worke him none other iniurie, but by stopping vp the head of Pantwell, to

[1] Master Sackford's, I suppose.—F.

[2—2] as also of the ryuer it self, wherefore let thys suffyse, 1577.

[3—3] (the very limits of Dunmow Deanery) which, 1577.

[4] See p. xxvi, above.—F. [5] Lord Cobham's: see p. vi and xii.—F.

[6—6] and within three quarters of a mile of the aforesaid church, 1577.

put by the vse of a mill which stood by the church of Radwinter, and was serued by that brooke abundantlie. Certes I know the place where the mill stood, and some posts thereof do yet remaine. But see the malice of mankind, whereby one becommeth a woolfe vnto the other in their mischeeuous moodes. For when the lord saw his mill to be so spoiled, he in reuenge of his losse, brake the necke of his aduersarie, when he was going to horsebacke, as the constant report affirmeth. For the lord of Radwinter holding a parcell of his manour of Radwinter hall of the Fitzwaters, his sonne was to hold his stirrop at certeine times when he should demand the same. Shewing himselfe therefore prest on a time to doo his said seruice, as the Fitzwater was readie to lift his leg ouer the saddle, he by putting backe his foot, gaue him such a thrust that he fell backward, and brake his necke: wherevpon insued great trouble, till the matter was taken vp by publike authoritie; and that seruile office conuerted into a pound of pepper, which is truelie paid to this daie. But to leaue these impertinent discourses, and returne againe to the springs whereby our Pant or Gwin is increased.] There is likewise another in a pasture belonging to the Grange, now [1] in possession of William Bird esquier, who holdeth the same in the right of his wife, but in time past belonging to Tilteie abbeie.[1] The third commeth out of the yard of one of your lordships manors there, called Radwinter hall. The fourth from John Cockswets house, named the Rotherwell, which running vnder Rothers bridge, meeteth with the Gwin [or Pant] on the northwest end of Ferrants meade, southeast of Radwinter church, whereof I haue the charge by your honours fauourable preferment.

"[I might take occasion to speake of another rill which falleth into the Rother from Bendish hall: but bicause it is for the most part drie in summer, I passe it ouer. Yet I will not omit to speake also of the manor which was the chiefe lordship sometime of a parish or hamlet called Bendishes, now worne out of knowledge, and vnited partlie to Radwinter, and partlie to Ashdon. It belonged first to the Bendishes, gentlemen of a verie ancient house yet extant, of which one laieng the said manour to morgage to the moonks of Feuersham, at such time as K. Edward the third went to the siege of Calis, thereby to furnish himselfe the better toward the seruice of his prince, it came to passe that he staied longer beyond the sea than he supposed. Wherevpon he came before his daie to confer with his creditors, who commending his care to come out of debt, willed him in friendlie maner not to suspect anie hard dealing on their behalfes, considering his businesse in seruice of the king was of it selfe cause sufficient, to excuse his delaie of paiment vpon the daie assigned. Herevpon he went ouer againe vnto the siege of Calis. But when the day came, the moonks, for all this, made seisure of the manour, and held it continuallie without anie further

[1]—[1] belonging to Henry Browne esquier, soiournyng therevpon, 1577.

recompense, maugre all the friendship that the aforsaid Bendish could make. The said gentleman also tooke this cousening part in such choler, that he wrote a note yet to be seene among his euidences, whereby he admonisheth his posteritie to beware how they trust either knaue moonke or knaue frier, as one of the name, and descended from him by lineall descent, hath more than once informed me. Now to resume our springs that meet and ioine with our Pant]."

§ 7. The first edition of Holinshed's *Chronicle* was a success, and deservedly so. A second edition was calld for, and the proprietors resolvd to enlarge and continue it. In doing so, they spoilt it; for, though they added a great deal of relevant matter by Stowe[1], Hooker, &c., they let Francis Thynne especially pitchfork in a shoal of irrelevant bits of pedigrees, biographies, &c., which had no right in such a book, except perhaps as appendixes. As I've said in my Forewords to Thynne's *Animadversions*, p. lxv:—

"When he came on a High Constable, Cardinal, Archbishop, Duke, in *Holinshed*, or Stow's or Hooker's *Continuation*, he evidently said, 'Happy thought, let's have a list of *all* English Cardinals, Archbishops, Dukes, &c.,' and accordingly collected the lists, and stuck them into the History, or narrative, over and over again, whisking the reader off, at a moment's notice, from the middle of Elizabeth's reign (say) to Edward the Confessor, or William the Conqueror, and then running him gently down a list of Archbishops, say, for sixty odd folio pages, till he landed him in Elizabeth again."

Well, Harrison had to enlarge his *Description of England*, and he did so.[2] His additions comprise many excellent and characteristic bits—see, for instance, the tailor and beard passage on p. 169-70,—yet one must own that a good deal of unnecessary padding was also put in, as most of that unlucky chapter 21, "Of Waters generallie," p. 332-6, already notist. Still, in reprinting the book[3], neither Mr Viles nor I hesitated for a moment in the resolve to print the second and revisd edition, and mark by square brackets [ ] the

[1] "The other seuen [traitors in Babington's conspiracy] were likewise executed on the 21 of September [1586] . . . as I haue more at large set downe in *Reign Wolfs* and *Holinsheds* chronicle [the 2nd ed. of 1587]."—J. Stowe, *Annales*, ed. 1605, p. 1220.

[2] See at the end of these Forewords (p. xliv) Mr Viles's Comparative Table of the contents of Book I. in the two editions.

[3] By an oversight, this Reprint was set in narrow lines like the Early English Text Society's books, instead of in the longer lines of the New Shakspere Society's prose Texts. Neither the printer nor I discoverd the mistake till too late to set it right. It increases the cost of the book, but leaves a larger margin to write notes on.

parts added in it; and by footnotes the parts alterd or left out. The reader will thus have before him in the present volume (when completed by Part II.) the whole of both editions of Books II. and III. *The Description of England*, as well as extracts from Book I. *The Description of Britaine.*

§ 8. As my main object in reprinting this *Harrison* for the New Shakspere Society, is, to enable our Members to realize to themselves the England of Shakspere's time, and as the book has very little about London in it, I thought that a copy of Norden's Map of London[1] in 1593, engravd by Van den Keere, would be a most welcome addition to this volume. The original Map, in the old surveyor John Norden's "*Specvlvm Britanniæ.* The first Parte. An historicall & chorographicall discription of Middlesex,[2] . . . 1593," is somewhat indistinct. I tried hard to persuade our member Mr Halliwell to let me have, for the Society, a stereotype from his lately-made cut of it; but as he, to my astonishment, very firmly refus'd, I got Mr Stephen Thompson to photograph the British Museum copy of the Map as large as his lens could do it; and Mr W. H. Hooper has cut it on the wood it was photographt on to, so that its accuracy is as great as can be attaind.[3] Our map is thus bigger and more easy to work with, than Mr Halliwell's. By its aid we can see how Shakspere rode into London through New Gate by the Acton and Holborn road; how he walkt up, thro' Bishops Gate, to Burbage's "The Theatre" (near the site of the present Standard Theatre at Shoreditch), where no doubt he was first employd (? 1586); how he got, across London's one bridge,

[1] "Leur capitalle ville s'appelle Londres en Francoys, en Angloys *London*, qui est une fort belle ville, & excellente, & apres Paris l'une des plus belle, grande & riche, de tout le monde. Et ne fault parler de Lisbonne, ville capitale & metropolitaine de Portugal, ny d'Anvers, ny de Pampelune, ville de Navarre, ny de Bourgues en Hespaigne, ny Naples, ny autres, ny en grandeur ny en richesses: car premierement, la ville est riche en grosserie de mer, draps, laines, pescheries; & il y a un des [plus] beau pont qu'il soyt au monde."—1558. Estienne Perlin, *Description des Royaulmes d'Angleterre et d'Escosse*, p. 6, repr. 1775.

[2] The author's original MS. of it, without the Map, is Harleian 570.

[3] As our page just takes in the height of the Map itself, I've had the list of references to the Map-letters and numbers, shifted from the foot of the Map, where they are in the original, to each side. The list is repeated on each side for convenience' sake. As too it seemd a great pity that a Map so interesting to Shakspere students, dwellers in London, and folk in general, should be confind to our Members, I have got the proprietors of *The Graphic* to buy an electrotype of our cut, in order that the Map may be printed in one of the sixpenny numbers of that popular journal, and thus be within the reach of everybody who cares to have it.

to The Globe (built A.D. 1599)[1] on Bankside,[2] or later in his career, past St Paul's (No. 11) to Blackfriars (after 1603), when he was part-taker of the profits of both houses. Shakspere's London! What crowds of memories the phrase, the map, raises! But each of us can make his picture for himself.[3] I need only say that I hope to give in Part II, Norden's Map of Westminster and the Strand, the street-view of either Edward VI's (1547), or Marie de Medicis's (1638) procession[4]—wonderfully interesting they both are—and also one or two Maps of Shakspere's probable routes to London[5], com-

[1] Therefore not in a 1593 map. Unluckily too 'The Theatre' is outside the limits of this map. But Lord Southampton's Chancery-Lane House must be near *l*, and Shakspere's publishers in St Paul's Churchyard, near No. 11.

[2] On the light-taylde huswives who in 1600 "unto the Banke-sides round-house [? the Globe] fling, in open sight, themselves to show and vaunt," see John Lane, in my Tell-Troth volume, p. 133, and the Notes on him.

[3] Still, we sadly want a good book on it. The late Mr Thornbury's is too talky, doesn't give authorities enough, and is not comprehensive enough either. We want a man of more research, knowledge, and accuracy, to write the book.

[4] This most interesting engraving of a bit of London near Shakspere's time that I've seen, is in Nichols's reprint, 1775, of the Sieur de la Serre's account of the entry into London of the Mother of Charles I's Queen in 1638. It gives a large bit of Cheapside, from before Wood St to past Milk St, with the procession in the foreground, and the Cross and Standard, and shows admirably the old houses, with each story projecting over the lower, the windows filld with citizens, their usually open shops below, boarded up and coverd with hangings, the shop-signs sticking out on poles from the first floor. Nichols says, p. 31 n., that this and the [engraving from the burnt] picture at Cowdry of the procession of Edw. VI through the City on the day before his coronation, are the only views left of old London before the fire (excepting Wyngrerde's, Smith's (Sloane MS. 2596), and Braun's, with Aggas's map, &c.).

[5] Harrison gives the stages of only the Oxford-London part of one of Shakspere's two roads to London, p. 248, col. i., ed. 1587 :—

| | |
|---|---|
| "From London to Uxbridge or Colbrooke | 15. mile[s] |
| From Uxbridge to Baccansfield* | 7. miles |
| From Baccansfield to east Wickham † | 5. miles |
| From Wickham to Stocking church | 5. miles |
| From Stocking church to Thetisford ‡ | 5. miles |
| From Thetisford to Whatleie § | 6. miles |
| From Whatleie to Oxford | 4. miles " |

Ogilby gives the whole other road to Stratford, through Uxbridge, Chalfont, Amersham, Great Missenden, Wendover, Aylesbury, East Claydon, Buckingham, Shroughton, Banbury, Drayton (over Edge Hill), Nether Pillerton, and Upper Eatington.

Mr Wheatley, who has lately walkt the Stratford-Oxford bit—over Clopton's Bridge, thro' Shipston, Long Compton, and Woodstock,—says the road is very

* Beaconsfield. † East or High Wycombe (or Chipping (Market) Wycombe).
‡ Tetsford. § Wheatley.

pil'd from Norden's maps, Ogilby's Roads, &c. Mr Halliwell will, I hope, soon produce his monograph on these routes, for which he says he has many very interesting details and drawings. Meantime, our friend and member Mr Henry B. Wheatley, long a student of London ancient and modern, has kindly drawn up the "Notes on Norden's Map of London, 1593," which form the Third Appendix to these Forewords. The Second contains some interesting extracts about English folk from Hentzner, Estienne Perlin, and Mr Brenchley Rye's authorities in his *England as seen by Foreigners in the days of Queen Elizabeth*, a book that all our Members should buy.

§ 9. The pleasant duty remains of thanking my helpers in this book: Mr Viles, who was to have edited it with me when its publication was first resolvd on for the Early English Text Society, who lent his copy of the first edition of 1577 for collation with my second of (1586 or) 1587, and who drew up the Comparative Table of Book I., p. xliv;—Mr W. M. Gibbs for making that collation, and Miss L. Toulmin Smith for verifying it; Dr R. C. A. Prior (author of the admirable *Popular Names of British Plants*, 2nd ed. 1870), for his notes on the names of trees and plants; Colonel Chester, for his will of Harrison, &c.; Mr Rye for letting me quote his translations; the Dean of Windsor and Doctor Scott; Mr Hooper, for the trouble he has taken about Norden's map, and Mr H. B. Wheatley for his comment on it.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

3 *St, George's Square, Primrose Hill, London, N.W.*, 13 *July*, 1876.

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P.S. If any readers can send me Notes and illustrative extracts for *Harrison*, I hope they will. When our Shakspere's-England Series is complete, or has a fairly long set of books in it, I hope some Members 'll volunteer to make an Index to the whole, like that most useful one to all the Parker Society's books. We could have a volume of Notes to the whole too. Meantime each book 'll be indext separately.

pretty. So is all the Wycombe and Beaconsfield part, which I've known from boyhood, my uncle having livd near Wycombe, and then at Finchers near Missenden and Amersham.

## Comparative Table of the Chapters of Book I. in the two editions of Harrison's *Description of Britaine* (by Ed. VILES).

| Ed. 1577. (Heads of Chapters.) CHAP. | LINES | Ed. 1586 or 1587. (The Table.) CHAP. | LINES |
|---|---|---|---|
| I. Of the scituation and quantitie of the Isle of Britayne. | 100 | 1. *Of the diuison of the whole earth.* | 160 |
| | | 2. Of the position, circuit, forme, and quantitie of the Ile of Britaine. | 130 |
| II. Of the auncient names of this Islande. | 228 | 3. Of the ancient denominations of this Iland. | 300 |
| III. What sundry Nations haue inhabited in this Islande. | 200 | 4. What sundrie nations haue dwelled in Albion. | 440 |
| IV. Whether it be likely that there were euer any Gyaunts inhabiting in this Isle or not. | 345 | 5. Whether it be likelie that anie giants were, and whether they inhabited in this Ile or not. | 675 |
| V. Of the generall Language vsed from time to time in Britaine. | 180 | 6. Of the languages spoken in this Iland. | 312 |
| VI. Into how many Kingdomes the Isle of Britaine hath bene deuided at once in olde time. | 340 | 7. Into how manie kingdoms this Iland hath beene diuided. | 450 |
| | | 8. *The names of such kings and princes as haue reigned in this Iland.* | 300 |
| VII. Of the auncient Religion vsed in this Islande from the comming of Samothes vnto the conuersion of the same vnto the faith of Christ. | 1000 | 9. Of the ancient religion used in Albion. | 1500 |
| VIII. Of the number and names of such salt Islands as lye dispersed rounde about vppon the coast of Brytaine. | 1700 | 10. Of such Ilands as are to be seene upon the coasts of Britaine. | 2325 |
| | | 11. *Of riuers, and first of the Thames and such riuers as fall into it.* | 1150 |
| IX. Of the rysing and falles of such ryvers and streames, as descende into the sea without alteration of their names, and first of those that lye betweene the Thames and the Saverne. | 1650 | 12. Of such streames as fall into the Sea, betweene the Thames and the mouth of Sauerne. | 2325 |
| X. Of the Saverne streame, and such falles of ryuers us go into the Sea, betweene it and the Humber. | 1300 | 13. The description of the Sauerne and such waters as discharge themselves into the same. | 530 |
| XI. Of such Riuers as fall into the Sea betweene Humber to the Thames. [See chap. 16 opp.] | 1100 | 14. Of such waters as fall into the sea in compasse of the Iland, betweene the Sauerne and the Humber. | 3075 |
| XII. Of the foure hyhe wayes sometyme made in Brytaine, by the Princes of this Laude. [See ch. 19, p. xlv.]† | 260 | 15. *The description of the Humber or Isis, and such water-courses as doo increase hir chanell.* | 1080 |
| | | 16. Of such fals of waters as ioine with the sea betweene Humber and the Thames. | 1200 |

| Chap. | Ed. 1577. | Lines | Chap. | Ed. 1586 or 1587. | Lines |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 17. | *Of such ports and creeks as our sea-faring men doo note for their benefit vpon the coasts of England.* | 100 |
| XIII. | Of the ayre and soyle of Britaine. | 360 | 18. | Of the aire soile, and commodities of this Iland. | 525 |
| | | | 19.† | Of the foure high waies sometime made in Britaine by the princes of this Iland. | 300 |
| XIV. | Of the generall constitution of the bodyes of the Brytaines. | 120 | 20. | Of the generall constitution of the bodies of the Britons. | 240 |
| XV. | How Britayne grew at the first to be deuided into three portions. | 120 | 21. | How Britaine at the first grew to be diuided into three portions. | 115 |
| XVI. | That notwithstanding the former diuision made by Brute vnto his children the souereigntie of the whole Islande remained still to the prince of Lhoegres and his posteritie after him. | 1800 | 22. | After what manner the soue-reigntie of this Ile dooth remaine to the princes of Lhoegres or kings of England. | 260 |
| XVII. | Of the wall sometime buylded for a particion betweene Englande and the Pictes. | 130 | 23. | Of the wall sometime builded for a partition betweene England and the Picts and Scots. | 150 |
| | | | 24. | *Of the maruels of England* (ch. 18, bk. II. 1577) | 380 |
| | Total lines | 10,933 | | Total lines | 18,022 |

In Ed. 1577, bk. I. comprises 17 chaps. or 10,933 lines.
,, ,, 1586, ,, ,, ,, 24 ,, 18,022 ,,

*Harrison*, p. 300, 305, 343, 242. Massinger, in his *Guardian*, II. iv, gives his list of enemies to the commonwealth in 1633. Severino's articles for the Banditti are :—

> The *cormorant* that lives in expectation
> Of a long wisht-for dearth, and, *smiling, grinds*
> *The faces of the poor*, you may make spoil of ;
> Even theft to such is justice . . . .
> The grand *encloser of the commons*, for
> His private profit or delight, with all
> His herds that graze upon 't, are lawful prize . . .
> . . . . . If a *usurer*,
> Greedy, at his own price, to make a purchase,
> Taking advantage upon bond or mortgage
> From a prodigal, pass through our territories,
> In the way of custom, or of tribute to us,
> You may ease him of his burthen . . .
> *Builders of iron-mills*, that grub up forests,
> With timber trees for shipping . . .
> The *owners of dark shops*, that vent their wares
> With perjuries ; *cheating vintners*, not contented
> With half in half in their reckonings, yet cry out,
> When they find their guests want coin, "'Tis late, and bed-time" :
> These ransack at your pleasures.

On the other men, those to be left untoucht, he says :—

> . . . . . *scholars*,
> Whose wealth lies in their heads, and not their pockets ;
> *Soldiers* that have bled in their country's service ;
> The rent-rackt *farmer*, needy *market-folks ;*
> The sweaty *labourer*, *carriers* that transport
> The goods of other men, are privilegd . . .

APPENDIX I.

## HARRISON'S *CHRONOLOGY* EXTRACTS.

APPENDIX II.

## HENTZNER EXTRACTS, &c.

APPENDIX III.

## MR WHEATLEY'S NOTES

## ON NORDEN'S MAP OF LONDON, 1593.

# APPENDIX I.

## EXTRACTS FROM HARRISON'S *CHRONOLOGIE.*

THE titles to vol. ii, iii, or Parts II, III, referrd to on p. v, note 1, are,

Vol. ii, or Part II : "**The hexameron or worke done in those sixe daies** wherein the worlde was created & furnished, by the worde of the Lorde / vnto *whi*ch I adde the first Sabaoth as the vij$^{th}$."

Vol. iii or Part *III* : "**The third part of this Chronologie Conteining a iust periode** of time, bitwene the birth of Christ o*ur* saviour, & manifest apparauns of the man of sinne, who beganne to showe himself about the conquest of England by the Normans, having thetherto shrowded himself as a foxe, in secrete ; but from thensforth appearing in his colours, he practizeth to bring all thing*es* vnder his subiection, not onely by craft and crueltie, but now & then with more then Pharaonicall tyrranny, as shalbe sene in the next volume / Of this coming of o*ur* Savio*ur* Christ, Seneca sometime said thus : '*pro*crebuerat oriente toto vetus & constans opinio esse in fatis, vt eo tempore a Judea profecti rerum summa potierentur,' wherein he yeldeth to the time, althoughe he halt in the matter secured by the Jewes."

The heading opposite the first leaf of vol. iv, or Part IV of Harrison's *Chronology*, is, "**The fourth and last part of the Chronology, Conteining** the periode of time from the co*m*ming of the Normans vnto the yere of expectation, which is of grace 1588. expired, wherin the age of the world Ronnneth all by fire, And whereof I finde these verses written in older times, & brought to light by Joh*ann*es Regiomo*n*tanus :

'Post mille expletos a partu virginis Annos,
Et post quingentos rursus ab orbe datos,
Octuagesimus octavus, mirabilis annus
Ingruit ; is secu*m* tristia fata trahet,
Si non hoc anno totus malus occidit orbis,
Si non in nihilu*m* terra fretu*mque* ruant,
Cuncta tamen mundi sursu*m* ibant atq*ue* deorsu*m*
Imperia, et Luctus undiq*ue* grandis erit.'

Or thus out of Cip. Leovitius :

'Mille Salutis agat quingentos mundus et annos
Octavus decies, bisque quaternus eat,
Et tibi vel mundi ruitura notabitur ætas,
Omnia vel miris cladibus acta cadent.'"

See the first set of lines in my note 2, p. 151, of *The New Shakspere Society's Transactions*, 1875-6, on this dangerous year, 1588, when most terrible events were to happen, even if the world wasn't to come to an end. But, as Gabriel Harvey said, "The wonder was, no wonder fell that yere."

From the *Chronologie* I take a few extracts[1] as to home matters, leaving the larger ones of the world's history for the Camden Society to print, if it will :—

*Glanville, Langland.*

1370. **Diuers** Lerned English men do flourish in these daies, as Jhon Stafford . . . Bartholomew Glandevil also, of the race of *the* dukes of Suffolke, writeth his boke 'de proprietatibus rerum,' 'de rerum accidentibus, de sanctis de mundo et cœlestibus,' his 'postelles' & his 'sermons;' Robert Langland also, & William Rede the profound astronomer & bishop of Chichester do also live & write; & with them Jhon Killingworth & Simon Bredon, very skilfull men in the mathematicalles, & sometime fellowes of Merton[2] College in Oxford with William Rede, as were also Philip Repingdoune & Jhon Ashedon. . . .

*Chaucer.*

1401. **Geffray** Chaucer esquire, & the most excellent poete of his time, writeth his epistle of Cupide,[3] & sone after endeth his life. How well he was beloued of king Richard, the gift of his pension of 20li & a tonne of wine to be chosen for him yerely during his life by the kinges cheef butler, anno 22, onely in respect of his lerning and poesies, do esily declare. King Henry the 4th added hereunto 40 markes in the first of his reigne. Vnto Jhon Gower, the said Henry also gaue two pipes of wine & 20li yerely during his life, not only in consideration of his lerned trauaill in poetry, but also of his profound skill in musike; & euen so had Jhon Harding the Chronicler, 20li yerely during [the] life of Henry the 6 / & so moche also of his successor Ed. 4. . . . (Stowe's *Annals*, 1605, p. 527-8.)

[1] I put capitals to the proper names, &c. of the MS.

[2] See p. xi, note 3. This again looks as if Harrison was at Merton. Where else could he have had Rede's 'Collections'?

[3] The poem extant with this title, isn't Chaucer's. 1401 should be 1400.

*Anne Boleyn.*

1531. **King** Henry marieth *the* Lady Anne Bollein vpon the 14 of November, *whi*ch Lady liued *wi*th him in a daungerous season, having Quene Catherine & her frende*s*, her p*re*decessor, her deadly enemies, the clergy her extreme aduersaries, because of her relligion, for she was a Lutherane, & finally *the* most p*ar*te of the nobility her foes, because they could not digest of *the* diuorse of y^e^ king from his first wife, & therfore no m*er*ueill *that* she came to a violent end. he *that* penned *the* act of her atteindure ware a shaven crowne, & therfore no m*er*ueill *that* it was so odious & virulent, as was also her exemptio*n*, p*er*formed by a butcherly miser. . . .

1532. **Vpon** the first of June, being sondaie (or whit sondaie) *the* king of England causeth his wife quene Anne to be solemnely crowned at London, to *the* great displeasure of *the* clergy, who feared *the* ouerthrow of their whole relligion by her meanes, because she was altogether geuen to the reading & stodie of *the* scriptures & soche treatizes as Luther, Oecolampadius, Zwinglius had set furth. it is left in certaine & sound record *that* her almes, *wi*thin *the* space of 9 monethes, amounted to 15000^li^ sterling, so gretly was she bent to *the* succo*ur* & releef of *the* pore, & soche as were in trouble for *the* Gospell . . . . (*Stowe*, ed. 1605, p. 953-7.)

*Harrison's birth.*

1534. **The** Author of this boke is borne, vpon *the* 18 of Aprill, hora 11, minut 4, Secunde 56, at London, in Cordwainer streete, otherwise called 'bowe lane' in *the* [*crosst thro'*: house next to *the* holly lambe toward chepeside in *the*] p*ar*ish of St Thomas the Apostle.

**King** Henry 8 polleth his hed; after whom, his household & nobility, *wi*th *the* rest of his subiect*es* do *the* like, in this 9^th^ Jubile *whi*ch is holden also at this season / . . . .

*Anne Boleyn at the Tower.*

1535. Anne, quene of England, is accused, condemned, & executed, *wi*thin *the* space of 14 daies, her executio*n* being performed vpon *the* 19 of maie, & *the* king mourning for her in white / ere long also he mariethe the Lady Jane, daughter to Sir Jhon Seymour knight, & one of her maides, by whome he had issue, prince Edward *that* succeded him in *the* kingdome. When Quene Anne came first p*ri*soner to *the* towre, she was brought thether by *the* duke of Norffolke, who delt very roughely *wi*th her, in so moche *that* when she came out of her barge, to take *the* land, & loked after her, who should take vp her traine (*whi*ch service no body

tendered) & therfore was moued to staie, *that* she might take it vp her self, he called to her, & bad her come awaie, wishing *that* she had neuer bene borne, with other speche vttered in *the* grosest maner, & then went furth vnto *the* bridge, where she staied againe, & with sigheing teares said thus vnto *the* duke: 'hether I came ones, my Lord, to fetche a crowne imperiall; but now, to receaue, I hope, a crowne immortall. *The* Lord forgeue *the* causers of my ruine; for in truth it is my gaine, thoughe to the world it maie seeme to be my hinderauns; & howsoeuer you Judge of me, my Lord, yet shall I die your lawfull quene, & true spouse vnto *the* king my husband.' . . . .

*English Bible. Parish Registers.*

1537. **The** great english bible is printed & finished in Paris, notwithstanding *that the* frenche king did hinder it to his powre, confiscating 2500 of them, to *the* gret losse of soche as bare *the* charges . . . .

**Commaundement** is geuen thorow out *the* Land *that* euery parishe churche shall haue a register booke wherin *the* names of soche as are baptized, maried, & buried, shalbe registered. & sone after *the* Abbay of S^t^ Augustine in Cauntorbury is suppressed, & *the* priory of Christeschurche there also, where the commissioners found his [St Augustine's] bones & scull, which were burned by the commaundement of *the* Lord Cromwell in *the* same Churche, & *the* monkes inforced to chaunge their habites, or els to departe from thens / . . . .

**The** great Englishe Bible is presented to king Henry *the* 8, who authorizeth *the* same to be redde of all his subiectes. sone after, another translation is rendered vnto him by the Lerned Coverdale, with desire also *that* it might be published; wherupon *the* king committed it to *the* perusall of diuers bishops, who, making no hast withall, kept it so long in their handes, till *the* king being put in minde thereof, called for the booke, & then demaunding how they liked thereof, whether there were any faultes escaped, or heresie conteined, therin, they answered *that* their were many faultes escaped therin. 'Yea,' quoth the king, 'I am informed alredy *that* the printer hath not done his duety; but is there any heresie in it?' 'No, & it maie like your grace,' said they. 'Then let it goe abroade in Goddes name,' said *the* king, 'for our people haue nede of many soche bokes; & one translation maie proue an helpe vnto another, where cometeries be wanting.' thus *the* bishops justified *that* which they hated, & were authors of *the* publication of *that* which they themselues misliked; but in mine opinion I am perswaded *that* they did neuer peruse it. / . . . . .

*Pronunciation of Greek.*

1541. **Great** trouble in *the* Vniu*er*sities of England about *the* pronunciati*on* of *the* Greke toung. m^r^ Will*iam* Cecill, afterward Sir Will*iam* Cecill & lord highe Threasurer of England, m^r^ Jhon Cheke, afterward S*ir* Jhon Cheke, & m^r^ Thomas Smithe, afterward S*ir* Thomas Smithe, & other of *the* lerned sort, mainteining *the* new pronunciati*on* vsed by Erasmus, as the most auncient, easie, & familier, to attaine vnto the true writing or orthographie of *that* language. against these, Doctor Stephen Gardiner, then bishop of Winchester & chancello*ur* of *the* vniu*er*sity of Camebridge, opposeth himself,—a ma*n* not greatly seene in *that* tounge,—&, vpon complaint made by the oldest sort of studente*s*, in defence of *the* old pronunciac*i*on, imprisoneth, expelleth, disgradeth, & ponisheth *the* studente*s* there, very greuously, till order was taken wherby, vnto o*ur* times, the new pronunciation was not onely p*er*mitted, but in time so allowed of, *that* *the* old is not now so moche as scasely knowe*n* nor hard of in any of them bothe. D*octor* Camus, *the* phisicien, semeth not to like of this chaunge, in his description of Cambridge, when, in reproche, he calleth S*ir* Jhon Cheke 'Cecu*m* ludimagistru*m*', & S*ir* Thomas Smithe 'insanu*m* consiliaru*m*' &c. alas, a pore revenge to procede from soche a clerke as he; see 1550 for soche another brall in Fraunce. . . . [*I don't see any such entry.*]

*Harrison at St Paul's School.*

1544. **Vpon** the 18 of October, the Letany in thenglish toung is, by the king*es* com*m*aundement, song openly in Pawles at London; & com*m*aundeme*n*t geue*n* *that* it should be song in the same toung thorow out all England. it was vsed in London, in some p*ar*ish church, eue*n* sithens June in *the* yere expired; & *the* children of Pawles schole, whereof I was one at *that* time[1], inforced to buy those book*es*, wherw*ith* we went in generall procession, as it was then appointed, before *the* king went to Bullen [Boulogne]. (Stowe's *Annals*, 1605, p. 988.)

*Brothels put down.*

1545. **The** Stewes & publike bordell houses about London & in other places of England, are abolished, & so continue vntill *the* time of Quene Mary; in whose daies, some of *the* Clergy made labour to haue them

[1] As Cordwainer St is so near St Paul's School, and Harrison in 1544 was only 10 or 11, he may well have been at this school before going to Westminster. But Mr Lupton of St Paul's School warns me that Harrison may refer to the school of the Cathedral, which was older than, and different from, the present 'St Paul's School' founded in 1512-18 (Carlisle).

restored againe ; & were very likely to haue obteined their sute if she had liued a while longer ; soche trees, soche frute : ' for *the* stewes,' saith one of them in a sermon made at Paules crosss, ' are so necessary in a com*on* welth, as a iaxe in a mannes house :' his name I spare, sith it shall suffice *that* it beginneth w*i*th *the* same letter *that* papa dothe / . . .[1]

*Priests' Children.*

1550. **Priestes** Children are made legittimate by acte of p*ar*liament in England, w*hi*ch were neu*er* found illegittimate by any the like authority ; but this Act was repealed by generall word*es* in the time of Quene Mary, & is not as yeat revived ; nether is it gretly necessary, sithe we in o*ur* time do refuse to be anointed & shaven preest*es*, as these were whose mariages onely are inhibited by the pope ; moreou*er* it is no necessary sute in o*ur* daies that o*ur* children should be made legittimate by mannes law, who, by the law of God, are so lawfull as those of other men of any other vocation ; besides this, eue*n* by the pontificall Canons wee are reputed but for Laie me*n* ; & why should we then sew as the popes clerk*es*, to have o*ur* children no bastard*es*. [See *Forewords*, p. xiii.]

*A Sacrilegious Sow. Protestant Oysterboards.*

1552. Vpon the 23 of August, *the* highe altar of Christ*es* churche in Oxforde was trimly decked vp after *the* popish maner ; & about the middest of eue*n*song, a sow cometh into *the* quire, & pulled all to the ground ; for w*hi*ch heinous fact, it is said that she was afterward behedded ; but to that I am not p*ri*uie. It is a world to see also, how redy the Catholikes were to cast the communion tables out of their churches, w*hi*ch in derision they called ' Oysterbord*es*,' & to set vp altars wher*on* to saie masse. & no lesse busie were our clergy & lawyers, of their owne motion, & w*i*thout law, to blot *the* title of supremacy out of her maj*esti*es stile ; whereat some of them in o*ur* time can take advauntage to their owne benefite, as nothing that was done being of force wherin *the* title was so altered, or before it was remoued by authority of *the* p*ar*liam*en*t &c./ . . .

*Sleidan. Harrison's opinion of Surius, &c.*

1555. **Ihon** Sleidane, the lerned historiographer, made an end of his

[1] Under 1545 Harrison says, "In this yere also good fridaie fell on St Georges daie, & I do well remember it."

Under 1552, when entering the Three great Marriages, in June, of the Duke of Suffolk's three daughters : Lady Jane Grey to Lord Guildford Dudley ; Lady Catherine Grey, her sister, to Lord Herbert ; and Lady — Grey, the youngest sister, to Lord Hastings, Harrison says, "1587, when I did write this note." Under 1551 he puts "Leland y^e^ noble antiquary dieth of a phrenesy vpon y^e^ 18 of Aprill."

daies vpon *the* 31 of October passed; whose history, Gropper & Billicus haue offered to confute; but they must tarry till this generacion be consumed, lest otherwise they maie happen to be taken for impudent liers. Surius also barketh at many thinges in his booke, but as yet he hath not absolutely condemned any one of error, notwithstanding *that* he braggeth to haue found not one lesse then 12000 lies in *the* bodie of *that* historie; but I suppose *that* Surius neuer nombred *the* periodes of his Chronicle. as for his owne addition to Nauclerus, it is soche a Chaos, & so tempered with phrenesy & Meloncholy, *that* whoso readeth it with indifferent iudgement, shall sone find his humour, & conclude, *that* in all *that* supplement, he neither regardeth truth nor honesty. . .

*Dearth and Sickness in England.*

1556. **Derth** in England, wherin wheat is worthe liij sh: iiij d *the* quarter; malt, beanes, Rie, at 40 sh:; & peasen at 46 shillinges; but after harvest, wheate was sold for 5 shillinges *the* quarter, malt at a noble, Rie at 3 sh: 4 d. in London; & therefore the price was not so highe in *the* country. . .

**Soche** was *the* plenty of Saffron in this yere, *that* the murmuring Crokers envieng the store, said in blasphemous maner, in & aboute Waldon in Essex,[1] that 'God did now shite saffron'; but as some of them died afterward, starke beggers, so in 20 yeres after, there was so litle of this Commodity, *that* it was almost lost & perished in England. . .

**A generall** sickenesse in England, where-of *the* third parte of *the* people of *the* land did tast; & many clergymen had their desire, who, suspecting an alteration in relligion to insue after *the* death of Quene Mary, & fearing to be called to accompt for their bloodshed made, & practize of *the* losse of Calais, craved of God in their daiely praiers, *that* they might die before her; & so they did; *the* Lord hearing their praiers, & intending therby to geue his churche a breathing time. . . .

*Harrison on Religious Hatred.*

1560. **The** French Protestantes are exiled out of Frankeford, Aprilis 23, onely for *that*, in doctrine, they did not agree with Luther, the Augustane confession, pacification at Wittenberg, & reconciliation made at Frankeford: a slender cause, God wote! If it be well examined, you shall find it a thing onely diuised, thereby to put their brethren to incumbrauns. But when I consider what hatred *the* Lutheranes do bere vnto *the* Calvinistes, & *the* Precisians to *the* Protestantes, I can liken the same to nothing better then that mallice which reigneth betwene the papistes & *the* gospellers. . . .

[1] See as to this, Bk 3, my Pt 2, of the *Description of England*, & Grenville MS. LV.

*The Spire of St Paul's struck by Lightning.*

1560. The Rooffe, with *the* Spire & steple of Paules church in London, is consumed to ashes, Junij 4, by lightning. Certes the toppe of this Spire, where *the* wethercocke stode, was 520 foote from *the* ground, of *which* the spire was *the* one halfe. *the* bredth of *the* church also, saith Stow, is 130 foote, & *the* length 2690, or 836 yardes, 2 foote, at this present. Also an erthquake is felt in *the* kingdome. . (*Stowe*, p. 1095.)

*Queen Elizabeth at Oxford. "Palamon and Arcite."*

1565. The Queene of England beginneth hir progresse, & vpon *the* 31 of August cometh to Oxford, where she visiteth eche college after other, & making an oration vnto them in Latine, as she had done in Cambridge two yeres passed, to *the* gret comfort of all soche as are, or had bene, student*es* there. During her being there also *the* Academicall exercises were holden as in their vsuall termes. Diuerse Co*m*medies & plaies also were set forthe by the student*es* of Christes Church, where her Maj*es*tie lodged; but of all *the* rest, onely *that* of "Arcite & Palemo*n*[1]" had a tragicall successe; for, by *the* fall, of a walle & wooden gallery *that* leadeth from *the* staiers vnfinished to the hall, diuers p*er*sons were sore hurt, & 3 me*n* killed out right, w*hich* came to behold *the* pastimes. [This paragraph takes up seven lines, and 1¼ inch of the height, of Harrison's MS.; so close is the writing.] . . . .

*Evils of Plays and Theatres*[2].

1572. **Plaies** are banished for a time out of London, lest the resort vnto them should ingender a plague, or rather disperse it, being alredy begonne. Would to god these comon plaies were exiled for altogether, as semenaries of impiety, & their theaters pulled downe, as no better the*n* houses of baudrie. It is an euident token of a wicked time when plaiers wexe so riche *that* they can build[3] suche houses/ As moche I

[1] Compare the later, and no doubt distinct, *Two Noble Kinsmen* by Shakspere and Fletcher.

[2] See the notes on Theatres in Appendix II below; also the notes to John Lane in my Tell-Trothe volume.

[3] Unless this can be shown to have been written later, it must modify Mr Halliwell's argument and statement, in his *Illustrations*, p. 36, 42, against the early theatres and houses—those before "*The Theatre*" (Burbage's) in 1576—being "built" for play-acting. He says, p. 36, "In Northbrooke's Treatise, 1577-8, Youth asks,—'doe you speake against those places also whiche are made uppe and builded for such playes and enterludes, as the Theatre and Curtaine is, and other suche lyke places besides?' By 'other *suche lyke* places,' that is, similar places, the writer perhaps alludes [or perhaps does not] to houses or taverns in which interludes were performed, speaking of such buildings generally, the construction of the sentence not necessarily

wish also to our comon beare baitinges vsed on the sabaothe daies.[1]

*Tobacco.*

1573. In these daies, the taking-in of the smoke of the Indian herbe called "Tabaco," by an instrument formed like a litle ladell, wherby it passeth from the mouth into the hed & stomach, is gretlie taken-vp & vsed in England, against Rewmes & some other diseases ingendred in the longes & inward partes, & not without effect/ This herbe as yet is not so comon, but that for want thereof diuers do practize for the like purposes with the Nicetian, otherwise called in latine, "Hyosciamus Luteus," or the yellow henbane, albeit, not without gret error; for, althoughe that herbe be a souerene healer of old vlcers & sores reputed incurable outwardly, yet is not the smoke or vapour thereof so profitable to be receaued inwardly. The herbe [Tobacco] is comonly of the height of a man, garnished with great long leaues like the paciens,[2] bering seede, colloured, & of quantity like vnto, or rather lesse then, the fine margeronie; the herbe it self yerely coming vp also of the shaking of the seede. the collour of the floure is carnation, resembling that of the

implying that he refers to other edifices *built especially* for dramatic representations." (Yet surely the fair and natural inference from the words is that the 'other lyke places' were built for the same purpose as 'the Theatre and Curtaine.') Again, at p. 42, "When Gosson, in his *Playes Confuted*, c. 1580, speaks of 'Cupid and Psyche plaid at Paules, and a greate many comedies more at the Blacke friers and in every playe house in London,' he *unquestionably* refers to *houses or taverns temporarily employed* for the performances alluded to." And, after quoting Rawlidge's *Monster Late Found out*, 1628,—"some of the pious magistrates made humble suit to the late Queene Elizabeth of ever-living memorie, and her Privy Counsaile, and obteined leave from her Majesty to thrust those players out of the Citty, and to pull downe the dicing houses; which accordingly was affected; and the play-houses in Gracious street, Bishopsgate street, nigh Paules, that on Ludgate hill, the Whitefriars, were put downe, and other lewd houses quite suppresst within the liberties, by the care of those religious senators"—Mr Halliwell says, "The 'play-houses' in Gracious or Gracechurch Street, Bishopsgate Street, and on Ludgate Hill, were the yards respectively of the well-known taverns called the Cross Keys, the Bull, and the Belle Savage.* *There is no good reason* for believing that the other 'play-houses' mentioned, those near St. Paul's and in the Whitefriars, were, at the period alluded to, other than buildings made for the representation of plays, *not edifices expressly constructed for the purpose.*"

[1] See Crowley's Epigrams on this, E. E. T. Soc. p. 17.

[2] *Passions* or *Patience*, a dock so called, apparently from the Italian name under which it was introduced from the South, *Lapazio*, a corruption of L. *lapathum*, having been mistaken for *la Passio*, the Passion of Jesus Christ, *Rumex Patientia*, L. Dr Prior, *Popular Names of British Plants*, p. 175.

* He quotes from Flecknoe's *Short Discourse of the English Stage*, 1664, "about the beginning of queen Elizabeths reign they began here to assemble into companies and set up theaters, first in the city, as in the inn-yards of the Cross-Keyes and Bull, in Grace and Bishopsgate street, at this day is to be seen."—*Illustrations*, p. 43.

lemmon in forme: *the* roote yellow, with many fillet*es*, & therto very small in comparison, if you respect *the* substauns of *the* herbe.[1]

*A monstrous fish.*

1573. **A monstrous** fish is taken in Thenet vpon the xj^th^ of July, of 66 foote in length; one of whose eies was a full cart lode, & the diameter or thickenesse thereof, full two yard*es*, or 6 of o*ur* english feete. . . .

*London Bridge Tower.*

1576. **The** towre on the drawe bridge vpon london bridge is taken downe in Aprill, being in great decaie; & sone after made a pleasaunt & beautifull dwelling house / & whereas the heddes of soche as were executed for treason were wont to be placed vpon this towre, they were now remoued, & fixed ou*er the* gate w*hi*ch leadeth fro*m* Southwarke[2] into the citie by *that* bridge. . . .

*A great Snowstorm.*

1578. **A Cold** winter, & ere long there falleth a great snow in England, whose drift*es*, in many places, by reason of a Northest winde, were so depe *that* the mere report of them maie seeme incredible. It beganne in the 4 of feb: & held on vntill *the* 8 of the same moneth; during w*hi*ch time some me*n* & wome*n*, beside cattell, were lost, & not heard of till the snow was melted & gone, notwithstanding *that* some shepe &

1 The use of tobacco spread very fast in England, to the disgust of Barnaby Rich, James I., and many others. Rich, in *The Honestie of this Age*, 1614, p. 25-6, complains of the money wasted on it. He also contests the fact admitted by Harrison above, of tobaceo doing good; says it's reported that 7000 houses live by the trade of tobacco-selling, and that if each of these takes but 2*s.* 6*d.* a day,—and probably it takes 5*s.*—the sum total amounts to £399,375 a year, "all spent in smoake."

"They say it is good for a cold, for a pose, for rewms, for aches, for dropsies, and for all manner of diseases proceeding of moyst humours: but I cannot see but that those that do take it fastest, are as much (or more) subject to all these infirmities (yea, and to the poxe itself) as those that have nothing at all to do with it. . . .

"There is not so base a groome that commes into an ale-house to call for his pot, but he must have his pipe of tobacco; for it is a commoditie that is nowe as vendible in every taverne, inne, and ale-house, as eyther wine, ale, or beare; and for apothicaries shops, grosers shops, chandlers shops, they are (almost) never without company that, from morning till night, are still taking of tobacco. What a number are there besides that doe keep houses, set open shoppes, that have no other trade to live by, but by the selling of tobacco!" See Sir John Davies's Epigram 'Of Tobacco, XXXVI.' (Marlowe's *Works*, ed. Cunningham, p. 268) singing its praises in 1598; and also that '*In Syllam*, XXVIII,' p. 267, on the boldness of the man who horrified 'society' then, "that dares take tobacco on the stage," 'dance in Paul's,' &c. (and contrast with him the capital description of a Gull in Epigram II, p. 263). Also the Epigram '*In Cipri-um*, XXII,' l. 7, p. 266, col. 1.

2 See heads stuck on the tops of spears on this bridge gate, in the modern copy of Wyngrerde's map, the reproduced Aggas, Hondius (1610), in Faithorne, &c.

catle lived vnder it, & fedd in the places where they laie, vpon soche grasse as they cold come by. Vpon the xj^th^ also of that moneth, the Thames did rise so highe, after the dissolution of this snow, that westminster hall was drowned[1], & moche fishe left there in the pallace yard when the water returned to her Channell, for who so list, to gather vp. . .

*Plagues of Locusts or Grasshoppers, and Mice.*

1583. **Great** harme done in England in diuerse shires, by locustes, or 'grashoppers' as we call them, which deuoured the grasse, & consumed the pastures & medowes in very pitifull maner: soche great nombers of crowes also do come into those partes to fede vpon those creatures, that they tread downe & trample the rest, I meane, whatsoeuer the locust had left vntouched. Not long before, if not about this time, also some places of the hundredes in Essex were no lesse annoyed with mise, as report then went, which did gret hurt to corne & the fruites of the erth, till an infinite nomber of Owles were assembled into those partes, which consumed them all to nothing. Certes the report is true; but I am not sure whether it was in this, or the yere before or after this, for I did not enter the note when it was first sent vnto me, the lettre being cast aside, & not hard of after the receipt.

[2] *Stafford's Conspiracy.*

1586. **Another** Conspiracy is detected vpon Newyeres daie, wherein the death of our Queene is ones againe intended, by Stafford & other, at the receipt of her Newyeres giftes; but, as God hath taken vpon him the defence of his owne cause, so hath he, in extraordinary maner, from time to time preserued her Majestie, his servant, from the treason & traiterous practizes of her aduersaries, & wonderfully bewraied their diuises./

*A Star in the Moon. A wet Summer and Autumn.*

1587. **A Sterre** is sene in the bodie of the mone vpon the of Marche, whereat many men merueiled, & not without cause, for it stode directly betwene the pointes of her hornes, the mone being chaunged, not passing 5 or 6 daies before; & in the later end of the Crabbe after this, also there insued a very moyst & wet somer, wherby moche haie was lost, & harvest in the begining grew to be very troublesome. there followed also a like Autume; by meanes wherof, shepe & moche other cattell died

[1] flooded.

[2] Lady Dorothy Stafford's son, and not the William Stafford who wrote the *Compendious & briefe Examination*, 1581. See my Forewords to the Society's edition.

in abundant maner in most places of our Iland,[1] wherby the residew grew to be very dere . . . ('a reasonable good haruest for corne.'—*Stowe*, 1243.)

**The** first skonses are made in England vpon the borders of the Thames, & in other places of *the* land, to kepe *the* Spanish powre from entrauns, whose chief purpose is, as most affirme, to invade Kent with one part of their navie, & to come by the River of Thames to sacke London with *the* other / . . .

*The Spanish Armada. Leicester's Death.*

1588. **The** Spanish navie so long loked for, doth now at last show it self ouer against our coastes, vpon our 20 of July, where it is foughten withall vpon *the* morow, onely with 50 saile of our English shipps vnder *the* conduct of the lord Admirall & Sir Fraunces Drake; afterward by our whole navie of 150 saile, for the space of 2 daies together: in thend whereof, they are put to flight before Calice, & driven to returne home about by Scotland, with great losse, so *that*, of 160 saile & more, which came out of Spaine, scasely 40 returned againe in safety vnto *that* king; God himself so fighting for vs, that we lost not 80 men, neither was there so moche as one vessell of oures sonke by the enemy, or taken, in all these skirmishes. In their returne also, & beside those 15 vesselles which they lost in our seas, 17 other of them did either perish vpon the coast of Ireland, or, coming thether for succour, were seized vpon also vnto her Majesties vse. The lieftenaunt of this great navie was the duke Medina of Cydonia, & with him were 210 noble men, among which, beside the kinges bastard sonne, were 2 marquesses, one prince, one duke, 4 erles, & 3 Lordes, which came to seeke aduentures, & winne honor vpon England, as they said; howbeit, as God would, they neuer touched the land, nor came nere vnto our shore by diuers miles. The duke of Parma should haue assisted them at this present with 80 or 100 saile prouided out of the Low Countries; but being kept in by wether, & a portion of our navie, & his mariners also forsaking him, he was inforced to staie & kepe vpon the land, where he abode in safety, & out of the roring gunshot / (Stowe's *Annals*, 1605, p. 1243—1258.)

**Robert**, Erle of Leircester, dieth, who in his time became the man of grettest powre (being but a subiect) which in this land, or *that* euer had bene exalted vnder any prince sithens *the* times of Peers Gavestone & Robert Veer, some time duke of Ireland. Nothing almost was done, wherein he had not, either a stroke or a commoditie; which, together

[1] Will the memory of this do for the *Midsummer Night's Dream* contagious fogs, corn rotted (II. i. 88—100), and empty fold? The rain-floods of 1594 suit better, no doubt; see the end of my *Stafford* Forewords.

with his scraping from the churche & comons, spoile of her maiesties thresure, & sodeine death of his first wife &c. procured him soche inward envie & hatred, that all men, so farre as they durst, reioysed no lesse outwardlie at his death, then for the victorie obteined of late against the Spanish nauie / . . . . (Stowe's *Annals*, 1605, p. 1259.)

**A generall** thankesgeuing thorow out England in eu*er*y church, for *th*e victory of the Allmightie geuen by thenglish ou*er th*e Spanish navie; in w*hi*ch, *th*e Queene her selfe, & her nobility, came to S^t^ Paules churche in London, Novemb*er* the 19, where, after she had hard *th*e divine s*er*vice, & in her owne p*er*son geue*n* solemne thank*es* to God, in *th*e hering of soche as were p*re*sent, she hard the sermon at *th*e Crosse preached by *th*e bishop of Saru*m*, & then dined w*i*th the bishop of London in his pallace thereunto annexed. The king*es* of Scotland, Denm*ar*ke, Sueden, Navarra, w*i*th *th*e churches of Geneva & diuers other cities of Germany, had done *th*e like also, a litle while before, in *th*eir churches, as we are credibly informed. The Spanierd*es* also, indeuoring to hide their reprochefull voiage from the eies of their como*n* people, do triumphe for their victory obteined ou*er* the Englishe natio*n*, & send to *th*e pope for a seconde millio*n* of gold, w*hi*ch he bound himself to geue them at their landing in England, they having alredy receaved the first at their departure from *th*e Groyne in Maie past; but his intelligencers informed him, so *tha*t he kept his crownes at home / . . . (*Stowe*, p. 1260.)

### *The Mad Parliament.*

1588. **A parliam**ent is holden in London, w*hi*ch some doe call "*th*e greene meting," other, "*th*e madde p*ar*liam*ent*," because it consisted, for *th*e most part, of yong burgesses, picked out of purpose to serue some secrete turne against the state p*re*sent of *th*e clergy; of whome no tale was there left vntold, *tha*t might deface their condic*i*on. In this assembly, billes were put vp, as it is said, w*hi*ch required *tha*t *th*e ministery of England should be subiect to service in *th*e warres, & called to appeare at musters, sizes, &c. as laie subiect*es* of the land; *tha*t they should prouide furniture of armour & munitio*n*, according to *th*e seuerall valuatio*n* of their livinges; *tha*t eche of them should haue but one living, & be resident vpo*n th*e same; & *tha*t all impropriations in sp*iri*tuall mens hand*es* onely, should be restored to *th*e churche, w*i*th other like diuises; but in thend, none of them all went forward; & right good cause; for hereby most churches should quickely haue bene w*i*thout their pastor; *th*e Collegiate & cathedrall houses (the chief m*ar*ke whereat they shot) rellinquished, & some of *th*e sp*iri*tualty more charged then vj of *th*e greattest of *th*e nobility in *th*e land, whose living*es* are not valued in soche strict man*er* as those

are of *the* clergy, who also in this parliament are charged with a doble subsidie to be paid in 6 yeres. (Stowe's *Annals*, 1605, p. 1261.)

*The Parliament of Feb.* 1592-3.

[Last entry, in a very tottery hand, 2 months before Harrison's death or burial on 24 April 1593, six days after he'd ended his 59th year.]

1592. **A Parliament** beginneth at Lond*on*, feb. 19 [1592-3], being mondaie / many me*n* looke for many thinges at the handes of the congregates, chiefly the precisiens for the ou*er*throw of bishops & all ecclesiasticall regiment, and erectio*n* of soche discipline as thei themselues haue prescribed / the Clergy also feared some stoppage of former lawes provided for the wel [?] paiment of their tithes / but all men expect a generall graunt of money, the cheef end, in o*ur* time, of the aforesaid Assemblies; w*hi*ch being obserued, the rest will sone haue an ende / In the very begining of this parliament, there were more the*n* 100 of the lower house, returned for outlawes, I meane, so well of knightes as of burgesses, & more are daiely loked for to be found in like estate / but is it not, thinke you, a likely matter, *tha*t soche me*n* can be authors of good lawes, who, for their own partes, will obey no law at all? How gret frendes the precisiens in ther practizes are to these me*n*, the possessio*n* of their desire wold esily declare, if thei might ones obteine it. [*a later entry: the Parliament broke up on April* 10, 1593,[1] *a fortnight before Harrison's death.*] neu*er*thelesse, in the vpshot of that meting, it was found, *tha*t notw*ith*standing the money graunted—w*hi*ch was well nigh yelded vnto, in respect of o*ur* generall necessitie—there were so many good profitable lawes ordeined in this parliament as in any other *tha*t haue passed in former times, the mallicious dealinges also of the precisians, papistes, & comeling [?] p*ro*vokers[2] was not a litle restreigned in the same, to the gret benefite of the country.

['The rest is silence.']

[1] "The 10. of Aprill the Parliament brake vp at Westminster, for the time, wherein was granted three subsidies of 2.s. 8.d. the pound goods, and foure s. lands, and 6. fifteenes."—Stowe's *Annals*, ed. 1605, p. 1272. (A good 'Oration of her maiesty to the parliament men' follows.)

[2] MS. corrected. I'm not sure of either word. '*Comeling*' is Harrison's word for 'foreigner'; '*homeling*' for 'native.' Can't we revive 'em? They're a nice pair.

# APPENDIX II.


1. *English Women and Men*, p. lxii
2. *Manners of the English*, p. lxv (*Inns*, p. lxx; *Oxford students' life*, p. lxxiii; *Queen Elizabeth, and her Dinner at Greenwich*, p. lxxv)
3. *Theatres*, p. lxxviii
4. *Soil, Climate, & Productions*, p. lxxxi
5. *London*, p. lxxxiv
6. *Cambridge and Oxford*, p. lxxxvi
7. *Warwickshire*, p. lxxxviii


HERE are a few extracts from foreign travellers' journals, and other writers, that 'll help those who don't know 'em, to realize better, bits of Elizabethan life in England. It's pleasant to be told how 'mighty pretty' our women were, and that they'd all kiss and welcome Shakspere, as a stranger (p. lxii), when he was introduc'd to 'em, as they did before, Erasmus, to his extreme delight.[1] One seems to get nearer to the Globe and Blackfriars too, when one knows that the apples, pears, nuts,[2] of the theatres of one's boyhood, were sold in Shakspere's houses (p. lxxx), —that is, those in whose profits he shard,—much as their rudeness—as picturd in Malone's interesting *Historical Account of the English Stage* (Variorum Shakspere, ed. 1821, vol. iii.)—differd from the elaborately appointed buildings of our own day. One likes to be made a looker-on at the Oxford students', and Queen Elizabeth's, dinners (p. lxxiii, lxxvii); the Berkshire peasants' harvest home (p. lxxxiv); and to hear how the Londoners liked feasting, and drank, saying *iplaigiu* (I pledge you) to the worthy Frenchman (p. lxxii), who when they put him out, calld 'em *ces vilains là*, and declar'd they were of evil conscience, and unfaithful to

[1] "here are girls with angels' faces, so kind and obliging that you would far prefer them to all your Muses. Besides, there is a custom here never to be sufficiently commended. Wherever you come, you are received with a kiss by all; when you take your leave, you are dismissed with kisses; you return, kisses are repeated. They come to visit you, kisses again; they leave you, you kiss them all round. Should they meet you anywhere, kisses in abundance: in fine, wherever you move, there is nothing but kisses."—(*Epistolæ*, fol. Basil. 1558, p. 223; *Rye*, p. 260-1.)

[2] They've been turnd out of the West-end theatres since—the women with their baskets pushing in front of the sitters in the pit, were *such* a nuisance,—but they still survive at the East end, I am told.

their word (p. lxvi). One right thing these foreigners did, however, and that was, to put Cambridge before Oxford (p. lxxxvi-vii). Our degenerate folk put Oxford first. Well, froth goes to the top of the jug. And this reminds me—35-years' teetotaller tho' I am—how the foreigners liked our beer, drunk (in 1558[1]) out of silver-handled earthenware pots, and made doubly good by eating with it thin cakes, saffrond, and sprinkled with raisins (p. lxxi-lxxii).

### I. *a. English Women.*

1585. Kiechel says, "Item, the women there are charming, and by nature so mighty pretty,[2] as I have scarcely ever beheld, for they do not falsify (*ketzern*) paint or bedaub themselves as in Italy or other places; but they are somewhat awkward in their style of dress (*in der Kleidung was Plumps gehen*); for they dress in splendid stuffs, and many a one wears three cloth gowns or petticoats, one over the other. Item, when a foreigner or an inhabitant goes to a citizen's house on business, or is invited as a guest, and having entered therein, he is received by the master of the house, the lady, or the daughter, and by them welcomed (*willkommen heisst*),—as it is termed in their language;—he has even a right to take them by the arm and to kiss them, which is the custom of the country; and if any one does not do so, it is regarded and imputed as ignorance and ill-breeding on his part: the same custom is also observed in the Netherlands."—*Rye*, p. 89-90, from the '*Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats- und Kriegs-Kunst*' (4to, Wien, 1820), p. 267.

1592. Jacob Rathgeb, *Narrative of Count Mümppelgart's Bathing Excursion to England*, pr. 1602. "The women have much more liberty than perhaps in any other place; they also know well how to make use of it, for they go dressed out in exceedingly fine clothes, and give all their attention to their ruffs and stuffs, to such a degree indeed, that, as I am informed, many a one does not hesitate to wear velvet in the streets, which is common with them, whilst at home perhaps they have not a piece of dry bread. All the English women are accustomed to wear hats upon their heads, and gowns cut after the old German fashion—for indeed their descent is from the Saxons."—*Rye*, p. 7, 8.

### I. *b. English Wives.*

1575. Van Meteren, *Nederlandtsche Historie;* edit. 1614, fo. 258. *Rye*, p. 72, 73. "Wives in England are entirely in the power of their husbands, their lives only excepted. Therefore, when they marry, they

[1] The English had taken to glass by Harrison's and Shakspere's time: see p. xviii above, and 147 below.

[2] mächtig schön.

give up the surname of their father and of the family from which they are descended, and take the surname of their husbands, except in the case of duchesses, countesses and baronesses, who, when they marry gentlemen of inferior degree, retain their first name and title, which, for the ambition of the said ladies, is rather allowed than commended. But although the women there are entirely in the power of their husbands, except for their lives, yet they are not kept so strictly as they are in Spain or elsewhere. Nor are they shut up; but they have the free management of the house or housekeeping, after the fashion of those of the Netherlands, and others their neighbours. They go to market to buy what they like best to eat. They are well dressed, fond of taking it easy, and commonly leave the care of household matters and drudgery to their servants. They sit before their doors, decked out in fine clothes, in order to see and be seen by the passers-by.[1] In all banquets and feasts they are shown the greatest honour; they are placed at the upper end of the table, where they are the first served; at the lower end they help the men. All the rest of their time they employ in walking and riding, in playing at cards or otherwise, in visiting their friends and keeping company, conversing with their equals (whom they term *gossips*) and their neighbours, and making merry with them at child-births, christenings, churchings (*Kerckgangh-en*), and funerals; and all this with the permission and knowledge of their husbands, as such is the custom. Although the husbands often recommend to them the pains, industry, and care of the German or Dutch women, who do what the men ought to do both in the house and in the shops, for which services in England men are employed, nevertheless the women usually persist in retaining their customs. This is why England is called the Paradise of married women.[2] The girls who are not yet married are kept much more rigorously and strictly than in the Low Countries.

"The women are beautiful, fair, well-dressed, and modest,[3] which is seen there more than elsewhere, as they go about the streets without any covering either of huke or mantle (*huycke*), hood, veil, or the like. Married women only wear a hat both in the street and in the house; those unmarried go without a hat,[4] although ladies of distinction have lately learnt to cover their faces with silken masks or vizards, and

[1] "Sy sitten verciert voor haer Deuren, om de voorbygaenders te besien, ofte van die besien te worden."

[2] See p. lxx, below.

[3] "Het Vrouwenvolck isser schoon, wit, ende verciert ende manierlijck."

[4] When describing Queen Elizabeth, then "in the sixty-fifth year of her Age," Hentzner notes two traits common to her and other English women: "her Teeth black, (a defect the English seem subject to, from their too great use of sugar). . .

feathers,—for indeed they change very easily, and that every year, to the astonishment of many."[1]

1. *c. The charmingness of Englishmen and all their Belongings.*

1560. Dr Levinus Lemmius, M.A. "For they be people very civil and wel affected to men wel stricken in yeares, and to such as beare any countenaunce and estimation of lerninge, which thing they that halfe suspect, and have not had the full triall of the maners and fashions of this countrey, will skarcely bee perswaded to beleeve.

"Therefore, franckely to utter what I thincke of the incredible curtesie and frendlines of speache and affability used in this famous realme, I muste needes confesse it doth surmount and carye away the pricke and price of al others. And beside this, the neate cleanlines, the exquisite finenesse, the pleasaunte and delightfull furniture in every poynt for household, wonderfully rejoysed mee; their chambers and parlours strawed over with sweete herbes refreshed me; their nosegayes finely entermingled wyth sundry sortes of fragraunte floures in their bedchambers and privy roomes, with comfortable smell cheered mee up and entirelye delyghted all my sences. And this do I thinck to be the cause that Englishmen, lyving by such holesome and exquisite meate, and in so holesome and healthfull ayre, be so fresche and cleane coloured; their faces, eyes and countenaunce carying with it and representing a portly grace and comelynes, geveth out evident tokens of an honest mind; in language very smoth and allective, but yet seasoned and tempered within the limits and bonds of moderation, not bumbasted with any unseemly termes, or infarced with any clawing flatteries or allurementes. At their tables, althoughe they be very sumptuous, and love to have good fare, yet neyther use they to qvercharge themselves with excesse of drincke, neyther thereto greatly provoke and urge others, but suffer every man to drincke in such measure as best pleaseth hymselfe; whych drinck, being eyther Ale or Beere, most pleasaunte in taste and holesomely relised, they fetch not from foreine places, but have it amonge themselves brewed. As touching theyr populous and great haunted cities, the fruitfulness of their ground and soile, their lively springs and mighty ryvers, their great heards and flockes of cattell, their mysteries and art of weaving and clothmaking, their skilfulnes in shooting, it is needlesse heere to discourse—seeing the multitude of marchaunts exercisinge the traffique and

Her Bosom was uncovered, as all the English ladies have it till they marry." See p. lxxvi, below.

[1] "Note 112.—Peacham (Compleat Gentleman, 1622, p. 204), speaking of the French, our reputed pioneers of fashion, says: 'Every *two* yeere their fashions [of apparel] altereth.'"—*Rye.*

arte of marchaundize among them, and ambassadoures also sente thyther from forrayne Prynces, are able aboundantly to testifye that nothing needful and expedient for mans use and commodity lacketh in that most noble Ilande."—(*The Touchstone of Complexions*, fo. 47.) *Rye*, p. 78, 79. (The Doctor gives Englishmen a somewhat worse character afterwards; see it in *Rye*, p. 79, 80.)

1. *d. English Men and Women.*

1558. Perlin, p. 11. "Les hommes sont beaulx, rousseaux, grands, & adroict, & blancs ordinairement de charnvere; car il sont vers le Septentrion. Les femmes estimées sont les plus belles du monde,[1] & blanches comme albatre, & ne desplaise aux Italianes, Flammandes, & Almandes: elles sont joyeuses, & courtoyses, & de bon raceuil."—1558. *Description des Royavlmes d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse.* Composé par Maistre Estienne Perlin, repr. Bowyer and Nichols, 1775.

2. *a.* "*Of the Manners of the English.*"

1598. Hentzner, p. 88. "The English are serious like the Germans, lovers of shew; liking to be followed wherever they go by whole troops of servants, who wear their masters arms in silver, fastened to their left arms, a ridicule they deservedly lay under. They excell in dancing and music, for they are active and lively, though of a thicker make than the French; they cut their hair close on the middle of the head, letting it grow on either side; they are good sailors, and better pyrates, cunning, treacherous, and thievish; above 300 are said to be hanged annually at London. Beheading with them is less infamous than hanging. They give the wall as the place of honour. Hawking is the general sport of the gentry. They are more polite in eating than the French, devouring less bread, but more meat, which they roast in perfection. They put a great deal of sugar in their drink. Their beds are covered with tapestry, even those of farmers. They are often molested with the scurvy, said to have first crept into England with the Norman conquest. Their houses

[1] "L'Angleterre produit trois objets qui se rencontrent partout, mais qui, dans cette île, sont remarquables par leur merveilleuse beauté: les femmes, les arbres, les chevaux. . . . Qu'une jeune fille arrête son cheval sous un grand arbre, et vous contemplerez, groupés dans un seul tableau, les trois merveilles de l'Angleterre."—1857. Francis Wey, *Les Anglais chez eux*, p. 185-6. And yet a great friend of mine in the United States, who had long admired our women as drawn in *Punch* by Du Maurier, and came over to England to admire them more, went back after a month's stay here on two occasions, vowing that he'd only seen one handsome woman all the time, eagerly as he'd lookt for 'em; whereas in the States, he says, you can hardly go out of doors without seeing two or three. He hates Du Maurier in consequence, and declares he's a base deceiver. I urge that an artist, like a poet, 'is of imagination all compact.'

are commonly of two stories, except in London, where they are of three and four, though but seldom of four; they are built of wood; those of the richer sort with bricks; their roofs are low, and where the owner has money, covered with lead.

"They are powerful in the field, successful against their enemies, impatient of any thing like slavery; vastly fond of great noises that fill the ear, such as the firing of cannon, drums, and the ringing of bells, so that it is common for a number of them, that have got a glass in their heads, to go up into some belfry, and ring the bells for hours together, for the sake of exercise. If they see a foreigner, very well made or particularly handsome, they will say, *It is a pity he is not an* ENGLISHMAN."

*2. b. The English are a bad lot, and hate and abuse the French.*

1558. Perlin, p. 12. "Le peuple fier & seditieux, & de mauvaise conscience, & infidelle à leur parole, comme il est appert par experience.[1] Ces vilains là hayent toutes sortes d'estrangeres; & jaçois qu'il soyent en bonne terre & bonne contrée, comme desia j'ay allegué auparavant, toutes fois du tout sont mechans, & addonnes à tout vent [2]: car maintenant il aymeront un Prince: tournez la main; il le vouldront tuer & crucifier. S'ilz veullent dire qu'ilz ont subjugué les François, on les a chassés comme chiens enragés: secondement, le Royaulme de France pourlors estoit petit, & depuis a esté augmenté sept fois autant, voyre je diray vingt fois autant, qu'en force, qu'en richesse; tellement que le Royaulme vault autant que le reste de la chrestienté. Il me desplait que ces vilains, estans en leur pays, nous crachent a la face[3]; & eulx, estans à la France, on les honnore, & revère on comme petis dieux: en ce les François se monstrent francs de cœur & noble d'esperit."

p. 11. "Les gens de ceste nation hayent a mort les Francoys, comme

[1] On peult dire des Angloys, 'ny en la guerre ilz ne sont fors, ny en la paix ilz ne sont fideles; &, comme dict l'Espagnol, "Angleterre, bonne terre, male gente."'—p. 10. The latter saying is generally put down to the Italians.

[2] *Insolence to foreigners.* "The inhabitants are magnificently apparelled, and are extremely proud and overbearing; and because the greater part, especially the tradespeople, seldom go into other countries, but always remain in their houses, in the city attending to their business, they care little for foreigners, but scoff and laugh at them; and moreover, one dare not oppose them, else the street-boys and apprentices collect together in immense crowds and strike to the right and left unmercifully, without regard to person; and because they are the strongest, one is obliged to put up with the insult as well as the injury."—*1592.* Jacob Rathgeb, pr. 1602; *Rye*, p. 7.

The naturall disposition of Englishmen.

[3] And as concernyng the nature, propertie, and disposition of the people, thei bee desirous of newfangles, praisyng thynges paste, contemnyng thinges present, and couetyng after thynges to come. Ambicious, proude, light, and vnstable, ready to bee caried awaie with euery blaste of Winde. —1583. P. Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses*, 2nd ed., p. 122, ed. F. J. F.

leurs vielz ennemis, & du tout nous appellent '*France chenesve* [*knave*], *France dogue*,' qui est a dire, 'maraultz François, chiens Francois ;' & autrement nous appellent '*or son*' [*whoreson*] 'villains filz de putains.'"

ib. p. 24. "& fault noter qu'en ce Royaume tant excellent, il n'y a nul ordre, comme j'ay dict. Les gens sont resprouvés, & du tout ennemis de bonnes meurs & des bonnes lettres. Car il ne sçavent a qui il sont, où a Dieu où au diable ; ce que Sainct Paul a reprins en plusieurs gens, disant, 'ne sois transportés de plusieurs sortes de vens, mais soyes constans & demeurans a ce que vous aures creu.'"

### 2. *c. English Way of living. Nasty 'belching.'*

1558. Perlin, p. 26. "Quant a leurs maniere de vivre, ilz sont quelque peu incivilz ; car iceux routent[1] à la table sans honte & ignominie, & fussent ilz en la presence de plus grand seigneur qu'il fust."

### 2. *d. Most Nobles get their Heads chopt off.*

p. 27. "Aussi en ce pays là vous ne trouverez pas gueres de grands seigneurs desquelz leurs parens n'ayent eu la teste tranchée. Certes j'aymerois mieulx (reverence des lecteurs) estre porcher, & garder bien ma teste. Car ceste doloire avenoit furieusement dessus la teste des grands seigneurs. Car vous voires ces grandz seigneurs en grande pompe & magnificence pour un temps : tournez la main ; vous les voyres entre les mains des boureaux. Parquoy ladessus pouvons alleguer un proverbe, qui dict : 'Que le temps passé ont esté plusieurs, que si fussent demourés humble, & en fortune basse & exile, ils eussent vécu seurement, & sans contraincte ; estans faits sublimes, & grands seigneurs, sont

[1] Compare Chaucer's Trumpington Miller's wife and daughter :—

'His wyf bar him a burdoun, a ful strong,
Men might her rowtyng heeren a forlong,
The wenchè routeth eek *par companye*.'
Works, ed. Morris, ii. 130, l. 245-7.

and see my *Babees Book*, p. 294, l. 13 ; II. 4/32, 7/35, 18/46, 26/20, for injunctions against the practice. Nichols adds this note in his reprint of Perlin :

"A l'exception de certaines gens qui n'ont pas toujours croupi en Angleterre dans les pures & naturelles *Englis fashions*, dont les personnes de qualité qui ont voyagé ont su se defaire, *rotter* à table & partout en compaignie, est une chose dont le peuple Anglois ne fait pas plus de difficulté que de tousser ou d'eternuer. Autant que cela leur est naturel & ordinaire, autant nous paroit il etrange à nous qui venons d'un pais où la coustume a voulu que *rotter* soit un privilège reservé aux cochons. 'C'est une etrange chose que cette coutume!' (me disoit un jour un ami Anglois à qui j'avois dit naivement ce que j'ecris ici.) 'Elle bannit quelquefois les choses les plus raisonables : pourquoi s'empecher de *roter* plutot que de cracher, & de se moucher ?'—*Memoires & Observ. d'un Voyageur en Angleterre.* Haye, 1698, p. 396, ascribed to Misson."

tumbés en perilz & en grande confusion' : ce que nous voyons practiquer principallement en ce Royaulme là, autant qu'en Royaulme de monde, [*then he contrasts with this the happier state of France, and says also*] sa Justice fort bien administrée, & non tyrannie, comme en Angleterre, qui est la peste d'un pays, & ruine."

*2. e. Men hung for a trifle in England.*

p. 28. "En Angleterre y a une fort cruelle justice, car pour un rien foront mourir un homme : car, où en France on condamneroit un homme d'avoir le fouet, là infalliblement seroit condamné a mort : vray est qu'ilz n'ont que deux sortes de justice, c'est à sçavoir, d'estre perdu & d'estre decapité ; & par ce moyen les malfaicteurs gaignent autant de faire beaucoup de mal que peu ; ce qui ne se doibt pas faire ; & mieux est practiqué en France : car il y a plusieurs sortes de tourmens selon la demerite. En ceste Isle n'ont poinct de Roue ny d'autre sorte de tourmens sinon que ces deux que j'ay allegué. Font mourir les pauvres criminelz & patiens, tousiours hors de la ville en des gibetz de bois, si ce ne sont Milors barbarement en Françoys Milours, lesquelz ont faict mourir à Londres, pour donner terreur au peuple. Et ont coustume de faire les grands jours[1] de troys mois en trois mois."—1558. *Description des Royaulmes d'Angleterre et d'Escosse.* Composé par Maistre Estienne Perlin, repr. Bowyer and Nichols, 1775, p. 28.

*2. f. Servants and almost all men go armd.*

1558. Perlin, p. 28. "& faut noter pareillement qu'au pays les serviteurs portent des blouquiers pointuz, mesmes les serviteurs des Evesques & prelatz ; & ordinairement les hommes jouent de l'arc. Les laboureux, quand ilz labourent la terre, à un coin de la terre ilz laisseront leur blouquier & espée, ou aucunefoys un arc : tellement qu'en ce pays là, quasi tout le monde porte armes."

*2. g. The English use much tapestry.*

p. 11. "Les Anglois se servent fort des tapisseries, des toilles pinctes, qui sont bien faictes, ausquelles y a force de magnifiques roses couronnées, ou il y a de fleurs-de-Liz & Lions[2] ; car en peu de maisons vous pouves entrer que vous ne trouvies cest tapisseries."

*2. h. Behaviour of the people on Edward VI.'s death.*

p. 13. "Il survint que le roy Edouart demourut malade au chasteau de

[1] He means the Quarter Sessions in the several counties.—*Nichols.*

[2] The arms of England.—*Nichols.*

Grenois [Greenwich] bien l'espace de trois mois, & depuis mourut. Vous eussies veu ce peuple emeu, fremir & gemir de touter pars, battre leurs poictrines : & alors tous les milors fort pertroublés, ne sachantz dessus quel pied danser."

*2. i. English Dress, and love of change.*

1575. Van Meteren, *Nederlandtsche Historie*, edn. of 1614, fo. 262. "The English dress in elegant, light, and costly garments, but they are very inconstant and desirous of novelties,[1] changing their fashions every year, both men and women. When they go abroad riding or travelling, they don their best clothes, contrary to the practice of other nations. Their garments are usually coloured and of a light stuff, and they have not many of them, like as they have in the Low Countries, since they change so easily : nor so much furniture or unnecessary house ornaments."—*Rye*, p. 71.

*2. j. Retainers. Horses, Carts.*

1592. Rathgeb (written, 1602), *Rye*, p. 13. "The lords and pages of the royal court have a stately, noble air, but dress more after the French fashion, only that they wear short cloaks, and sometimes Spanish caps,

[1] See *Harrison*, ch. 7, p. 167 below ; and compare the following :—

But speake, I praie : who ist would gess or skann
*Fantasmus* to be borne an Englishman ?
Hees hatted Spanyard-like, and bearded to,
Ruft Italyon-like, pac'd like them also :
His hose and doublets Frenche : his bootes and shoes
Are fashond Pole in heeles, but French in toes.
Oh ! hees complete : what shall I descant on ?
A compleate Foole ? noe, compleate Englishe man.

1615. Wm. Goddard, *A Neaste of Waspes*. Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 314. See also a capital passage in Schoolmaster Averall's *Merualous Combat of Contrarieties*, 1588, sign. B. i., which I shall quote in my notes to Stubbes's *Anatomie of Abuses* now in the press for the Society.

Here is Sir John Davies' description of the London young man of fashion in 1598 : *Epigrams*, in Marlowe's *Works*, ed. Cunningham, p. 266, col. 1 :

IN CIPRIUM, XXII.

The fine youth Cyprius is more terse and neat
Than the new garden of the Old Temple is ;
And still the newest fashion he doth get,
And with the time doth change from that to this ;
He wears a hat now of the flat-crown block,
The treble ruff, long cloak, and doublet French ;
He takes tobacco, and doth wear a lock,
And wastes more time in dressing than a wench.
Yet this new-fangled youth, made for these times,
Doth, above all, praise old George Gascoigne's rhymes

and not such broad hats as the French; they keep many retainers, for the most part portly and good-looking men who go without cloaks, but have only jerkins of their lord's colour, and bearing his arms rolled up and buckled behind; they likewise have the same arms upon their sleeves, so that they may be distinguished. And they are kept very strict, for if indeed they wish to run away they cannot, because no Englishman is allowed to go out of the kingdom without a passport; wherefore other nations have a saying that 'England is a paradise for women, a prison for servants, and a hell or purgatory for horses,' for the females have great liberty and are almost like masters, whilst the poor horses are worked very hard. The country in the vicinity of the royal court is for the most part flat and sandy; and because few succeed in finding accommodation at an inn, they erect tents under which they sojourn, thus presenting the appearance of an encampment.

"When the Queen breaks up her court, with the intention of visiting another place, there commonly follow more than 300 carts (*Kärch*) laden with bag and baggage; for you must know that in England, besides coaches, they use no waggons for the goods, but have only two-wheeled carts, which however are so large that they carry quite as much as waggons, and as many as five or six strong horses draw them."—*Rye*, p. 13.

### 2. *k. English Inns.*

Fynes Moryson, the traveller, gives such a pleasant account of English inns in his *Itinerary*, 1617, Part 3, p. 151, that one likes to think of Shakspere being receivd so well, and taking his ease in his inn, on his journeys to London and back. Mr Rye of course has the passage, in his Notes, p. 272-3:—

"the World affoords not such Innes as England hath, either for good and cheape entertainement after the Guests owne pleasure, or for humble attendance on passengers; yea, even in very poore villages.... For assone as a passenger comes to an Inne, the servants run to him, and one takes his horse, and walkes him till he be cold, then rubs him and gives him meate, yet I must say that they are not much to be trusted in this last point, without the eye of the Master or his servant to oversee them. Another servant gives the passenger his private chamber, and kindles his fier; the third puls of his bootes, and makes them cleane. Then the Host or Hostesse visit him; and if he will eate with the Host, or at a common table with others, his meale will cost him sixe pence, or in some places but foure pence (yet this course is lesse honourable, and not used by Gentlemen[1]); but if he will eate in his chamber, he com-

[1] Did Shakspere 'eat with the Host'—and Hostess—for 6*d.* at old Davenant's Inn at Oxford, or have 'the Hostess to accompany him' in his chamber, I wonder.

mands what meate he will, according to his appetite, and as much as he thinkes fit for him and his company, yea, the kitchin is open to him, to command the meat to be dressed as he best likes; and when he sits at Table, the Host or Hostesse will accompany him, or, if they have many Guests, will at least visit him, taking it for curtesie to be bid sit downe: while he eates, if he have company especially, he shall be offred musicke, which he may freely take or refuse; and if he be solitary, the musitians will give him the good day with musicke in the morning. It is the custome, and no way disgracefull, to set up part of supper for his breakefast. In the evening or in the morning after breakefast, (for the common sort use not to dine, but ride from breakefast to supper time, yet comming early to the Inne for better resting of their Horses[1]) he shall have a reckoning in writing, and if it seeme unreasonable, the Host will satisfie him either for the due price, or by abating part, especially if the servant deceive him any way, which one of experience will soone find. . . I will now onely adde, that a Gentleman and his Man shall spend as much as if he were accompanied with another Gentleman and his Man; and if Gentlemen will in such sort joyne together to eate at one Table, the expences will be much diminished. Lastly, a Man cannot more freely command at home in his owne House, then hee may doe in his Inne; and at parting, if he give some few pence to the Chamberlin and Ostler, they wish him a happy journey."

2. *l. Rain and Food.*

Perlin, p. 29. "Au port de mer de ce pays là, souventesfois il pleut, à cause des oraiges de la mer: & y faict fort bon vivre, selon ce que j'en ay congneu de mon temps: & cela suffira de Angleterre."

2. *m. Bread and Beer.* (See below, p. 153.)

p. 26. "Ilz usent du pain bien plus blanc que en la France, tellement qu'il estoit de mons temps en aussi bon marché qu'en France; & avec leurs bieres ont coustume de user les gasteaux fort tendres, qui sont asses fermes ensafranés, dedans lesquelz il y a des raysins; & cela vous faict trouver la biere double bonne; & en ay bieu autresfois a la Rie, port de mer, d'aussi bonne que jamais j'en beu en pays du monde. Les gens de ce pays sont fort bien enmeublés en leurs maisons, aultant bien que gens de monde."

2. *n. Beer.* (See below, p. 155—160.)

"Ilz usent fort de bierre double & simple; & la boyuent, non pas dedans des voirres,[2] mais dedans des potz de terre, ausquelz les anses sont

[1] Cp. Chaucer's ride to Canterbury. [2] See Harrison, p. 147, on the change to glass.

d'argent, & le couvercle ; & cela ce faict aux maisons qu'il sont quelque peu riches. Car au pauvres les couvercles des potz de bierre ne sont que d'estain ; & en d'aucuns lieux dessus les villages, les potz de bierre ne sont que de boys."

2. *o. Beer.*

1592. Rathgeb, pr. 1602. . . . "the beer, which is of the colour of an old Alsace wine [hock], was so delicious that he [the Duke of Wirtemberg] relished it exceedingly."—*Rye*, p. 9.

2. *p. English love of good cheer.*

1558, Perlin, p. 22. "Les gens d'iceluy lieu sont de grande chere, & ayme fort a bancqueter ; & vous verries force riches tavernes, & les taverniers, qui ont coustumierement grosses bourses, ou il y a trois ou quatre bourserons plaine d'argent : par ce moyen pouvons considerir que le pays est fort argenteux, & que les gens du mestier gaignent plus en une sepmaine que ceulx d'Allemaigne ou d'Espaigne en un mois. Car vous verries des chappeliers & menusiers artisants jouer leur escu à la paulme ordinairement ; ce que ne voyes pas en un autre lieu ordinairement, & principallement à un jour ouvrier. Et en une taverne faire grand chere plus souvent que tous les jours, avec connilz, leveraux, & toute sorte de viande. . . (p. 23) Le poisson est à grand marché, & le beurre. Car j'ay eu autresfois neuf playes [*plaice*] pour un denier ; mais fault entendre que le denier vault neuf tournois de France ou environ, & est appellée un *peni*." . . .

2. *q. English love of music and drink.*

Perlin, p. 23. "Les Angloys, les uns avec les autres, sont joyeux, & ayment fort la musique ; car ne scauroit estre si petite eglise, en laquelle on ne chante de Musique ; & sont fort grands yvrongnes : Car si un Anglois vous veult traicter, vous dira en son langage, '*vis dring a quarta rim* [*sic*], *oim gasquin, oim hespaignol, oim malvoysi*' c'est a dire 'veulx tu venir boire une quarte de vin du Gascoigne, une autre d'Espaigne, & une autre de Malvoisie.' En beuvant & en mengeant, vous diront plus de cent fois '*drind iou*,' c'est a dire, 'je m'en vois boyre a toy ;' & vous leur responderes en leur langage '*iplaigiu*,' qui est à dire 'je vous plege.' Si vous les remercies, vous leurs dires en leurs langages '*god tanque artelay*,' c'est a dire, 'je vous remercie de bon cœur.' Eulx estans yvre, vous jureront le sang & la mort, que vous beures tout ce que vous tenes dedans vostre tace ; & vous diront ainsi, '*bigod, sol drind iou agoud oin.*' Or retenes (s'il vous plaist) qu'en ceste terre ordinairement ont sert en veselle d'argent quand on boit du vin, &

vous diront ordinairement a la table '*goud chere*,' qui est à dire 'bonne chere.' Les serviteurs servent leurs maistres, nudz teste, & laissent leur bonnet dessus le buffet." . . .

### 2. *r. The Oxford Students' Life.*

1598. Hentzner, p. 64. "These Students lead a life almost monastic; for as the monks had nothing in the world to do, but when they had said their prayers at stated hours, to employ themselves in instructive studies, no more have these. They are divided into three Tables: the first is called the Fellows Table, to which are admitted Earls, Barons, Gentlemen, Doctors, and Masters of Arts, but very few of the latter; this is more plentifully and expensively served than the others: The Second is for Masters of Arts, Bachelors, some Gentlemen, and eminent Citizens: The Third for people of low condition. While the rest are at dinner or supper in a great Hall, where they are all assembled, one of the Students reads aloud the Bible, which is placed on a desk in the middle of the Hall, and this office every one of them takes upon himself in his turn; as soon as Grace is said after each meal, every one is at liberty, either to retire to his own chambers, or to walk in the College garden, there being none that has not a delightful one.[1] Their habit is almost the same as that of the Jesuits, their gowns reaching down to their ancles, sometimes lined with furr; they wear square caps; the Doctors, Masters of Arts, and Professors, have another kind of gown that distinguishes them: Every Student of any considerable standing has a key to the College Library, for no College is without one."[2]

[1] *Emperor.* Trust me, Plantagenet, these Oxford schools
Are richly seated near the river-side:
The mountains full of fat and fallow deer,
The battling * pastures lade with kine and flocks,
The town gorgeous with high-built colleges,
And scholars seemly in their grave attire,
Learnèd in searching principles of art.—
What is thy judgment, Jaques Vandermast?
*Van.* That lordly are the buildings of the town,
Spacious the rooms, and full of pleasant walks;
But for the doctors, how that they be learnèd,
It may be meanly, for aught I can hear.

R. Greene, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (acted 1591), p. 166, col. 2, Dyce's 2-col. ed.

[2] Let us take from Mr Henry Bradshaw's copy of "An Inventory of the Stuff in the College Chambers (King's College, Cambridge), 1598," the furniture of the rooms of two pairs of Fellows, and three fours of Scholars. ("Each room contained accom-

* Causing to increase, or to grow fat.—D. Cp. College *battels*. *Battel*, fertile, &c.

### 2. *s. The Law Students.*

1598. Hentzner, p. 44. "In these Colleges [the Temple, Gray's Inn, and Lincoln's Inn,] numbers of the young nobility, gentry, and others, are educated, and chiefly in the study of physic, for very few apply them-

modation for two fellows or four scholars, and almost all the members of the college were in constant residence."—*Camb. Antiq. Soc. Com.* iii. 181.)

The seventh Middle Chamber

Inprimis a trundle beddsteade
Item a portall of waynscott with a presse ioyned to yt of bords with locke & kay & 2 payre of fayre hangells [? hooks]
Item a Courte Cubborde of oke
Item iiij double casements of Iron & one of woodd
Item 9 leaves for the windowes
Item a lead with a spoute for a lavor to washe
Item a gallary with a litle table
Item a frame of oke for books
Item ij casements of wood & ij leaves for wyndowes
Item a locke & ij bolts for ye dore
Item a studdye desked & shelved rounde
Item a locke & kay for the dore of the studdye
Item the ledges for the hangs in the Chamber
Item a Double Iron Casement with ij openings in the studdye
Item a round Drawing table in the Chamber
Item a waynscott bedstead with a Tester . . . .

Mr Lysle *
Mr Biddell
[* A fellow, the Anglo-Saxon scholar.]

bought of Mr Clark at his Departing by John Cowell Burser for 26s.

The fyveth vpper Chamber

Inprimis a table of oke & a long settell to ye same covered with seeling, which seeling is not ye Colledges.
Item a trundle bed of oke corded of 4s price
Item iiij doble casements of wood & iiij leaves for ye windowes
Item a lead with a spoute to wasshe with
Item a forme, and a locke & kaye to the Chamber dore
Item a standing bed brought out of Mr Fosters Chamber 1585 . . . .

Mr Clarke
Ds Slater
1598

The Tolebothe

The third Scholers Chamber

Inprimis 4 bedsteads corded
Item a table & 2 formes
Item a studdy at xijs
Item an other studdye at xxiiijs
Item 4 leaves for the windowes
Item an old presse of bords converted into the raysing of 3 studdyes
Item a portall

Ds Howgrave
D Woodd
1598
[Wyvell *senior*
Slater]

Horskepers Inn

The fourthe Schollers Chamber

Inprimis 4 bedstedds whereof 2 corded
Item a table a benche & a portall
Item a studdye at vis viijd
Item an other at xiiijs
Item ij leaves for the windowes

Ds
Montague
Bradberye
1598
[Hynde
Kellett]

selves to that of law[1]: They are allowed a very good table, and silver cups to drink out of. Once a person of distinction, who could not help being surprised at the great number of cups, said 'He should have thought it more suitable to the life of Students, if they had used rather glass or earthen-ware than silver.' The College answered, 'They were ready to make him a present of all their plate, provided he would undertake to supply them with all the glass, and earthen-ware, they should have a demand for; since it was very likely he would find the expence, from constant breaking, exceed the value of the silver.'"

*2. t. Queen Elizabeth, at Chapel at Greenwich; her Dinner.*

1598. Hentzner, p. 47. "We arrived next at the royal palace of Greenwich, reported to have been originally built by Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, and to have received very magnificent additions from Henry VII. It was here Elizabeth, the present queen, was born, and here she generally resides; particularly in summer, for the delightfulness of it's situation. We were admitted by an order Mr Rogers had procured from the Lord Chamberlain, into the Presence-chamber, hung with rich tapestry, and the floor, after the English fashion, strewed with hay,[2] through which the Queen commonly passes in her way to chapel: At the door stood a Gentleman dressed in velvet, with a gold chain, whose office was to introduce to the Queen any Person of Distinction, that came to wait on her: It was Sunday, when there is usually the greatest attendance of Nobility. In the same hall were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, a great number of Counsellors of State, Officers of the Crown, and Gentlemen, who waited the Queen's coming out; which she did from her own apartment, when it was time to go to Prayers, attended in the following manner:

"First went Gentlemen, Barons, Earls, Knights of the Garter, all

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The 6th Sch*ollers* Chamber
Barbers Inn

D Hynd
Tayler
1598
[Woodhall
Smithson]

Inprimis iiij bedsteads corded
Item a ioyned table with a frame, a forme & a benche
Item a presse
Item leaves to the wyndowes v
Item the studdye at ij$^{s}$ vj$^{d}$
Item in the same studdye a glasse wyndowe with a casment

[1] See in Sir John Davies's *Epigrammes*, 1598, (in Cunningham's *Marlowe*, p. 269, col. 2,) that on Publius, the Student at the Common Law, who leaves his books — old Plowden, Dyer, and Brooke—and goes into the bear-pit at Paris Garden to see the fights between the bears 'old Harry Hunkes and Sacarson' (the latter, Shakspere's in *Merry Wives*) and the dogs, and gets his satin doublet and velvet hose coverd all over with spittle and filth.

[2] *He probably means rushes.*—H. Walpole.

richly dressed and bare-headed; next came the Chancellor, bearing the Seals in a red silk Purse, between Two; one of which carried the Royal Scepter, the other the Sword of State, in a red scabbard, studded with golden Fleurs de Lis, the point upwards: Next came the Queen, in the Sixty-fifth year of her Age, as we were told, very majestic; her Face oblong, fair, but wrinkled; her Eyes small, yet black and pleasant; her Nose a little hooked; her Lips narrow, and her Teeth black; (a defect the English seem subject to, from their too great use of sugar) she had in her Ears two pearls, with very rich drops; she wore false Hair, and that red; upon her Head she had a small Crown, reported to be made of some of the gold of the celebrated Lunebourg table.[1] Her Bosom was uncovered, as all the English ladies have it, till they marry; and she had on a Necklace of exceeding fine jewels; her Hands were small, her Fingers long, and her Stature neither tall nor low; her air was stately, her manner of speaking mild and obliging. That day she was dressed in white Silk, bordered with pearls of the size of beans, and over it a Mantle of black silk, shot with silver threads; her Train was very long, and the end of it born by a Marchioness; instead of a Chain she had an oblong Collar of gold and jewels. As she went along in all this state and magnificence, she spoke very graciously, first to one, then to another, whether foreign Ministers, or those who attended for different reasons, in English, French, and Italian; for besides being well skilled in Greek, Latin, and the Languages I have mentioned, she is mistress of Spanish, Scotch, and Dutch: Whoever speaks to her, it is kneeling; now and then she raises some with her Hand. While we were there, W. Slawata, a Bohemian Baron, had letters to present to her; and she, after pulling off her glove, gave him her right Hand to kiss, sparkling with rings and jewels, a mark of particular Favour: Wherever she turned her Face, as she was going along, every body fell down on their knees.[2] The Ladies of the Court followed next to her, very handsome and well-shaped, and for the most part dressed in white; she was guarded on each side by the Gentlemen Pensioners[3], fifty in number, with gilt battle-axes; in the Antichapel next the Hall where we were, Petitions were presented to her, and she received them most graciously, which occasioned the acclamation of LONG LIVE QUEEN

[1] *At this distance of time, it is difficult to say what this was.*—H. Walpole.

[2] *Her Father had been treated with the same deference. It is mentioned by Fox in his Acts and Monuments, that when the Lord Chancellor went to apprehend queen Catherine Parr, he spoke to the King on his knees.*—H. Walpole.

*King James I. suffered his courtiers to omit it.*—Bacon's Papers, v. ii. p. 516.

[3] "The cowslips tall, her pensioners be."—*Mids. N.'s Dream*

ELIZABETH![1] She answered it with, I THANK YOU, MY GOOD PEOPLE. In the Chapel was excellent music; as soon as it, and the Service was over, which scarce exceeded half-an-hour, the Queen returned in the same State and Order, and prepared to go to Dinner. But while she was still at Prayers, we saw her Table set out with the following Solemnity:

"A Gentleman entered the room bearing a rod, and along with him another who had a table-cloth, which after they had both kneeled three times, with the utmost veneration, he spread upon the table; and after kneeling again, they both retired. Then came two others, one with the rod again, the other with a salt-seller, a plate, and bread; when they had kneeled as the others had done, and placed what was brought upon the table, they too retired with the same ceremonies performed by the first. At last came an unmarried Lady, (we were told she was a Countess) and along with her a married one, bearing a tasting-knife; the former was dressed in white silk, who, when she had prostrated herself three times, in the most graceful manner approached the table, and rubbed the plates with bread and salt, with as much awe as if the Queen had been present: When they had waited there a little while, the Yeomen of the Guard entered, bare-headed, cloathed in scarlet, with a golden rose upon their backs, bringing in at each turn a course of twenty-four dishes, served in plate, most of it gilt; these dishes were received by a Gentleman in the same order they were brought, and placed upon the table, while the Lady-Taster gave to each of the guard a mouthful to eat, of the particular dish he had brought, for fear of any poison. During the time that this guard, which consists of the tallest and stoutest men that can be found in all England, being carefully selected for this service, were bringing dinner, twelve trumpets, and two kettle-drums made the hall ring for half an hour together. At the end of all this ceremonial, a number of unmarried Ladies appeared, who with particular solemnity lifted the meat off the table, and conveyed it into the Queen's inner and more private chamber, where, after she had chosen for herself, the rest goes to the Ladies of the Court.

p. 53. "The Queen dines and sups alone with very few attendance; and it is very seldom that any body, foreign or native, is admitted at that time, and then only at the intercession of somebody in power.

"Near this palace is the Queen's Park stocked with deer: Such Parks

[1] "Men and women, when they passed her Majesty, fell on their knees, and exclaimed, with uplifted hands, '*Gott sauve the Quene!*' Even nobles are accustomed to kneel on one knee when they are conversing with her."—1585. Kiechel of Ulm, in *Rye*, p. 88.

are common throughout England, belonging to those that are distinguished either for their rank or riches. In the middle of this is an old square Tower, called MIREFLEUR, supposed to be that mentioned in the romance of Amadis de Gaul; and joining to it a plain, where Knights and other Gentlemen use to meet at set times and holydays to exercise on horse-back."

### 3. *Theatres.*

Hentzner in 1598 says of the London theatres, in Horace Walpole's englishing, 1757, p. 41-3 :—

"Without the city are some *Theatres*, where English Actors represent almost every day Tragedies and Comedies to very numerous audiences; these are concluded with excellent music, variety of dances, and the excessive applause of those that are present.[1]

[1] Reginald Scot in 1587 notes that the song of the workmen at Dover harbour "is a more ciuil call than the brutish call at the theatre for the comming awaie of the plaiers to the stage," the representative of the modern stamping and clapping when the curtain isn't drawn up at the proper time. (*Holinshed*, iii. 1546, in Thynne's *Animadversions*, p. lxxviii.)

Sir John Davies sketches the proud Courtier at the theatre, in his Epigram (A.D. 1598).

IN RUFUM, III.

Rufus the Courtier, at the theatre,
Leaving the best and most conspicuous place,
Doth either to the stage himself transfer,
Or through a gate, doth show his double face,
For that the clamorous fry of Inns of Court
Fills up the private rooms of greater price;
And such a place, where all may have resort,
He, in his singularity, doth despise.

Marlowe's *Works*, ed. Cunningham, p. 263.

By the date of Ben Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass*, 1616, the stage was the favourite show-place for well-dresst folk :

Here is a cloke cost fifty pound, wife,
Which I can sell for thirty, when I have seen
All London in't, and London has seen me.
To-day I go to *the Blackfriars playhouse*,
Sit in the view, salute all my acquaintance,
Rise up between the acts, let fall my cloak,
Publish a handsome man and a rich suit;
And that's a special end why we go thither,
All that pretend *to stand for't on the stage:*
The ladies ask, "who's that?" For they do come
To see us, as we do to see them.

Act I. sc. iii, p. 347, col. 2, Moxon's edition.

The scene at the break-up of the audience was a mixt one, Sir John Davies says in 1598—Epigram xvii, Marlowe, p. 265, col. 2:

. . . we see at all the playhouse doors,
When ended is the play, the dance and song,

"Not far from one of these Theatres, which are all built of wood,[1] lies the Royal barge, close to the river; it has two splendid cabbins, beautifully ornamented with glass windows, painting and gilding; it is kept upon dry ground, and sheltered from the weather.

"There is still another place, built in the form of a Theatre, which serves for the baiting of Bulls and Bears: they are fastned behind, and then worried by great English bulldogs; but not without great risque to the dogs, from the horns of the one, and the teeth of the other; and it sometimes happens they are killed upon the spot; fresh ones are immediately supplied in the places of those that are wounded or tired. To this entertainment, there often follows that of whipping a blinded Bear, which is performed by five or six men, standing circularly with whips, which they exercise upon him without any mercy, as he cannot escape from them because of his chain: he defends himself with all his force and skill, throwing down all who come within his reach, and are not active enough to get out of it, and tearing the whips out of their hands, and breaking them. At these spectacles, and every where else, the English are constantly smoking Tobacco, and in this manner: they have pipes on purpose made of clay, into the farther end of which they put the herb, so dry that it may be rubbed into powder, and putting fire to it, they draw the smoak into their mouths, which they puff out again through their nostrils, like funnels, [and] along with it, plenty of phlegm and defluxion from the head.[2]

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A thousand townsmen, gentlemen and whores,
Porters and serving-men together throng.

A dance and song often followd the performance. The Epilogue to *2 Henry IV.* is spoken by a dancer.

The dress of one of the 'light-taylde' sisterhood is given by Davies in his Epigram xxvi: 'satin gown, cut-lawn* apron, velvet shoes, green silk stockings, petticoat of taffeta, with golden fringe around, withal perfumed with civet hot.' Did others wear velvet?

"This comes of . . here in London, haunting
The Globes and Mermaids, wedging in with lords
Still at the table, and affecting letchery
In velvet."

1616. Ben Jonson. *The Devil is an Ass*, III. i. p. 357, col. 2.

He brings in his favourite inn again in *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), I. i. p. 307, col. 2: "A pox o' these pretenders to wit! Your Three Cranes, Mitre, and Mermaid men!'

[1] The *Globe* was of wood. In 1610, April, "Monday 30th. His Excellency [the Duke of Wirtemberg] went to the *Globe*, the usual place for acting Plays; the history of the Moor of Venice ['*Othello*'] was represented there."—1610. Hans Jacob Wurmsser von Vendenheym.—*Rye*, p. 61.

[2] See Harrison in Appendix I., p. lv, under 1573.

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* Embroiderd stockings, *cut-work* smocks and shirts. B. Jonson, *Devil is an Ass*, I. i. p. 344, col. 2.

"In these theatres, fruits, such as apples, pears and nuts, according to the season, are carried about to be sold, as well as ale and wine."

When speaking of the London stage, Kiechel says that there are some peculiar (*sonderbare*, i. e. *besondere*) houses, which are so constructed that they have about three galleries one above the other. "It may indeed happen, that the players take from 50 to 60 dollars [£10 to £12] at a time, particularly if they act any thing new, when people have to pay double. And that they perform nearly every day in the week; notwithstanding plays are forbidden on Friday and Saturday, this prohibition is not observed."—*Rye*, p. 88.

For the 'light-taylde huswives' at Shakspere's Globe, see John Lane, in my *Tell-troth* volume, p. 132, and the notes on the stanza, at the end of the book. Also—

In or ab. 1580. Stephen Gosson. *Playes confuted.*[1] "In the Play-houses at London, it is the fashion of youthes[2] to go first into the yarde[3], and to cary their eye through every gallery; then, like unto ravens, where they spy carrion, thither they flye, and presse as nere to the fairest as they can. Instead of pomegranates, they give them pippines; they dally with their garments to passe the time; they minister talke upon al occasions, and eyther bring them [the girls] home to their houses[4] upon small acquaint-

[1] See Gosson's *School of Abuse*, 1579; and the Preface to the reprint of it by the old Shakespeare Society, for an account of the Puritan abusers of plays and players. The *second and third blast of retrait from plaies and Theaters*, 1580, is very strong against them. I shall print some extracts in my notes to Stubbes's *Anatomie*.

[2] The life of the purposeless London gentleman at ease is sketcht by Sir John Davies in his *Epigrammes*, 1598 (Marlowe's *Works*, ed. Cunningham, p. 269).

In Fuscum. xxxix.

Fuscus is free, and hath the world at will,
Yet in the course of life that he doth lead,
He's like a horse, which, turning round a mill,
Doth always in the self-same circle tread:
First, he doth rise at ten; and at eleven
He goes to Gill's, where he doth eat till one;
Then sees he a play till six, and sups at seven;
And after supper, straight to bed is gone.
And there till ten next day he doth remain;
And then he dines; then sees a comedy;
And then he sups, and goes to bed again:
Thus round he runs without variety;
Save that sometimes he comes not to the play,
But falls into a whore-house by the way.

[3] An inn-yard us'd as, or turnd into, a theatre, I suppose, the galleries of the inn running round the yard.

[4] Stubbes notices this too, in his Chapter on Stage plays: "Do they not maintaine bawdrie, insinuat folery, & renue *the* remembrance of hethen ydolatrie? Do they not

ance, or slip into taverns when the plaies are done."—Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 322.

### 4. *a. The Country and Cattle.*

1558. Perlin, p. 25. "Le pais est fort couvert & umbrageux; car les terres sont toutes encloses de hayes, chesnes, & plusieurs autres sortes d'arbres, tellement que vous penses en cheminant que vous soyes en un perpetuel boys: mais vous trouveres forces escaliers qui sont appelés en Anglois *amphores* (? ), & par là les gens de pied vont par des petis sentiers, & entrent dedans les terres. Les gens de cheval n'y vont pas; mais s'en vont par le grand chemin, entre arbres & buissons. En ce pays là, il n'y a point de bergers qui mainent ordinairement les moutons; mais en les laissent ordinairement dedans les boys, soir & matin, & dedans les prayries communes."

### 4. *b. English boggy Roads. Sheep, Oxen, Peasants' huts, Rabbits, Polecats, Birds of Prey.*

1592. Jacob Rathgeb, printed 1602. *Rye*, p. 30. "Between London and Oxford the country is in some places very fertile, in others very boggy and mossy; and such immense numbers of sheep are bred on it round about that it is astonishing. There is besides a superabundance of oxen and other good cattle . . . . . .

p. 31. "His Highness, however, departed early that same morning, August 28th, and took the road towards Cambridge.

"On the road we passed through a villainous, boggy, and wild country, and several times missed our way, because the country thereabouts is very little inhabited, and is nearly a waste; and there is one spot in particular where the mud is so deep, that in my opinion it would scarcely be possible to pass with a coach in winter or rainy weather.

"About mid-day we came upon a fertile country, where there were little low hillocks, and a fine breed of splendid large oxen, and countless numbers of sheep: the peasants dwell in small huts, and pile up their

induce whordom & vnclennes? nay, are they not rather plaine devourers of maydenly virginitie and chastitie? For proofe wherof, but marke the flocking and running to Theaters & Curtens, daylie and hourely, night and daye, tyme and tyde, to see Playes and Enterludes; where such wanton gestures, such bawdie speaches, such laughing and fleering, such kissing and bussing, such clipping and culling, Suche winckinge and glancinge of wanton eyes, and the like, is vsed, as is wonderfull to behold. Than, these goodly pageants being done, euery mate sorts to his mate, euery one bringes another homeward of their way verye freendly, and in their secret conclaues (couertly) they play *the Sodomits*, or worse. And these be the fruits of Playes and Enterluds for the most part."

The fruits of theathers & playes.

The Godly demeanoures vsed at playes & enterludes.

HARRISON. *f.*

produce out of doors in heaps, and so high that you cannot see their houses.

"At noon his Highness dined at a pleasant village called Winslow, and towards dark we came to Bedford.

"Between these two places there is for the most part a sandy plain or heath, on which are a great number of wild rabbits, which are not in enclosures, but run free, so that you see fifty or sixty of them together, of all colours; but they scamper off like the wind into their burrows. In these parts they likewise catch wild-cats (*Kiider*) and pole-cats, and various kinds of birds of prey, which do much injury to the rabbits; on this account they hang them on a gallows, as they do wolves, but first strip off their skins."

### 4. *c. English Soldiers, Passports, Climate, Witches, Game, Cattle, Sheep-shearing, Horses, Crops, Fish.*

1592. Rathgeb, pr. 1602. *Rye*, p. 50—52. "The soldiers, moreover, are excellent, but they do not willingly go on foreign service. When soldiers are wanted, and idlers are seen lounging about, they give them money and then they are bound to serve whether they like it or not; or should they [desert and] be caught, their business is soon settled; for because, as above mentioned, this kingdom is an island, and encompassed on every side by water, so that no one can enter or depart except in ships, orders have been issued to all ports or havens, that no Englishman shall leave it without a licence.

"As regards cold weather and thunder storms we ought to remark that the winter sets in with snow in December, and lasts till February, but the snow does not lie long, for the climate is warm.

"Many witches are found there, who frequently do much mischief by means of hail and tempests.

"Of game, it has great store of fallow-deer of various colours, as well in the woods[1] as in enclosed parks; likewise red deer, stags, and other game, though few and small; but no wild boars nor wolves are met with in this island, and no roes; but there are foxes and hares, vast numbers of rabbits or coneys, which are everywhere to be found in enclosed gardens, as well as in the open fields and woods; these make their escape from the gardens.

"Of tame quadrupeds, it has beautiful oxen and cows, although not so big as the Burgundy cattle, but they have very large horns, are low and heavy, and for the most part black; there is abundance of sheep and

[1] This shows that Sir Thomas Lucy could have had deer at Charlecote without having a regular park there.

wethers in all parts and places, which graze by themselves winter and summer without shepherds; but when it snows or freezes hard, they are driven into yards and fed with fodder, otherwise they do not go into the stables either in summer or winter.

"Sheep-shearing takes place only once, viz., in the month of June; the heaviest wethers weigh sixty pounds, others from forty to fifty pounds; they bear at the most not more than six, others four or five pounds of wool; one of the best wethers (notwithstanding that they are very abundant) sells for about twenty shillings, that is, ten French francs or five thalers; the inferior sort about ten shillings, or five francs; and the worst about six or eight English shillings. The skin of the best wether and sheep is worth about twelve pence, that is, four and a half German batzen; the worst about eight pence or three batzen; a pound of wool about twelve pence, or four and a half batzen.

"Horses are abundant, yet, although low and small, they are very fleet; the riding horses are geldings, and are generally excellent. The Queen has forbidden any horse to be exported out of the Kingdom without a licence.

"There are immense numbers of swine, which are larger than in any other country.

"Of tame and wild fowl, there are swans in great numbers, herons, ducks, pheasants, partridges, quails, turtle-doves, and wild doves.

"Of agricultural produce, it has very fine corn, rye, barley, oats, beans, hops, vegetables, apples, pears of various sorts, red and blue plums, cherries, (which however do not become ripe before June,) but no peaches except what are grown in gardens.

"There is no wine-growing in this kingdom[1]; but if you want wine, you can purchase the best and most delicious sorts, of various nations, and that on account of the great facility which the sea affords them for barter with other countries.

"Oysters are in great plenty, and are better and larger than in Italy; they are cried in all parts of the streets. They sell also cod, plaice, small white river fish, pike, carp, trout, lobsters and crawfish, and in fine, all kinds of sea-fish, which are sold like meat in other parts, both fresh and salted."

### 4. *d. The Soil, Climate, Beer, Sheep, &c. of England.*

1598. Hentzner, p. 86. "The soil is fruitful, and abounds with cattle, which inclines the inhabitants rather to feeding than ploughing, so that near a third part of the land is left uncultivated for grazing. The climate is

[1] This was a mistake: see Harrison's bk. i., ch. 18, to come in Part II.

most temperate at all times, and the air never heavy; consequently, maladies are scarcer, and less physic is used there, than any where else. There are but few rivers: Though the soil is productive, it bears no wine[1], but that want is supplied from abroad by the best kinds, as of Orleans, Gascon, Rhenish, and Spanish. The general drink is beer, which is prepared from barley, and is excellently well tasted, but strong, and what soon fuddles. There are many hills without one tree, or any spring,[2] which produce a very short and tender grass, and supply plenty of food to sheep; upon these wander numerous flocks, extremely white; and whether from the temperature of the air, or goodness of the earth, bearing softer and finer fleeces than those of any other country: This is the true Golden Fleece, in which consist the chief riches of the inhabitants, great sums of money being brought into the island by merchants chiefly for that article of trade. The dogs here are particularly good. It has mines of gold, silver, and tin, (of which all manner of table utensils are made, in brightness equal to silver, and used all over Europe) of lead, and of iron, but not much of the latter: The horses are small but swift: Glass houses are in plenty here."

### 4. *e. A Berkshire Harvest-Home.*

Hentzner, p. 79. "As we were returning to our inn [at Windsor, Sept. 14], we happened to meet some country people *celebrating their Harvest-home*[3]; their last load of corn they crown with flowers, having besides an image richly dressed, by which, perhaps, they would signify Ceres; this they keep moving about, while men and women, men and maid servants, riding through the streets in the cart, shout as loud as they can till they arrive at the barn. The farmers here do not bind up their corn in sheaves, as they do with us, but directly as they have reaped or mowed it, put it into carts, and convey it into their barns."

### 5. *a. London.*[4]

Hentzner, p. 45. "The streets in this city are very handsome and clean[5]; but that which is named from the goldsmiths who inhabit it

1 This was a mistake: see Harrison's bk. i., ch. 18, to come in Part II.

2 The Downs.

3 See Stubbes's *Anatomie of Abuses*.

4 See Perlin's opinion of the city at p. xli above, note 1.

5 Here's a London street-scene, in 1590, from Sir Jn. Davies's *Epigrammes*, that no doubt Shakspere often saw and sympathizd with, for he lovd music with all his heart:

> . . the ballade-singer's auditorie,
> which hath at Temple-bar his standing chose,
> and to the vulgar sings an alehouse storie.

surpasses all the rest: There is in it a gilt Tower, with a fountain that plays. Near it on the farther side is a handsome house, built by a goldsmith, and presented by him to the city. There are besides to be seen in this street, as in all others where there are goldsmiths' shops, all sorts of gold and silver vessels exposed to sale; as well as antient and modern medals, in such quantities as must surprize a man the first time he sees and considers them.

"Fitz-Stephens, a writer of English history, reckoned in his time in London, 127 parish Churches, and 13 belonging to Convents: He mentions besides, that upon a review there of men able to bear arms, the people brought into the field under their colours 40,000 foot and 20,000 horse. *Vide Cambden's Britan. Middlesex.*"

p. 46. "The best Oysters are sold here in great quantities.

"Every body knows that English Cloth is much approved of, for the goodness of the materials, and imported into all the kingdoms and provinces of Europe.

"We were shown at the house of Leonard Smith, a taylor, a most perfect looking-glass ornamented with gold, pearl, silver, and velvet, so richly as to be estimated at five hundred ecus du soleil. We saw at the same place the hippocamp and eagle stone, both very curious and rare.

"And thus much of London.

"Upon taking the air down the river, the first thing that struck us, was the ship of that noble Pirate, Sir Francis Drake, in which he is said to have surrounded this globe of earth. On the left hand lies Ratcliffe, a considerable suburb: On the opposite shore is fixed a long pole with rams-horns upon it, the intention of which was vulgarly said to be, a reflection upon wilful and contented cuckolds."

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First stands a Porter: then an Oyster wife
Doth stint her crie, and stay her steps to heare him,
Then comes a cutpurse ready with a knife,
and then a cuntry Client passeth neere him,
There stands the Cunstable, there stands the whore,
And harkning to the song, mark not each other.
There, by the Serieant, standes the debtor poore,
And doth no more mistrust him then his brother:
Thus Orpheus to such hearers giveth musique,
And Philo [the quack] to such Patients giueth physicke.

(Marlowe's *Works*, ed. Cunningham, p. 268, col. 2,) *In Philonem.* XXXVIII. *Epigrammes and Elegies.* By I. D[avies]. and C. M[arlow]. [n. d., but prob. 1590]. At Middleborugh. sign. C 4 *verso.* In Grosart's edition of Sir John Davies, 2 Vols. 1876, in Vol. I. pp. ci-cii, this is shown to have been the archetype of Wordsworth's famous "Power of Music:" in Vol. II. pp. 36-7 is the Epigram in full, with text of various readings.—J. W. Ebsworth.

5. *b. Water.*

"The sweet water is preserved in various parts of the city, in large well-built stone cisterns [conduits], to be drawn off by cocks; and the poor labourers [water-bearers] carry it on their shoulders to the different houses and sell it, in a peculiar kind of wooden vessels, broad at the bottom, but very narrow at the top, and bound with iron hoops."—1592. Jacob Rathgeb, pr. 1602; in *Rye*, p. 8.

5. *c. The London Apprentices.*

1558. Perlin, p. 7. "Vous voyrres a Londres les apprentis avec des robbes contre leurs bouticques, nuds testes, & contre la muraille de leur maison, tellement qu'en passant parmi les rues, vous en trouveres cinquante ou soixante contre les murailles comme idoles, ayans leurs bonnetz a la main."

5. *d. The Shops.*

1558. Perlin, p. 24. "En ce pays là, toutes les bouticles de tous mestiers sont ouvertes,[1] comme ceux des barbiers en France; & ont force ouvertures de voirres, tant aux ouvrerois qu'aux chambres d'en hault: car aux chambres vous verries force croisées de voire, & par tout les maisons quasi de toutes les villes, quant est aux gens de mestier: & sont toutes icelles maisons comme les ouvrerois des barbiers de France, tant par hault que par bas; & verries a leurs ouvreoirs & fenestres, tant de ville que de villages, forces fleurs; & aux tavernes, forces foin dessus les planchiers de boys, & forces oreilliés tapisseries, sur lesquelz les voyagers se assisent."[2]

6. *a. Cambridge.*[3]

Hentzner, p. 56. "On this side [of the bridge over the Cam] where

[1] He means that the openings of the [projecting] shops were closed only by shutters, though some had glass windows, which were more common to the upper rooms. The London shops were like what Mr Gosling describes those till lately in Canterbury, open to the weather [*Walk in and about Canterbury*, p. 46 (A.D. 1774, 1777, &c.).] The principal use of the *Rows* in Chester seems to have been to obviate this inconvenience, as it was found advisable to make the shops in the second story, and the warehouses and vaults on the ground-floor.—Nichols.

[2] Of Londons pride I will not boast upon,
Her gold, her silver, and her ornaments;
Her Gems and Jewells, pearles and precious stone,
Her furniture and rich habilliments;
Her cloth of silver tissue, and of gold,
Which in her shops men dayly may behold.

1607. Rich. Johnson. *The Pleasant Walkes of Moore-fields* (Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 408.)

[3] See the jolly little Map of Cambridge in 1588, in Wm. Smith's Description of

far the greater part of the town stands, all is splendid: the streets fine, the churches numerous, and those seats of the Muses, the Colleges, most beautiful: in these a great number of learned men are supported, and the studies of all polite sciences and languages flourish."

p. 58. "We must note here that there is a certain Sect in England, called *Puritans:* These, according to the doctrine of the Church of Geneva, reject all ceremonies antiently held, and admit of neither organs nor tombs in their places of worship, and entirely abhor all difference in rank among churchmen, such as Bishops, Deans, &c.: they were first named Puritans by the Jesuit Sandys. They do not live separate, but mix with those of the Church of England in the Colleges."

### 6. *b. Oxford.*

p. 59. "*Oxonium*, Oxford, the famed Athens of England; that glorious seminary of learning and wisdom, whence religion, politeness and letters are abundantly dispersed into all parts of the kingdom: The town is remarkably fine, whether you consider the elegance of its private buildings, the magnificence of its public ones, or the beauty and wholesomenes of its situation; which is on a plain, encompassed in such manner with hills shaded with wood, as to be sheltered on the one hand from the sickly South, and on the other from the blustering West, but open to the East that blows serene weather, and to the North the preventer of corruption; from which in the opinion of some it formerly obtained the appellation of Bellositum. This town is watered by two rivers, the Cherwell and the Isis, vulgarly called the Ouse; and though these streams join in the same channel, yet the Isis runs more entire, and with more rapidity towards the South, retaining its name until it meets the Thames, which it seems long to have sought, at Wallingford, thence called by the compound name of Thames, it flows the prince of all British rivers; of whom we may justly say, as the antients did of the Euphrates, That it both sows and waters England. The Colleges in this famous University are as follows: [*a list given: then*]

p. 63. "Thus far the Colleges and Halls, which for beauty of their buildings, their rich endowments, and copious Libraries, excell all the Academies in the Christian world."

### 6. *c. The Universities of Cambridge and Oxford.*

1558. Perlin, p. 12. "En iceluy Royaulme d'Angleterre sont deulx

England and Wales, in the Sloane MS. 2596. Mr Hooper is now cutting it for Prof. J. E. B. Mayor's edition of Cardinal or Bishop Fisher's English Works for the Early English Text Society; and I hope to give a print of it in Part II. of this *Harrison*.

universités, c'est a scavoir, Cambruches & Auxonne, qu'on appelle en latin *Auxonia*; Cambruche, en latin, *Cambrusium*. Ceux du pays ne courent gaire ou bien peu, & ne s'adonnent poinct beaucoup aux lettres, sinon qu'a toute vanite & ambition, & a toute marchandise. Les Italiens hantent fort le pays pour raison de la bancque."

7. *Warwickshire.* [A.D. 1599.] Harl. MS. 3813, leaf 40.

"**Warwickshire**, a good Mediterranean Prouince, noted to be in quantitie superficiall 555 miles, conteyninge 122 miles in circute, beinge 37 miles longe, from Staffordshire vnto Oxfordshire, & 25 miles broade, from Leycestershire vnto Worcestershire: a Contrey some parte plaine Champion & y^e^ rest wood lande, deuided with y^e^ ryuer Auon, plentifull bothe in corne & pasturage, whereby it is well inhabited, conteyninge 1 Chase, & 16. parkes for pleasure, & comprehendeth 158 parishes, wherof their be 12. markett townes, & but 1. borough to y^e^ Parliament, besides y^e^ Cittie of Couentrie; the principall whereof are, the Cittie of Couentrie, a fyne, neate, & well built towne, & walled about, cheefelie noted, for wollen workes, & blue thridd, and is a Bushops Sea, ioyned vnto Lychfeild. Next is y^e^ Burrough of Warwicke, y^e^ Capitall towne of *that* Contrey, reasonablie well built, with an antient castle, the cheefe seate of y^e^ Earles of *that* title. Next is Stratford vpon Auon and Henley, good markett townes, & Bremyngham, cheefelie noted for all sortes of Iron tooles."

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p. vi. *Radwinter.* Harrison's parsonage. "At Radwinter, Essex, we find by the terrier of 1610 A.D. that there were two mansions belonging to the benefice, 'on the south side of the church, towards the west end, one called the great vicarage, and in ancient time the *Domus Capellanorum*, and the other the less vicarage,' which latter 'formerly served for the ease of the Parson, and, as appears by evidence, first given to the end that if any of the parish were sick, the party might be sure to find the Parson or his curate near the church, ready to go and visit him.'"—Cutts's *Scenes and Characters of the Middle-Ages*, 1872, p. 260-1.

p. 104. *Rabeigh.* Read 'Raleigh.' The name is rightly given by John Norden (who notes the custom too) in his beautiful MS. *Description of Essex*, 1594, (much fuller than the Camden Society's printed one) dedicated to the Earl of Essex, in the Grenville Library MS. LV, British Museum. Walker's Gazeteer of 1801 describes the town: "RAYLEIGH, or RALEIGH, a town in Essex, consisting chiefly of one broad handsome street. It is situated upon the creek called Hadley-Bay, which parts it from Canvey-Island, 13 miles S.E. of Chelmsford, and 34 N.N.E. of London. Market on Saturday." Radwinter, Harrison's town, is near Colchester.

# APPENDIX III.

## NOTES UPON NORDEN AND HIS MAP OF LONDON, 1593.

BY

HENRY B. WHEATLEY.

THE earliest view of London known to exist is the drawing by Anthony Van den Wyngrerde preserved in the Sutherland Collection (Bodleian Library, Oxford), but as this most interesting representation of old London was made in the reign of Henry VIII., it is of too early a date for our present purpose, which is to realise if possible the appearance of the city in which Shakspere lived and did the chief work of his life. The next plan in point of time is the one included in George Braun's and Francis Hohenberg's great work—*Civitates Orbis Terrarum.* 1572. Although so dated, the map is proved to have been drawn at an earlier period, as the steeple of old St Paul's, which was destroyed in 1561, is represented on it. It is therefore supposed to be a copy from some earlier map not now known to exist. The next is the map attributed to Ralph Agas, which is undated, but was probably made somewhere between 1561 and 1576. The copy in the Guildhall Library was printed in the reign of James I., as is proved by the composition of the royal arms in the upper left-hand corner of the map, where the Scottish lion is quartered with the lions of England, the fleur de lis of France, and the harp of Ireland; but there is reason to believe that many editions had previously been printed, which are no longer in existence, because the royal arms of Elizabeth are seen on the state barge off Baynard's Castle. It must have been made after 1561, because the steeple of St Paul's is not represented, and it seems unlikely, as Mr Halliwell-Phillipps points out, that if it had been planned after 1576 the positions of *The Theatre* and the *Curtain* would have been left out of so large a map. Besides these important plans of London there are—a small bird's-eye view etched by F. Velagio and inscribed "Londra" (about 1570), which was sold at Dr Wellesley's sale, and is now in Mr Crace's collection; and a coloured

drawing of London from the Tower to Westminster Abbey in the interesting manuscript volume by William Smith, Rouge Dragon, entitled "The Particuler Description of England with the Portratures of certaine of the cheiffest Citties and Townes," 1588 (Sloane MS. 2596).

We now come to the special map before us, which is dated 1593, and is by far the best one for the purpose of illustrating Shakspere's London. The original, published in Norden's *Middlesex*, is of small size [9½ inches wide by 6¾ inches high], but by the aid of photography the present copy has been considerably enlarged with no detriment to its accuracy.[1] By this means a good workable map has been obtained, which is of peculiar value from the large number of references to the names of places which it includes. The date 1593 appears twice on the plate, once after the designer's name, and again after that of the engraver, and the trustworthiness of this date is proved by the representation of 'The Playhouse,' on the Bankside, which, as Mr Halliwell-Phillipps has already pointed out in his *Illustrations*, is intended for the Rose theatre, erected in the year 1592. Before proceeding to describe the chief features of interest in the map, it will be well to devote a few words to a short notice of the man to whom we are indebted for its production.

Little is known of John Norden outside of his work, and it is not quite clear whether there were not two authors bearing both these names who were living at the same time. Anthony à Wood was of opinion that the author of a large number of devotional works (one of which, 'The Pensive Man's Practice,' 12°, 1591, went through forty editions) was the same man as the surveyor.

Wood informs us that Norden was born of a good family probably settled in Wiltshire, and Gough adds the date of his birth as about the year 1548. He was admitted a Commoner of Hart Hall, Oxford, in 1564, and graduated B.A. Feb. 11, 1568, and M.A. Feb. 26, 1572-3. During his residence at the University he is supposed to have drawn with the pen, on sixteen sheets, that map of all the battles fought in England from the Conquest to the time of Queen Elizabeth, which is mentioned by Hearne (Letter on Antiquities, &c., p. 34) as formerly existing in the Picture Gallery at Oxford.

Norden did much valuable work in his day and deserves our esteem, more especially as he does not appear to have prospered very greatly in a worldly point of view. Richard Heber, the great Bibliomaniac, possessed the presentation copy to Elizabeth, of Norden's *Hertfordshire*,

[1] The map was re-engraved for the reprint of Norden's *Middlesex*, 1723, and reproduced from the original in the first part of Mr Halliwell-Phillipps's *Illustrations of the Life of Shakespeare*.

with a manuscript address to the Queen, in which the author stated that he had spent above one thousand marks, and five years' time upon the work, 'by which being daungerouslie indepted, much greeved, and my familie distressed, I have no other refuge but to flie unto your Majestie's never fayling bountie for relief;'[1] and in the printed prefatory letter to Burghley, he wrote, "I have been forced to struggle with want, the unpleasant companion of illustrious desires, and have long sustained foils, enforced neglect of my purposed business, and sorrow of my working business,—Miseria mentem macerat." In James the first's reign he prospered better. In 1609 he was 'Surveyor of his Majesty's Woods,' and, according to Granger, he received a salary of fifty pounds a year from his office. He was also 'Land Surveyor to Prince Charles,' afterwards Charles I., and had much work to do connected with the manors of the Duchy of Cornwall.

In 1596 he dated from his poor house near Fulham, but Wood says that he lived during the greater part of James's reign at Hendon in Middlesex. From the following passage in Gerard's *Herball* (relating to *beta vulgaris*, or red beet) it appears that Norden cultivated plants in his garden—"the seedes taken from that plant which was altogither of one colour and sowen, doth bring foorth plants of many and variable colours, as the worshipful gentleman master John Norden can well testifie, unto whom I gave some of the seedes aforesaide, which in his garden brought foorth many other of beautiful colours" (*Herball*, 1597, p. 251). He died in or about 1626, and Granger describes a portrait which represents him as 'in a scull cap with a wrought border, falling band; a small oval.'

Norden projected a complete *Speculum Britanniæ*, but only published two counties, viz. Middlesex in 1593, and Hertfordshire in 1598. The MS. of the first is in the British Museum (Harl. MSS. 570), with a few corrections in the handwriting of Lord Burghley, and appears to have been the author's first draft. It differs somewhat from the printed copy, in that it contains some interesting particulars afterwards omitted and has no account of London. The reason for this omission is given by Norden in the following words—"I purpose to make a perticuler breife declaracõn therof, together with the mapp of the Cytie, might it please God to be pacient with the seyd Cytie, and to put awaye his anger, that the sicknes may cease." The MS. of the other is in the Archiepiscopal library at Lambeth. The two books were reprinted together in 1637, and again in 1723. Northamptonshire was written in 1610, but was not published until 1720, and Cornwall was first published in 1728. Essex was written in 1594, but remained in MS. at Hatfield until 1840, when

[1] Norden's *Essex*, ed. Sir Henry Ellis (Camden Society, 1840), p. xxxiv.

it was printed for the Camden Society by Sir Henry Ellis, who prefixed a valuable introduction, from which these particulars relating to Norden have chiefly been obtained. There is another MS. of Essex in the Grenville Library (MS. LV.) which is altogether a different work from that at Hatfield.[1] In the dedication of the latter to the Earl of Essex Norden writes: "Thus, my gratious Lorde, hauinge waded throwgh this Shire, I haue taken boldenes in humilitie, to present it vnto your honorable view; Euen so commendinge it vnto your moste wished patronage, thowgh symplie contryved in the interime of the fittes of my longe and chargeable sicknes."

Kent and Surrey are said to exist in MS., but it is not known where. Norden's County Maps of Hampshire, Hertfordshire, Kent, Middlesex, Surrey and Sussex appeared upon an enlarged scale with his name in the sixth edition of Camden's *Britannia*, 1607, which was the first edition of that book with maps. These on a still larger scale (with the exception of Kent, but with Cornwall added) were also inserted in Speed's *Theater of the empire of Great Britain*, folio, 1611. Norden was the first Cartographer to introduce the roads, but these enlarged copies of his maps have no roads marked. Norden's *Surveyor's Dialogue* was published in 1607, and again in 1610 and 1611. 'England an Intended Guyde for English Travaillers,' &c., appeared in 1625. At the end of Norden's book on Middlesex are the usual complimentary verses of admiring friends on the projected *Speculum*. Robert Nicolson compares the author with Ptolemy and Ortelius as a geographer, with Mercator as a chorographer, with Braun as a 'poly-grapher,' and sums up all—

'So Cosmo-choro-Poly-grapher's he.'

H. O. is still more effusive, and ends his praise with an anagrammatic pun:—

'Norden this glasse shall so exalt thy fame
As grave, *nor-den*, nor tombe shall hide thy name.'

Among the various Surveys made by Norden in the exercise of the duties of his offices are, 'A Description of the Honor of Windesor, 1607' (a fine set of MS. plans and views on vellum among the Harleian MSS. of the British Museum), 'Observations concerning crown lands and woods, 1613' (Lansdowne MSS. 165, art. 55), and 'An Abstract of divers Manors, Landes, and Tenementes latelie graunted unto Prince Charles by our Soveraigne Lord James, his most loving father. Surveyde by

[1] Rye's England as seen by Foreigners, 1865, p. 185.

vertue of a deputation of y^e^ honourable Sir James Fullerton, knighte, Surveyor general of the landes and land revenews of the sayd moste worthy Prince Charles, made and performed by John Norden the elder, and John Norden the younger, as deputies to the sayd Sir James, in the moneths of June, July, August, and parte of September 1617' (B. M. Add. MSS. No. 6027).

Norden was still alive in 1624, when he finished with his son the survey of Sheriff Hutton Manor, County York.

Besides the map of London drawn by Norden in 1593 and engraved by Pieter van den Keere in the same year, there was 'a view of London in eight sheets having at bottom a representation of the Lord Mayor's Show, all on horseback and the Aldermen in round caps. Bagford says this view is singular, and was taken from the pitch of the hill towards Dulwich College, going to Camberwell from London, about 1604 or 1606, and that he had not met with any other of the kind: he adds, that he saw it on the staircase of Dulwich College, and that Secretary Pepys went afterwards to see it, and would have purchased it: but that since it is quite decayed and destroyed by the damp of the wall. It was given to the College with the Library by William Cartwright, an eminent comedian and bookseller, a friend of the founder's.'[1]

The map which we are now about to consider has frequently been reproduced, and several editions were published under the title of 'A Guide for Countrymen in the famous Cittey of London, &c.' 1613, 1653, &c. In looking at this map it is necessary to bear in mind that it represents the City only, and that Westminster was delineated on another map published in Norden's *Middlesex*. London is made to extend from a little outside Temple bar to St Katherines by the Tower.

The three chief Shaksperian localities are Shoreditch, Blackfriars, and Bankside; but in one point of view we may consider the whole of London delineated on this map as a Shaksperian locality, for in those days, when all the town was included within a limited area, every part must have been familiar to our great poet.

There are two ways by which Shakspere may have come to London from his home at Stratford-on-Avon, viz. the road by Nether Pillerton, Banbury, Buckingham, Aylesbury, Wendover, and Amersham; and that by Shipston on Stour, Long Compton, Chipping Norton, Woodstock, Oxford, Wheatley, Tetsworth, High Wycombe, and Beaconsfield, which we know he used when he stayed at old Davenant's inn—the Crown at Oxford. Both these roads would meet at Uxbridge, and therefore there is little doubt but, that as Shakspere neared London, he

[1] Gough, *quoted by* Ellis (Norden's Essex, p. xxiv.).

came along the Uxbridge road by Shepherd's Bush, Kensington gravel pits, Tyburn, the Lord Mayor's Banqueting houses, and the village of St Giles, along Holborn, and that he passed by Gray's Inn, where Edward Hall the Chronicler (whose work Shakspere sometimes used), George Gascoigne, the poet, and William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, had been students. These buildings, with their beautiful gardens attached, are at the extreme west of our map. After passing St Andrew's Church and the Holborn Conduit, Shakspere would enter the City at Newgate. What did he see? We will now attempt to answer this question. At the time of this memorable first journey to London, which was made a few years only before the date of this map, the only theatres on the north side of the Thames were the Theatre and the Curtain, and both these buildings were situated in the fields at Shoreditch, which unfortunately are not here represented. The road which issues from Bishopgate leads to them, but the limits of the map would not allow of the representation of what was then a village suburb with a church among the trees. The Blackfriars theatre was not built,[1] nor was the still more famous Globe in existence.

If we were to mark off the outline of Norden's map upon a plan of London of to-day, we should find that it occupied a small portion of the centre only, and yet this space was made up to some extent of open places. There is the Gray's Inn lane, the upper part of which led through the country towards Hampstead. The village of Islington stands alone among the hills in the far north, and was not then, as it afterwards became, the high road to the north of England. Not far off, and coming into the map at the north-west corner, is the River of Wells, which takes a serpentine course down to Holborn, passes under Holborn bridge, then under Fleet bridge, and falls into the Thames as the Fleet river or ditch between Bridewell and Blackfriars. Moorfields was then only lately drained, but it soon afterwards was laid out in walks. The Old Spital is marked which gave its name to Spitalfields, where crowds used to congregate on Easter Monday and Tuesday, to hear the Spital sermons preached from the pulpit cross. The ground was originally a Roman cemetery, and about the year 1576 bricks were largely made from the clayey earth, the recollection of which is kept alive in the name of Brick Lane. South of these fields is the church of St Botolph, opposite Aldgate, where Robert Dow, citizen and merchant tailor, was buried, a few years after this map was made. It was this Dow who gave in 1605 the

[1] The house which Burbage converted into a theatre in 1596 was an old one, and therefore was here at the date of the map.

sum of £50 to the parish of St Sepulchre's, that the interest might remunerate the clerk for ringing a handbell at midnight and daybreak under the wall of Newgate, and for calling the poor prisoners condemned to death to prayer and supplication.

The two Smithfields east and west are marked, although even at this time their dimensions had been much curtailed. It is not easy to say what the peculiar objects represented at East Smithfield are intended for, but Mr Hales throws out the probable conjecture, that they are old-fashioned ordnance belonging to the Tower.[1] Mr Furnivall, however, thinks it more likely that they are intended to represent masts, either for ships or streamers. The buildings outside Aldgate, and above the Tower, belonged to the nunnery of St Clair, whose inmates were of the Minorite order. After the dissolution, the land was farmed by one Goodman, and the remembrance of these several owners is retained in the names of the Minories and Goodman's Fields. All these places were outside the city walls. The walls themselves are well defined, and the different gates from Ludgate, on the south west, to Aldgate,[2] on the east, are clearly marked. On the south of the river are the open spaces also. There is Lambeth Marsh of unsavoury repute, on the extreme west; next to it the gardens of Paris Garden; then the Bankside, with the Bear-house and the Playhouse. Philip Henslowe, part proprietor of Paris Garden and manager of the Rose Theatre (or the Playhouse), was one of the inhabitants of the Bankside. Malone asserted that he had evidence of Shakspere's residence here from 1596 to 1608, and there is no doubt that the poet's younger brother Edmund Shakspere died on

[1] Do they not look like cannon unmounted? The breech, and the button, and the bands all seem visible. See a picture of 'an old English cannon in the Tower of London,' in Roberts's Social Hist. of the Southern counties of England, p. 102. And, overbuilt as the old tower precincts were, it might be a relief to turn them outside. Nor is the size any fatal objection; for with regard to the ships too there is a variation from the scale. Another suggestion, however, that occurs, is that East Smithfield was at this time used as a tenter-ground—a suggestion that seems to have occurred to Brayley. The only objects that are mentioned as standing on East Smithfield—except certain buildings which for a time usurped the ground, but were presently cleared away—are a Cross (at the N.W. corner), a pair of stocks, and a cage—a sort of small prison.—J. W. HALES.

These questionable objects are figured also on Faithorne's Map of London (1658), but are there of a smaller size and differently arranged.—H. B. W.

[2] In May 1374 a lease was granted to Chaucer of 'the whole of the dwelling-house above the Gate of Algate, with the rooms built over, and a certain cellar beneath the same gate, on the south side of that gate and the appurtenances thereof; to have and to hold the whole of the house aforesaid, and the rooms thereof, unto the aforesaid Geoffrey for the whole life of the said Geoffrey.'—*Riley's Memorials of London*, 1868, p. 377.

the Bankside. Another inhabitant was Philip Massinger, who died in March 1638-9 suddenly, so suddenly indeed, that retiring to bed in his own house in good health he was found dead the next morning. His body was buried in the neighbouring church of St Saviour (or St Mary Overies), which is not very clearly marked in the map amongst a little mass of houses. This church was the resting-place of many remarkable men, from the poet Gower downwards. Sir Edward Dyer, who died in Winchester House (1607), Lawrence Fletcher, a leading member of the company of actors to which Shakspere belonged, and John Fletcher the dramatist. Sir Aston Cokayne wrote of Massinger and Fletcher :—

> 'In the same grave Fletcher was buried, here
> Lies the stage poet, Philip Massinger;
> Plays they did write together, were great friends,
> And now one grave includes them at their ends;
> To whom on earth nothing did part, beneath
> Here in their fames they lie in spight of death.'

It appears from the most interesting contemporary drawing of the Procession of Edward VI. from the Tower to Westminster (1547), formerly at Cowdray House, and engraved by Basire for the Society of Antiquaries, that Bankside was handsomely embanked (whence probably the name), and that the several landing-stairs were kept in excellent order. A row of small houses was ranged along the Bank, behind which were trees, and all beyond was country. On the south east side of London Bridge is the church of St Olave's, Tooley Street, which appears on our map under the name of S. Towleyes.

Old London naturally grew up along the banks of its river, which was the main artery of the city, and fully deserved the name that has been given to it of the 'silent highway.' The chief features of the north bank are shown in the map before us, and the names of the places are there marked. A few notes on these will now be given, beginning from the west side of the map.

*Leicester house* has a special interest from its association with Elizabeth's two favourites—Leicester and Essex. The mansion was originally the inn of the see of Exeter, held by lease from the Knights of St John of Jerusalem. At the Reformation it came into the possession of William Lord Paget, when it was called Paget Place. Dudley, Earl of Leicester, obtained it in Elizabeth's reign, and after his death, in 1588, it passed into the hands of his step-son, the unfortunate Earl of Essex, from whom it obtained its more permanent name of Essex House, a name which survives in Essex street. Spenser refers to this house and the two famous owners in his last poem, the *Prothalamion*. First of Leicester :—

'Next whereunto there standes a stately place,
Where oft I gayned giftes and goodly grace
Of that great Lord, which therein wont to dwell;
Whose want too well now feels my freendles case.'

Then of Essex,

'Yet therein now doth lodge a noble Peer,
Great England's glory and the world's wide wonder,
Whose dreadfull name late through all Spaine did thunder,
And Hercules two pillors standing neere
Did make to quake and feare.'

The poet himself seems to have resided here for a short time, for in October 1579, he dated a letter to Gabriel Harvey, from 'Leycester House.'

*The Temple*, also alluded to by Spenser,—

'Where now the studious lawyers have their bowers,
There whylome wont the Templer Knights to bide,'

may well be considered as a Shaksperian locality, as the author of the first part of *Henry VI* makes the gardens the scene of the white and red rose-plucking of the respective adherents of the houses of York and Lancaster.

*Whitefriars*, the Alsatia of the outcasts of society, is alluded to in *Richard III*, in which play Gloucester orders the attendants to take the corpse of Henry VI to Whitefriars and await his coming.

*Bridewell*, called after the well of St Bride, was in Shakspere's day a house of correction, but it had previously been used as a palace, and the third act of *Henry VIII* is supposed to be laid here. Ben Jonson named Bridewell Dock, 'Avernus.'

*Blackfriars* was the scene of Queen Katharine's trial, and several of Queen Elizabeth's courtiers lived within its precincts. In 1593 it had not become a Shaksperian locality; but long before this plays had been acted in the precinct. Burbage's theatre, the site of which is now indicated by Playhouse Yard, was not opened until 1596, and Shakspere did not buy his house near Puddle Dock, the 'Abydos' of Ben Jonson, until 1612. Jonson himself dated the dedication to his *Volpone* 'from my house in the Black Friars this 11th day of February 1670.' In Carter lane, the thoroughfare above Blackfriars and below St Paul's, was the *Bell*, where Richard Quyney wrote his letter in 1598, directed, 'To my loveing good ffrend and countryman Mr William Shackespere deliver thees.'

*Baynard's Castle* was built by a follower of William the Conqueror named Baynard. In after times it was twice forfeited to the King, and

it was here that the Duke of Buckingham offered the crown to Richard of Gloucester.

Of *Paul's Wharf* nothing need be said. *Broken Wharf*, according to Stow, is 'so called of being broken and fallen into the Thames;' but others have affirmed that it was here old worn-out vessels were broken up. A year after the date of our map, Bevis Bulmer erected here his engine for supplying Cheapside and Fleet street with water from the Thames.

*Queenhithe* is said to have been originally called Edred's hithe, 'from Edred owner thereof,' but it has been known as Queen's bank or Queenhithe from a very early period. Peele, in his play of *Edward I*, also calls it Pottershithe, but Stow is silent as to this name. It was from this place that the Earl of Essex took boat for his own house, in February 1601, after he had fled down Friday street, on finding his mean of escape from the city cut off.

*The Three Cranes*, as Stow tells us, were not called 'of three cranes at a tavern door, but rather of three strong cranes of timber placed on the Vintry Wharf by the Thames side, to crane up wines there.' On February 1, 1553-4, Queen Mary took barge to Westminster from here after her visit to the city, to confer with the Lord Mayor about Sir Thomas Wyat's insurrection. The site of Three Cranes Wharf is now occupied by the city end of Southwark bridge.

*The Stilliarde* or Steelyard was formerly the location of the Hanse Merchants, who are said to have obtained a settlement in London as early as the year 1250. The place derives its name from the King's steelyard or beam which was erected here for weighing the tonnage of goods imported into London. When the tonnage was transferred to the city authorities, the King's beam was moved first to Cornhill and afterwards to Weighhouse Yard in Little Eastcheap. The Hanse merchants had great privileges granted to them at various times, but five years after our map was made, they were expelled the kingdom by a proclamation of the Queen. The old Steelyard stood on the site of the present Cannon street station.

*Shrewsbury House* is better known as Cold-harbour, or Poultney's Inn. It was a large building of great antiquity, and in 1320 was demised or let to Henry Stow, draper. After a time the place was sold to Sir John de Poultney, who was four times Lord Mayor, and founded a college in the parish church of St Lawrence in Candlewick ward, now called St Lawrence Poultney. It then came into the possession of the crown, and here John, Earl of Huntingdon, magnificently entertained his half-brother Richard II. In 1483 the third Richard gave the house to the Heralds,

but after the battle of Bosworth they were turned out, and it became the temporary residence of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, the mother of Henry VII. In the reign of Henry VIII, Bishop Tunstal was lodged at Coldharbour, but in the last year of Edward VI the house was taken from Tunstal and given to the Earl of Shrewsbury. In 1600 it was pulled down by Gilbert, seventh Earl, and a large number of small tenements were built upon the site.

*The Old Swan* is of great antiquity as a landing-place, and is mentioned in 'A Chronicle of London from 1089 to 1483.' It was the practice of all prudent persons who feared to trust themselves to the rapids which ran through the narrow arches of old London bridge, to land at the Swan stairs and walk to the east side of the bridge and take boat again there.

*London bridge*, which remained for a century and a half after the date of this map the only bridge in London, is well marked with its houses that did not disappear until 1758. There was at this time a drawbridge forming one of the twenty arches, which was raised to allow ships to pass through, and the vessel under sail appears to be making for this opening.

*Lion key* has a double derivation provided for it by Stow. He writes 'Lion key of one Lion, owner thereof, and since of the sign of a Lion.'

*Billingsgate* was not originally a fish market exclusively, but in Elizabeth's reign was 'an open place for the landing and bringing in of any fish, corn, salt stores, victuals and fruit (grocery wares excepted).' Norden seems to have been a believer in the theory that the place took its name from Belin or Bellyn, an ancient British king.

*The Custom house* here represented was built in Elizabeth's reign, and superseded a previous building which had been erected in 1385.[1] Three Custom houses have since been built on the same site.

*Galley key* is said to have been so called, because the galleys unloaded and landed their merchandise here, but Stow says that no gallies landed here 'in memorie of men living.' The place was at one time inhabited by foreigners, who passed among themselves silver coins of Genoa, called galley half-pence, and thus acted illegally. Another name of this part was Petty-Wales, given to it, according to Stow, on account of the residence there of the princes of Wales when they came to London.

*The Tower*, with its postern on Tower hill, and Traitor's gate on the Thames, is clearly defined.

The hospital of *St Katherine's* fills up the extreme eastern limit of the

[1] This building and its predecessor are associated with the memory of the poet Chaucer, whose daily work for about twelve years was performed there (June 1374 to December 1386).

map. Three years after Norden had published the result of his and Van den Keere's work, Queen Elizabeth appointed Sir Julius Cæsar Master. In 1825 the hospital was removed to the Regent's Park, and a spot of ground which was chosen for the purpose by Matilda, wife of king Stephen, and was associated with the memories of Eleanor, Queen of Edward I, and Philippa, Queen of Edward III, was denuded of all that gave it interest. It now forms a part of the St Katherine Docks.

Having noticed some of the chief features of the map and the names marked upon it, we will now take the references at the side in the order in which they stand, although it is not easy to make out the principle upon which the letters and numbers are arranged.

*a Bishopsgate street* within the walls extends from the gate to the church of St Martin Outwich, which is marked just below the letter *a*. Here was, as Stow tells us, 'a fair well with two buckets,' and the church itself was sometimes called 'St Martin's with the well and two buckets.' In the yard of the Bull Inn in Bishopsgate street plays were acted by Tarlton and other early actors. Anthony Bacon (the brother of Francis) lived near the Bull, and his mother feared that the plays and interludes acted there would corrupt his servants. The road outside the gate which led to Shoreditch had not at this time been much built upon.

*b The Papey*, according to Stow, was the house of a brotherhood of St Charity and St John the Evangelist, 'for poor impotent priests,' which was founded close to the wall and a little to the east of Bishopsgate, in 1430. The fraternity was suppressed in the reign of Edward VI, and in Elizabeth's reign Sir Francis Walsingham lived in the house before he went to Seething lane.

*c All-hallows in the wall*, which stood to the west of Bishopsgate, was one of the few churches which escaped the Fire. In 1764 it was pulled down and the present church erected in its place.

*d S. Taphyns* is meant for the church of St Alphage,[1] London Wall, situated in the east of Cripplegate. It was a part of the priory or hospital of St Mary the Virgin, founded in 1332 by W. Elsing. The present church was erected on the site of the old one in 1777.

*e Silver street*, just below Cripplegate, was so called, Stow thinks, on account of the silversmiths that dwelt there. Ben Jonson calls it 'the region of money, a good seat for an usurer' (*The Staple of News*).

*f Aldermanbury* runs down to the thoroughfare above Cheapside,

[1] This addition of an initial T, obtained from the final t of Saint, is an example of the rule followed in Towley, Tantony, &c., but the change of *age* into *yns* seemed a difficulty until Mr Hales found in Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* a reference to 'Seynt Alfin's body' (ed. Hearne, repr. 1810, p. 329).

which is unmarked in the map, but consisted of Lad lane and Cateaton Street (now Gresham street).

*g Barbican.* In this street originally stood the watch tower or outpost of Cripplegate. At the east end of the street is a × like the letter *t*, which is intended to represent the red cross in Red cross street. After the date of the map the Barbican gained interest for us by becoming the residence of Sir Henry Spelman and of Milton. The street that leads up to the north, immediately above the ×, is Golden lane, to the east of which the Fortune theatre was built by Henslow and Alleyn in 1599-1600.

*h Aldersgate street* leads up north from the gate to Barbican, two doors from which was the Bell, the inn that John Taylor the Waterpoet started from on his pennyless pilgrimage to Scotland, in 1618.

In this street died the Countess of Pembroke, 'Sydney's sister, Pembroke's mother.'

*i Charterhouse*, above West Smithfield, was at this time in the possession of Thomas Earl of Suffolk, to whom it was given by Elizabeth. The Queen stayed here in 1558, and James I in 1603. In 1611 Lord Suffolk sold the old monastery to Thomas Sutton, who founded what Fuller called the 'masterpiece of Protestant English charity.'

*k Holborn conduit*, by Snow hill, was first built in 1498, and repaired by William Lamb in 1577, the memory of whose good work still lives in Lamb's Conduit street, built on the site of the fields where Lamb collected his waters and made a reservoir to feed this conduit.

*l Chancery lane*, opposite Gray's Inn gate, according to Stow, was originally called New Street. In the very year that Norden made his map Thomas Wentworth, afterwards the great Earl of Strafford, was born in this lane.

*m Temple bar*, near the western limit of the map, was something more than a mere barrier even at this period. It appears to have been a wooden erection with gates; and when Queen Elizabeth went to St Paul's to return thanks for the defeat of the Spanish Armada the waits of the city were placed 'over the gate of the Temple bar.'

*n Holborn* was well thought of on account of the freshness and salubrity of the air. John Gerard (Burghley's gardener for twenty years) was living here in 1597, when he published the first edition of his *Herbal*, which he dates 'from my house in Holborn within the suburbs of London.' This house and the garden attached appear to have been situated on the south side of the road, and were probably at the corner of Fetter lane. Nearly opposite St Andrew's church Ely place, with its celebrated garden of forty acres, is marked. Two years before the date of this map

Sir Christopher Hatton died in the house. When Elizabeth made the Bishop of Ely give up his palace to her favourite, the Bishop reserved to himself the right of gathering twenty bushels of roses out of the garden yearly. Holinshed reports that Richard of Gloucester asked a former Bishop for some strawberries from his garden, and Shakspere adopts the passage in his *Richard III.* Hatton Garden now marks the position of the place, and Hatton Wall the northern limit of the garden. Nearly opposite to Gray's Inn Lane, and where Southampton Buildings are now, stood Southampton House, the town mansion of the Wriothesley family for more than a century. It was given to Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, first Earl of Southampton in Edward VI's reign, who died here in 1550, and was pulled down by the fourth Earl of Southampton (son of Shakspere's Earl) about 1652, when he built his new house on the north side of Bloomsbury Square, which was afterwards known as Bedford House.

*o Gray's Inn lane* leads up north from Holborn, and the upper portion of the thoroughfare is called 'the way to Hampstead.'

*p St Andrews*, Holborn, was an old church which contained monuments of Thomas Lord Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, referred to above, who was buried in 1550, and Ralph Rokeby, one of the masters of St Katherine's, who died in 1596. The present church stands on the site of the old one.

*q Newgate* was first erected, according to Stow, about the reign of Henry I or Stephen.

*r St John's*, Clerkenwell, the little triangular spot to the west of the Charterhouse, is hardly to be recognized under the form of 'S. Jones.' A great part of the old priory church of St John of Jerusalem was destroyed in the reign of Edward VI, and the stones used in the building of Somerset house. The office of the Revels was held here after the master of the Revels left Blackfriars and before he removed to St Peter's Hill, Doctors' Commons, and here the court plays were rehearsed.

*s St Nicholas Shambles*, the church between *s* and *t*, was so named from the shambles or stalls of the butchers which stood in the street that led from Newgate to Cheapside.

*t Cheapside* is chiefly interesting as a Shaksperian locality from the Mermaid tavern being situated in it. This world-renowned house is sometimes described as in Bread street, and at other times in Friday street, and also in Cheapside. We are thus able to fix its exact position. To the left of the eastern letter *t* on the map is Bow church, next which, on the west, is Bread street, then a block of houses, then Friday street. It was in this block that the 'Mermaid' was situated, and there appear

to have been entrances from each street. What makes this fact still more certain is the circumstance that a haberdasher in Cheapside living 'twixt Wood street and Milk street[1] described himself as 'over against the Mermaid tavern in Cheapside.' These two streets, on the north side of the main thoroughfare, are shown on the map, but their names are not marked. The cross that succeeded the Eleanor cross is figured at the end of Friday street close by the Mermaid, and the Standard opposite Bow church not far from the eastern *t*. The great conduit stood in the middle of the street near the Poultry, and the little conduit at the other end near Foster lane, which runs up above the western *t*. Harrison himself was born in 'Cordwainers Street otherwise called Bow Lane' (pp. x, xlix, above), which runs south from the eastern *t*. Howes, the continuer of Stow's Annales, says that Cheapside, which was worthily called the 'Beauty of London' in his day, 'was formerly very meanly furnished on the north side.'

*u Bucklersbury*, below the Poultry, is interesting as the residence of Sir Thomas More and the birthplace of Margaret Roper and his other children. It was chiefly inhabited by druggists and grocers, and the smell in the street, 'in simple time,' helped Falstaff to a simile.

*w Broad street*, leading up to the wall, had Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, for one of its inhabitants in Elizabeth's reign.

*x The Stocks* mark the site where the Mansion house was built in 1739, and the Stocks market, which stood here for several centuries, took its name from them.

*y The Exchange* had only been opened two-and-twenty years when this map was made. In 1571 Queen Elizabeth, after dining with Sir Thomas Gresham in Bishopsgate street, visited the newly erected 'Burse,' and caused the herald to proclaim it the Royal Exchange, 'so to be called from thenceforth and no otherwise.'

*z Cornhill* was called after the corn market that was once held there. Stow reports that he had 'seen a quinten set upon Cornehill, by the Leadenhall, where the attendants on the Lords of the merry disports have run and made great pastime.'

We now come to the number references, which begin with

2 *Coleman street*, running up from Cateaton street to the wall by Moorgate. Justice Clement, in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, lived in this street.

3 *Basinghall street* is the next turning on the west, and takes its name from Bassings Hall, formerly the residence of the important London family of Bassings in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

[1] Sir Thomas More was born in Milk Street; 'the brightest star that ever shone in that *via lactea*,' says Fuller.

4 *Houndsditch*, extending outside the city wall from Bishopsgate to Aldgate, was even at the time of this map notorious for its brokers.

5 *Leadenhall* was originally a manor house, and afterwards used as a market. It was situated on the south side of the thoroughfare afterwards known as Leadenhall street.

6 *Gracechurch street* is here called Gratious street. Stow terms it 'Grasse Street,' and he is nearer the original form, for the name is said to be derived from the herb market that was once held there. Richard Tarlton, the Elizabethan actor, lived at the Saba tavern in this street, and Bankes exhibited his wonderful horse Marocco at the Cross Keys Inn.

7 *Heneage House* was situated near the London wall, between Bishopgate and Aldgate, and took its name from Thomas Heneage and his son Sir Thomas, who was step-father to Shakspere's Lord Southampton. Bevis Marks shows the site.

8 *Fenchurch street*, which extends from Gracechurch street to Aldgate (called here Fanchurche), has an Elizabethan interest on account of the dinner of pork and peas which the Queen ate at the King's Head in this street after her release from the Tower in 1554.

9 *Mark lane*, running down from Fenchurch street to Tower street, is the Marte lane of Stow. The next street to the east is Seething lane, where Sir Francis Walsingham lived, and where he died about midnight of the 6th of April, 1590. The Earl of Essex, Walsingham's son-in-law, also had a house here, as well as his mansion on the Thames. On Sunday, Feb. 8, 1601, when he made his rash entry into the city with a following of gallants, the multitude supposed that he and the Queen were made friends, and that he was riding thus triumphantly 'unto his home in Seeding Lane.' So they cried God save your honour, God bless your honour. Essex soon found that his treasonable purpose was frustrated by the prompt action of those in authority; and dispirited, faint, and deserted by his followers, he hurried as best he could to the Thames in order to escape to Essex House, which he fortified 'with full purpose to die in his owne defence.'

Essex's son, Robert Devereux, afterwards third Earl of Essex, and the Parliamentary Commander-in-chief, who died in 1646, was baptized at the house of his grandmother, Lady Walsingham, in Seeding lane, on the 22nd of January, 1591.

10 *Mincing lane* is the next street to the west. It is written Mincheon lane by Stow, who derives the name from the Minchuns or nuns of St Helen's in Bishopsgate street.

11 *St Paul's* was so severely injured in 1561 that it was necessary to

take the steeple down, and a new one was never built. The fine old cathedral is here figured with its low tower only. St Paul's Churchyard before the Fire was chiefly inhabited by booksellers, and several of the early editions of Shakspere's poems and plays were published here. *Venus and Adonis*, 1593, was to be sold at the White Greyhound, where also J. Harrison published the *Rape of Lucrece*, 1594. The first edition of the *Merry Wives of Windsor* appeared at the Flower de Luce and Crown, kept by A. Johnson; the first edition of the *Merchant of Venice* at the Green Dragon, by T. Heyes; the first editions of *Richard II*, *Richard III*, and *First part of Henry IV*, at the Angel, by A. Wise; the first edition of *Troilus and Cressida* at the Spread Eagle over against the great north door of Paul's, by R. Bonian and H. Whalley; the first edition of *Lear* at the Pied Bull, by N. Butter, and the first known edition of *Titus Andronicus*, at the Gun, near the little north door of Paul's, by E. White. M. Law published several of the quartos at the Fox.

12 *Eastcheap* was chiefly occupied by butchers, tavern-keepers, and cooks. The 'Boar's Head,' immortalized by Shakspere as the chosen resort of Jack Falstaff and his roystering companions, was situated in the Great Eastcheap, and has been described as near the London stone which is marked 17 in this map. It did in fact stand about the spot now occupied by the statue of William IV.

13 *Fleet street* is marked as a wide thoroughfare with the old church of St Bride's (above Bridewell) standing out in the road.

14 *Fetter lane* is called Fewter lane by Stow, who derives the name from the fewters or idle people that hung about it at one time. The Fleet street and Holborn ends of the lane were both used as places of public execution.

15 *St Dunstan's* in the west, close by Temple bar, has its name sadly maltreated in the map. It is probable that the Dutch engraver could not read Norden's writing, for no Englishman would have written *Dunshous*. Under the dial of the old projecting clock was the shop of John Smethwick, the publisher of the 1609 edition of *Romeo and Juliet* and of several editions of *Hamlet*.

16 *Thames street* was the same long thoroughfare that it is now. In that part of this street just above the *Stilliarde*, John Chaucer, vintner and father of the poet, had his tavern or wine shop, and there Geoffrey probably gathered some of the materials for those pictures of life and character he afterwards bestowed upon the world.

17 *London Stone*, then on the south side of Cannon street, near the west end of Eastcheap, is introduced in the second part of *Henry VI*

(act iv. sc. 6), where Jack Cade is made to strike the stone and assert his lordship of the city. The incident is taken from Holinshed, and shows the strength of the old tradition that the British kings took their oaths on the stone at their accession. Until they had done so they were looked upon as only kings presumptive. The stone has twice been removed since the date of this map.

18 *Old Bailey*, outside Newgate, was the birthplace of the greatest of antiquaries, William Camden, born May 2, 1551.

19 *Clerkenwell* was situated at the extreme north-western limit of the city at the time this map was made. This place was famous for its plays in early times. Clerkenwell takes its name from the well near which the parish clerks of London assembled yearly 'to play some large history of Holy Scripture.' Skinner's well close by was so called because the Skinners of London also performed miracle plays there each year. In 1390 the clerks acted a play at Skinner's Well which lasted three days, and in 1409 one from the creation of the world, which lasted eight days. The King (Richard II) and Queen with their court attended the first, and 'most part of the nobles and gentles in England' were spectators at the last.

20 *Winchester House*, the town residence of the Bishops of Winchester for several centuries, is clearly shown in the map, with its handsome gardens situated near the church of St Mary Overies (or St Saviour's). Stow describes it as 'a very fair house, well repaired, with a large wharf and landing place called the Bishop of Winchester's stairs.' About forty years before 1593, Bishop Gardiner was living here in great state.

21 *Battle bridge*, Southwark, does not take its name from any military engagement, but from its nearness to the Abbot of Battle's Inn, or London residence.

22 *Bermondsey street* led down to the site of the old priory of Bermondsey which was beyond the limits of our map.

Norden's own words in concluding his description of the city will not be out of place here :—'It (London) is most sweetely scituate upon the Thamis, served with all kind of necessaries most commodiouslie. The aire is healthfull, it is populous, rich and beautiful; be it also faithfull, loving and faithfull.'

From this map we may learn to understand the outline of the city in which Shakspere dwelt for some years, and the position of the places he visited; but for glimpses of the life that was lived in these narrow streets and open spaces we must seek elsewhere.

H. B. W.

*September*, 1876.

# [1]A Description of England,

or [1]

## a briefe rehersall of the nature and qualities of the people of England

and such commodities as are to be found in the same.

comprehended in two[2] bookes, and

written by W. H.

[THAT IS,

WILLIAM HARRISON, B.D., CAMB.,

RECTOR OF RADWINTER, CANON OF WINDSOR.

THE 2ND EDITION OF 1587, COLLATED WITH THE 1ST EDITION OF 1577, AS PREFIXT TO HOLINSHED'S *CHRONICLE*.]

[1]—[1] 'An Historicall description of the Iland of Britaine, with '—Heading of the whole Treatise, with Book I. ed. 1587. [2] three.—*ib.*

# HARRISON'S PREFACE.

To the Right Honorable, and his singular good Lord and Maister, S. William Brooke, Knight, Lord Warden of the cinque Ports, and Baron of Cobham, all increase of the feare and knowledge of God, firme obedience toward his Prince, infallible loue to the common wealth, and commendable renowme here in this world, and in the world to come life euerlasting.

HAuing had iust occasion, Right Honorable, to remaine in London during the time of Trinitie[1] terme last passed, and being earnestlie required of diuers my freends to set downe some breefe discourse of parcell of those things which I had observed in the reading of such manifold antiquities as I had perused toward the furniture of a Chronologie, which I haue yet[2] in hand; I was at the first verie loth to yeeld to their desires: first, for that I thought my selfe vnable for want of skill[3] and iudgment, so suddenlie & [4] with so hastie [4] speed to take such a charge vpon me: secondlie, bicause the dealing therein might prooue an [hinderance and] impechment vnto mine owne Treatise; and finallie, for that I had giuen ouer all [earnest] studie of histories, as iudging the time spent about the same, to be an hinderance vnto my more necessarie dealings in that vocation & function wherevnto I am called in the ministerie. But when they were so importunate with me, that no reasonable excuse could serue to put by this trauell, I condescended at the length vnto their yrkesome sute, promising that I would spend such void time as I had to spare, whilest I should be inforced to tarie in the citie, vpon some thing or other that should [satisfie their request; and] stand in lieu of a description of my Countrie. For their parts also they assured me of such helps as they could purchase: and thus with hope of good, although no gaie successe, I went in hand withall, then almost as one leaning altogither vnto memorie, sith my books and I were parted by fourtie

[1] Midsomer [2] had then [3] witte [4]—[4] such

miles in sunder. In this order also I spent a part of Michaelmas and Hilarie termes insuing, being inforced thereto, I say, by other businesses which compelled me to keepe in the citie, and absent my selfe from my charge, though in the meane season I had some repaire vnto my [poore] librarie, but not so great as the dignitie of the matter required, and yet far greater than the Printers hast would suffer. One helpe, and none of the smallest that I obtained herein, was by such commentaries as *Leland* had sometime collected[1] of the state of Britaine, books vtterlie mangled, defaced with wet and weather, and finallie vnperfect through want of sundrie volumes; secondlie, I gat some knowledge of things by letters and pamphlets, from sundrie places & shires of England, but so discordant now & then amongst themselues, especiallie in the names & courses of riuers and situation of townes, that I had oft greater trouble to reconcile them [one with an other, than orderlie] to pen the whole discourse of such points as they contained: the third aid did grow by conference with diuers, either at the table, or secretlie alone, wherein I marked in what things the talkers did agree, and wherin they impugned ech other, choosing in the end the former, and reiecting the later, as one desirous to set foorth the truth absolutelie, or such things in deed as were most likelie to be true. The last comfort arose by mine owne reading of such writers as haue heretofore made mention of the condition of our countrie, in speaking wherof, if I should make account of the successe, & extraordinarie comming by sundrie treatises not supposed to be extant, I should but seeme to pronounce more than may well be said with modestie, & say farder of my selfe than this Treatise can beare witnes of. Howbeit, [2]I refer not this successe wholie vnto my purpose about[3] this Description, but rather giue notice thereof to come to passe in the penning of my Chronologie, whose crums as it were fell out verie well in the framing of this Pamphlet. In the processe therefore of this Booke, if your Honor regard the substance of that which is here declared, I must needs confesse that it is none of mine owne; but if your Lordship haue consideration of the barbarous composition shewed herein, that I may boldlie claime and challenge for mine owne, sith there is no man of any so slender skill, that will defraud me of that reproch, which is due vnto me for the meere negligence, disorder, and euill disposition of matter comprehended in the same. Certes I protest before God and your Honour, that I neuer made any choise of stile, or[4] words, neither regarded to

[1] collected sometime [2] back of leaf. [3] in, ed. 1577. [4] or picked

handle this Treatise in such precise order and method as manie other would [haue done], thinking it sufficient, truelie and plainelie to set foorth such things as I minded to intreat of, rather than with vaine affectation of eloquence to paint out a rotten sepulchre; a thing neither commendable in a writer nor profitable to the reader. How other affaires troubled me in the writing hereof, manie know, and peraduenture the slacknesse shewed herein can better testifie: but howsoeuer it be done, & whatsoeuer I haue done, I haue had an especiall eye vnto the truth of things, and for the rest, I hope that this foule frizeled Treatise of mine will prooue a spur to others better learned, [1]more skilfull in Chorographie, and of greater iudgement in choise of matter[1] to handle the self same argument,[2] if in my life time I do not peruse it againe.[2] It is possible also that your Honour will mislike hereof, for that I haue not by mine owne trauell and eysight viewed such things as I doo here intreat of. In deed I must needs confesse, that [vntill now of late,] except it were from the parish where I dwell, vnto your Honour in Kent; or out of London where I was borne, vnto Oxford & Cambridge where I haue bene brought vp, I neuer trauelled 40 miles [foorthright and at one iourney] in all my life; neuerthelesse in my report of these things, I vse their authorities, who [either] haue performed in their persons, [or left in writing vpon sufficient ground (as I said before)] whatsoeuer is wanting in mine. It may be in like sort that your Honour will take offense at my rash and retchlesse behauiour vsed in the composition of this volume, and much more that, being scambled vp after this maner, I dare presume to make tendour of the protection therof vnto your Lordships hands. But when I consider the singular affection that your Honour dooth beare to those that in any wise will trauell to set foorth such [profitable] things as lie hidden,[3] and there vnto doo weigh on mine owne behalfe my bounden dutie and gratefull mind to such a one as hath so manie and sundrie waies

[1]—[1] in more skilfull manner

[2]—[2] As for faultes escaped herein, as there are diuers, I must needes confesse, both in the penning and printing, so I haue to craue pardon of your Honour, & of all the learned readers. For such was my shortnesse of time allowed in the writing, & so great the speede made in the Printing, that I could seldome with any deliberation peruse, or almost with any iudgement deliberate exactly upon, such notes as were to be inserted. Sometimes in deede their leysure gaue me libertie, but that I applyed in following my vocation; many times their expedition abridged my perusall; and by this later it came to passe, that most of this booke was no sooner penned then printed, neither well conceyued before it came to writing. But it is now to late to excuse the maner of doing.

[3] of their countries, without regarde of fine & eloquent handling

benefited[1] me that otherwise can make no recompense, I can not but cut off all such occasion of doubt, and therevpon exhibit it, such as it is, and so penned as it is, vnto your Lordships tuition, vnto whome if it may seeme in anie wise acceptable, I haue my whole desire. And as I am the first that (notwithstanding the great repugnancie to be seene among our writers) hath taken vpon him so particularlie to describe this Ile of Britaine; so I hope the learned and godlie will beare withall, & reforme with charitie where I doo tread amisse. As for the curious, and such as can rather euill fauouredlie espie, than skilfullie correct an error, and sooner carpe at another mans doings than publish anything of their owne, (keeping themselues close with an obscure admiration of learning & knowledge among the common sort) I force not what they saie hereof: for whether it doo please or displease them, all is one to me, sith I referre my whole trauell in the gratification of your Honour, and such as are of experience to consider of my trauell, and the large scope of things purposed in this Treatise, of whome my seruice in this behalfe may be taken in good part, that I will repute for my full recompense and large guerdon of my labours. The Almightie God preserue your Lordship in continuall health, wealth, and prosperitie, with my good Ladie your wife, your Honours children (whom God hath indued with a singular towardnesse vnto all vertue and learning), and the rest of [your] reformed familie, vnto whom I wish farder increase of his holie spirit, vnderstanding of his word, augmentation of honor, and [2]continuance of[2] zeale to follow his commandements.

Your Lordships humble seruant
and houshold Chaplein, W. H.

[1] profited and preferred

[2]—[2] finally an earnest

# The Contents of the ſecond Booke.

[p. 131]


1 *Of the ancient and preſent eſtate of the church of England*, p. 1.
2 *Of the number of biſhoprikes and their ſeuerall circuits*, p. 38.
3 *Of vniuerſities*, p. 70.
4 *Of the partition of England into ſhires and counties*, p. 90.
5 *Of degrees of people in the commonwealth of England*, p. 105.
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13 *Of cities and townes in England*, p. 244.
14 *Of caſtels and holds*, p. 262.
15 *Of palaces belonging to the prince*, p. 267.
16 *Of armour and munition*, p. 278.
17 *Of the nauie of England*, p. 285.
18 *Of faires and markets*, p. 294.
19 *Of parkes and warrens*, p. 303.
20 *Of gardens and orchards*, p. 322.
21 *Of waters generallie*, p. 332.
22 *Of woods and mariſhes*, p. 336.
23 *Of baths and hot welles*, p. 347.
24 *Of antiquities found*, p. 356.
25 *Of the coines of England*, p. 361.
(*Notes on Trees, Richborough*, p. 366.)


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## [1]Of the [ancient and][2] preſent eſtate *of the church of England.*[3]

### Chap. 1.[4]

THere are [now] two prouinces [onelie] in England, of which the firſt and greateſt is ſubiect to the ſee of Canturburie, [compre- The English Church has now [5] *Two Provinces*[5], I. Canterbury,
hending a parte of Lhoegres, whole Cambria, & alſo

[1] A good deal of this chapter and the following one is mere compilation; but there are interesting bits of Harrison's own self and time in his 'old cocke of Canturburie' (p. 9), the prophecies or conferences then lately begun, and soon closed (p. 19), the taxes on parsons (p. 22), the church being the ass for every market-man to ride on (p. 25), the then state of the churches, and abolition of Feast and Gild-days (p. 32), the Popish priest drest like a dancing peacock (p. 33), the contempt felt for the ministry, and their poverty (p. 37).—F.

I sign all the notes that are not various readings of the 1st edition of 1577 —F.

[2] The square brackets [ ] show the insertions of the 2nd ed. of 1586 in the 1st ed. of 1577. The italic side-notes are Harrison's or John Hooker's.—F.

[3] England and Wales. [4] Chap. 5. [5—5] From ed. 1577.—F.

Ireland, which in time paſt were ſeuerall, & brought into one by the archbiſhop of the ſaid ſee, & aſſiſtance of the pope; who in reſpect of meed, did yeeld vnto the ambitious deſires of ſundrie archbiſhops of Canturburie, as I haue elſewhere declared.] The ſecond prouince [1] is vnder the ſee [1] of Yorke; and of theſe, either hath hir archbiſhop reſident commonlie [2] within hir owne limits, who hath not onelie the cheefe dealing in matters appertaining to the hierarchie and iuriſdiction of the church, but alſo great authoritie in ciuill affaires touching the gouernement of the common wealth: ſo far foorth as their [commiſſions and] ſeuerall circuits doo extend.

II. York; and each has its Archbishop.

[In old time there were three archbiſhops, and ſo manie prouinces in this Ile; of which one kept at London, another at Yorke, and the third at Caerlheon vpon Uſke. But as that of London was tranſlated to Canturburie by Auguſtine, and that of Yorke remaineth (notwithſtanding that the greateſt part of his iuriſdiction is now bereft him and giuen to the Scotiſh archbiſhop), ſo that of Caerlheon is vtterlie extinguiſhed, and the gouernement of the countrie vnited to that of Canturburie in ſpirituall cauſes: after it was once before remoued to S. Dauids [3] in Wales, by Dauid ſucceſſor to Dubritius, and vncle to king Arthur, in the 519 of Grace, to the end that he and his clearkes might be further off from the crueltie of the Saxons; where it remained till the time of the Baſtard, and for a ſeaſon after, before it was annexed vnto the ſee of Canturburie.]

Of old were 3 Archbishops: those of London, York, and Caerleon;

but London was translated to Canterbury,

and Caerleon was united to it,

after having been removd to St David's.

[3 p. 132]

The archbiſhop of Canturburie is commonlie called primat of all England; and in the coronations of the kings of this land, [and all other times, wherein it ſhall pleaſe the prince to weare and put on his crowne,] his office is to ſet it [4] vpon their heads. They beare alſo the name of their high chaplains continuallie, [5] although

The Archbishop of Canterbury is Primate of all England.

He crowns kings,

[1]—[1] to that [2] continually [4] the Crowne [5] perpetually.

not a few of them haue preſumed (in time paſt) to be their equals, and void of[1] ſubiection vnto them. [2]That this is true, it[2] may eaſilie appeere by their owne acts [yet kept in record; beſide their] epiſtles & anſwers [written or in print;] wherein they haue ſought, not onelie to match but alſo to mate them with great rigor and more than open tyrannie. [Our aduerſaries will peraduenture denie this abſolutelie, as they doo manie other things apparant, though not without ſhameleſſe impudencie, or at the leaſt wiſe defend it as iuſt and not ſwaruing from common equitie; bicauſe they imagine euerie archbiſhop to be the kings equall in his owne prouince. But how well their dooing herein agreeth with the ſaieng of Peter, & examples of the primitiue church, it may eaſilie appeere. Some examples alſo of their demeanor (I meane in the time of poperie) I will not let to remember, leaſt they ſhould ſaie I ſpeake of malice, and without all ground of likelihood.

and some have claimd to be kings' equals,

even in tyranny. [This insertion ends at p. 8.]

But this agrees not with St Peter's words.

Of their practiſes with meane perſons I ſpeake not, neither will I begin at Dunſtane, the author of all their pride and preſumption here in England. But for ſomuch as the dealing of Robert the Norman againſt earle Goodwine is a rare hiſtorie, and deſerueth to be remembred, I will touch it in this place; proteſting to deale withall in more faithfull maner than it hath heretofore beene deliuered vnto vs by the Norman writers, or French Engliſh, who (of let purpoſe) haue ſo defaced earle Goodwine, that were it not for the teſtimonie of one or two meere Engliſhmen liuing in thoſe daies, it ſhould be impoſſible for me (or anie other) at this preſent to declare the truth of that matter according to hir circumſtances. Marke therefore what I ſaie. For the truth is, that ſuch Normans as came in with Emma in the time of Ethelred, and Canutus, and the Confeſſor, did fall by ſundrie means into ſuch fauor

Dunstan was the author of their pride in England.

I'll tell you how Robert, a Norman priest, acted against Earl Godwin.

The Normans who came in with Emma

[1] of any [2–2] which

got high places at Court, and the best benefices.

[with thoſe princes, that the gentlemen did grow to beare great rule in the court, and their clearkes to be poſſeſſors of the beſt benefices in the land. Hervpon therefore one Robert, a iolie ambitious preeſt, gat firſt to be biſhop of London, and after the death of Eadſius,

Robert became Archbishop of Canterbury,

to be archbiſhop of Canturburie by the gift of king Edward; leauing his former ſee to William his countrieman. Vlfo, alſo a Norman, was preferred to Lincolne, and other to other places, as the king did thinke conuenient.

and Vlfo, Bishop of Lincoln.

These Normans abusd the English,

Theſe Norman clerkes, and their freends, being thus exalted, it was not long yer they began to mocke, abuſe, and deſpiſe the Engliſh: and ſo much the more, as they dailie ſaw themſelues to increaſe in fauour with king Edward, who alſo called diuerſe of them to be of his ſecret councell, which did not a litle incenſe the harts of the Engliſh againſt them. A fraie alſo was made at Douer, betweene the ſeruants of earle Goodwine and the French, whoſe maiſters came ouer to ſee and ſalute the king: whereof I haue ſpoken in my Chronologie,[1] which ſo inflamed the minds of the French cleargie and courtiers againſt the Engliſh nobilitie, that each part ſought for opportunitie of reuenge, which yer long tooke hold betweene them. For the ſaid Robert, being called to be archbiſhop of Canturburie, was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of his ſee, than he began to quarrell with earle Goodwine (the kings father in law by the mariage of his daughter) who alſo was readie to acquit his demeanor with like malice; and ſo the miſchiefe begun. Herevpon therefore the archbiſhop charged the earle with the murther of Alfred the kings brother, whom not he, but Harald the ſonne of Canutus, and the Danes, had cruellie made awaie. For Alfred and his brother comming into the land with fiue and twenty ſaile, vpon the death of Canutus, and being landed, the Normans that arriued

yet King Edward put them on his Council.

Earl Godwin's servants attackt some French servants,

and so the French courtiers sought revenge.

Archbishop Robert accusd Earl Godwin of

murdering Alfred, the king's brother, whom Harold and his Danes had killd

[1] Another book, which Harrison has 'yet in hand.'—*Dedication.*

[with them giuing out how they came to recouer their right, to wit, the crowne of England; & therevnto the vnſkilfull yoong gentlemen, ſhewing themſelues to like of the rumour that was ſpred in this behalfe, the report of their demeanor was quicklie brought to Harald, who cauſed a companie foorthwith of Danes priuilie to laie wait for them, as they roade toward Gilford, where Alfred was ſlaine, and whence Edward with much difficultie eſcaped to his ſhips, and ſo returned into Normandie.

as he rode towards Guildford.

But to proceed. This affirmation of the archbiſhop being greatlie ſoothed out with his craftie vtterance (for he was lerned) confirmed by his French freends, (for they had all conſpired againſt the erle) and therevnto the king being deſirous to reuenge the death of his brother, bred ſuch a grudge in his mind againſt Goodwine, that he baniſhed him and his ſons cleane out of the land. He ſent alſo his wife, the erles daughter, priſoner to Wilton, with one onelie maiden attending vpon hir, where ſhe laie almoſt a yeare before ſhe was releaſed. In the meane ſeaſon, the reſt of the peeres, as Siward earle of Northumberland ſurnamed Digara or *Fortis*, Leofrijc earle of Cheſter, and other, went to the king, before the departure of Goodwine, indeuouring to perſuade him vnto the reuocation of his ſentence; and deſiring that his cauſe might be heard and diſcuſſed by order of law. But the king incenſed by the archbiſhop and his Normans would not heare on that ſide, ſaieng plainelie, and ſwearing by ſaint John the euangeliſt (for that was his common oth) that earle Goodwine ſhould not haue his peace till he reſtored his brother Alfred aliue againe vnto his preſence. With which anſwer the peeres departed in choler from the court, and Goodwine toward the coaſt.

This lie of Archbishop Robert's,

king Edward believd; banisht Godwin and his sons; and imprisond his own wife, Godwin's daughter.

Siward and Leofric interceded for Godwin,

but the king swore he would not relent

unless his brother Alfred were brought to him alive. Earl Godwin went to the coast,

Comming alſo vnto the ſhore, and readie to take ſhipping, he kneeled downe in preſence of his conduct (to wit at Boſenham in the moneth of September, from

[whence he intended to ſaile into Flanders vnto Baldwine the earle) and there praied openlie before them all, that if euer he attempted anie thing againſt the kings perſon of England, or his roiall eſtate, that he might neuer come ſafe vnto his couſine, nor ſee his countrie any more, but periſh in this voiage. And herewith he went aboord the ſhip that was prouided for him, and ſo from the coaſt into the open ſea. But ſee what followed. He was not yet gone a mile waie from the land, before he ſaw the ſhore full of armed ſouldiers, ſent after by the archbiſhop and his freends to kill him yer he ſhould depart and go out of the countrie: which yet more incenſed the harts of the Engliſh againſt them.

and there vowd he'd never rebel against the king.

Soon after he got on board

he saw soldiers, sent by the Archbishop, come to the shore to kill him.

Being come alſo to Flanders, he cauſed the earle, the French king, and other of his freends, among whome alſo the emperour was one, to write vnto the king in his behalfe; but all in vaine; for nothing could be obteined from him, of which the Normans had no liking, wherevpon the earle and his ſonnes changed their minds, obteined aid, and inuaded the land in ſundry places. Finallie ioining their powers, they came by the Thames into Southwarke neere London, where they lodged, and looked for the king to [1]incounter with them in the field. The king ſeeing what was doone, commanded the Londoners not to aid nor vittell them. But the citizens made anſwer, how the quarrell of Goodwine was the cauſe of the whole realme, which he had in maner giuen ouer vnto the ſpoile of the French: and therevpon they not onelie vittelled them aboundantlie, but alſo receiued the earle and his chiefe freendes into the citie, where they lodged them at their eaſe, till the kings power was readie to ioine with them in battell.

Arrivd in Flanders, Godwin got fresh entreaty made to Edward, but in vain.

So he invaded England, and came to Southwark.

[1 p. 133, ed 1586] The Londoners

took them into the City, and many folk joind them.

Great reſort alſo was made vnto them from all places of the realme, ſo that the earles armie was woonderfullie increaſed, and the daie and place choſen

[wherein the battell ſhould be fought. But when the armies met, the kings ſide began, ſome to flee to the earle, other to laie downe their weapons, and not a few to run awaie out right; the reſt telling him plainelie that they would neuer fight againſt their owne countriemen, to mainteine Frenchmens quarrels. The Normans alſo ſeeing the ſequele, fled awaie ſo faſt as they might gallop, leauing the king in the field to ſhift for himſelfe (as he beſt might) whileſt they did ſaue themſelues elſewhere.

When the fight began, Edward's men went over to Godwin,

the Normans fled,

In the meane ſeaſon the earles power would haue ſet vpon the king, either to his ſlaughter, or apprehenſion; but he ſtaied them, ſaieng after this maner: "The king is my ſonne (as you all know) and it is not for a father to deale ſo hardlie with his child, neither a ſubiect with his ſouereigne; it is not he that hath hurt or doone me this iniurie, but the proud Normans that are about him: wherfore to gaine a kingdome, I will doo him no violence." And therewithall caſting aſide his battell ax, he ran to the king, that ſtood altogither amazed, and falling at his feet he craued his peace, accuſed the archbiſhop, required that his cauſe might be heard in open aſſemblie of his peeres; and finallie determined as truth and equitie ſhould deſerue.

but Godwin stopt his men from falling on Edward, laid

the blame on the Normans

and prayd Edward

to try him fairly.

The king (after he had pauſed a pretie while) ſeeing his old father in law to lie groueling[1] at his feet, and conceiuing with himſelfe that his ſute was not vnreaſonable; ſeeing alſo his children, and the reſt of the greateſt barons of the land to kneele before him, and make the like requeſt: he lifted vp the earle by the hand, bad him be of good comfort, pardoned all that was paſt, and freendlie hauing kiſſed him and his ſonnes vpon the cheekes, he lead them to his palace, called home the queene, and ſummoned all his lords vnto a councell.

Edward at once

forgave Godwin,

calld a Council,

[1] This is the adverb in *-ling* (A. Sax. *-linga, -lunga*), as Dr R. Morris has shown in the Philol. Soc. Trans. 1862-3, p. 88.—F.

heard proofs of the Normans' crimes, and

[Wherein it is much to read, how manie billes were preſented againſt the biſhop & his Normans; ſome conteining matter of rape, other of robberie, extortion, murder, manſlaughter, high treaſon, adulterie; and not a few of batterie. Wherwith the king (as a man now awaked out of ſleepe) was ſo offended, that vpon conſultation had of theſe things, he baniſhed all the Normans out of the land, onelie three or foure excepted, whome he reteined for ſundrie neceſſarie cauſes, albeit they came neuer more ſo neere him afterward as to be of his priuie councell.

banisht them from England.

After this alſo the earle liued almoſt two yeares, and then falling into an apoplexie, as he ſat with the king at the table, he was taken vp and carried into the kings bedchamber, where (after a few daies) he made an end of his life. And thus much of our firſt broile raiſed by the cleargie, and practiſe of the archbiſhop. I would intreat of all the like examples of tyrannie, practiſed by the prelats of this ſee, againſt their lords and ſouereignes: but then I ſhould rather write an hiſtorie than a deſcription of this Iland.

Here ends the 1st clergy-broil.

For others, see those of *Anselm* and Becket.

[1] Wherefore I refer you to thoſe reports of Anſelme and Becket, ſufficientlie penned by other, the which Anſelme alſo] making[1] a ſhew, as if he had bin verie vnwilling to be placed in the ſee of Canturburie, gaue this[2] anſwer to the letters of ſuch his freends, as [3]did make[3] requeſt vnto him to take the[3] charge vpon him. *Secularia negotia neſcio, quia ſcire nolo, eorum námque occupationes horreo, liberum affectans animum. Voluntati ſacrarum intendo ſcripturarum, vos diſſonantiam facitis, verendúmque eſt nè aratrum ſanctæ eccleſiæ, quod in Anglia duo boues validi & pari fortitudine, ad bonum certantes, id est, rex & archiepiſcopus, debeant trahere, nunc oue vetula cum tauro indomito iugata, dis-*

Anselm's hypocrisy is shown by his feignd unwillingness to take the see of Canterbury, when he said

[1]—[1] Examples hereof I could bring many, but this one shall suffice of Anselme who making

[2] his [3]—[3] made [4] that

*torqueatur à recto. Ego ouis vetula, qui ſi quietus eſſem, verbi Dei lacte, & operimento lanæ, aliquibus poſſem fortaſsis non ingratus eſſe, ſed ſi me cum hoc tauro coniungitis, videbitis pro diſparilitate trahentium, aratrum non rectè procedere, &c.* Which is in Engliſh thus[1]: 'Of ſecular affaires I haue no ſkill, bicauſe I will not know them, for I euen abhor the troubles that riſe about them, as one that deſireth to haue his mind at libertie. I applie my whole indeuor to the rule of the ſcriptures, you lead me to the contrarie. [And] it is to be feared leaſt[2] the plough of holie church, which two ſtrong oxen of equall force, and both like earneſt to contend vnto that which is good (that is the king and the archbiſhop) ought to draw, ſhould thereby now ſwarue from the right forrow, by matching of an old ſheepe with a wild vntamed bull. I am that old ſheepe, who if I might be quiet, could peraduenture ſhew my ſelfe not altogither vngratfull to ſome, by feeding them with the milke of the word of God, and couering them with wooll: but if you match me with this bull, you ſhall ſee that, thorough want of equalitie in draught, the plough will not go to right &c:" as foloweth in the proceſſe of his letters. [The ſaid] Thomas Becket was ſo proud, that he wrote to king Henrie the ſecond, as to his lord, to his king, and to his ſonne, offering him his counſell, his reuerence, and due correction, &c. Others in like ſort haue proteſted, that they owght[3] nothing to the kings of this land, but their counſell onelie, reſeruing all obedience vnto the ſee of Rome.[4]

he knew nothing of secular affairs,

thought only of the scriptures,

calld himself an old Sheep, and the King a wild Bull.

*Thomas Becket* was proud *too.*

[And as the old cocke of Canturburie did crow in this behalfe, ſo the yoong cockerels of other ſees did imitate his demeanor, as may be ſeene by this one example alſo in king Stephans time, worthie to be re-

Like the old Cock, crowd the cockerel's witness, the Bp of London in Stephen's time

[1] this [2] leſt [3] owed.—F.

[4] Rome. whereby we may easily see the pride & ambition of the cleargie in the blinde tyme of ignorance.

membred; vnto whome the biſhop of London would not ſo much as ſweare to be true ſubiect: wherein alſo he was mainteined by the pope, as appeareth by theſe letters.

(whom the Pope told the King

*Eugenius epiſcopus, ſeruus ſeruorum Dei, dilecto in Christo filio Stephano illustri regi Anglorum ſalutem. & apostolicam benedictionem. Ad hæc ſuperna prouidentia in eccleſia pontifices ordinauit, vt Chriſtianus populus ab eis paſcua vitæ reciperet, & tam principes ſeculares, quàm inferioris conditionis homines, ipſis pontificibus, tanquam Christi vicarijs, reuerentiam exhiberent. Venerabilis ſiquidem frater noster Robertus London epiſcopus, tanquam vir ſapiens & honestus, & relligionis amator, à nobilitate tua benignè tractandus eſt, & pro collata à Deo prudentia propenſiùs honorandus. Quia ergò, ſicut in veritate comperimus cum animæ ſuæ ſalute, ac ſuæ ordinis periculo, fidelitate quæ ab eo requiritur aſtringi non poteſt: volumus, & ex paterno tibi affectu conſulimus,*

not to disquiet,

*quatenus prædictum fratrem noſtrum ſuper hoc nullatenus inquietes, immò pro beati Petri & nostra reuerentia, eum in amorem & gratiam tuam recipias. Cùm autem illud*

and not to require an oath from, but only a simple promise).

*iuramentum præstare non poſsit, ſufficiat diſcretioni tuæ, vt ſimplici & veraci verbo promittat, quòd læſionem tibi vel terræ tuæ non inferat: Vale. Dat. Meldis 6. ca Iulij.*

Thus we ſee, that kings were to rule no further than it pleaſed the pope to like of; neither to chalenge more obedience of their ſubiects than ſtood al[1]ſo with their good will and pleaſure. He wrote in like ſort vnto queene Mawd about the ſame matter, making hir Samſons calfe[2] (the better to bring his purpoſe to paſſe) as appeareth by the ſame letter here inſuing.

[1 p. 134]

Witness again the Pope to Queen Matilda,

*Solomone attestante, didicimus quòd mulier ſapiens*

[2] Calf, meaning a fool,—as witness Cotgrave's definition of '*Veau*, A Calfe or Veale; also, a lozell, hoydon, dunce, iobbernoll, doddipole,'—had divers owners put before it, of whom Waltham seems to have been the best known. "Waltham's-calf. As wise as Waltham's calf, *i. e.* very foolish. Waltham's calf ran nine miles to suck a bull."—*Halliwell's Glossary.*

*ædificat domum; inſipiens autem conſtructam destruet manibus. Gaudemus pro te, & deuotionis ſtudium in Domino collaudamus; quoniam ſicut relligioſorum relatione accepimus, timorem Dei præ oculis habens, operibus pietatis intendis, & perſonas eccleſiaſticas & diligis & honoras. Vt ergo de bono in melius (inſpirante Domino) proficere valeas, nobilitatem tuam in Domino rogamus, & rogando monemus, & exhortamur in Domino, quatenus bonis initijs exitus meliores iniungas, & venerabilem fratrem nostrum Robertum London epiſcopum, pro illius reuerentia, qui cùm olim diues eſſet, pro nobis pauper fieri voluit, attentiùs diligas, & honores. Apud virum tuum, & dilectum filium nostrum, Stephanum, inſignem regem Anglorum efficere ſtudeas, vt monitis, hortatu, & conſilio tuo, ipſum in benignitatem & dilectionem ſuam ſuſcipiat, & pro beati Petri, & nostra reuerentia propenſiùs habeat commendatum. Et quia ſicut (veritate teste) attendimus eum ſine ſalute, & ſui ordinis periculo, præfato filio nostro astringi non poſſe; volumus, & paterno ſibi & tibi affectu conſulimus, vt vobis ſufficiat, veraci & ſimplici verbo promiſsionem ab eo ſuſcipere, quòd læſionem vel detrimentum ei, vel terræ ſuæ non inferat. Dat. vt ſupra.*

whom he exhorted

to imitate her husband King Stephen,

and require no oath of Robert, Bp of London, but only a simple promise.

Is it not ſtrange, that a peeuiſh order of religion (deuiſed by man) ſhould breake the expreſſe law of God, who commandeth all men to honour and obeie their kings and princes, in whome ſome part of the power of God is manifeſt and laid open vnto vs? And euen vnto this end the cardinall of Hoſtia alſo wrote to the canons of Paules, after this maner; couertlie incoraging them to ſtand to their election of the ſaid Robert, who was no more willing to giue ouer his new biſhoprike, than they carefull to offend the king; but rather imagined which waie to keepe it ſtill, maugre his diſpleaſure; & yet not to ſweare obedience vnto him, for all that he ſhould be able to do or performe vnto the contrarie.

Thus these peevish Papists broke God's law!

And the Cardinal of Hostia also told the Canons of St Paul's to support Bp Robert:

witness his letter,

*Humilis Dei gratia Hostienſis epiſcopus, Londinenſis eccleſiæ canonicis ſpiritum conſilij in Domino. Sicut rationi contraria prorſus eſt abijcienda petitio, ita in hijs, quæ iustè deſyderantur, effectum negare omninò non conuenit. Sanè nuper accepimus, quòd Londinenſis eccleſia, diu proprio deſtituta pastore, communi voto, & pari aſſenſu cleri & populi, venerabilem filium nostrum Robertum, eiuſdem eccleſiæ archidiaconum, in pastorem & epiſcopum animarum ſuarum ſuſceperit & elegerit. Nouimus quidem eum eſſe perſonam, quam ſapientia de ſuper ei attributa, & honestas conuerſationis, & morum reuerentia plurimùm commendabilem reddidit. Inde eſt quòd fraternitati veſtræ mandando conſulimus, vt propoſito vestro bono (quod vt credimus ex Deo eſt) & vt ex literis domini papæ cognoſcetis, non tepidè, non lentè debitum finem imponatis: ne tam nobilis eccleſia, ſub occaſione huiuſmodi, ſpiritualium, quod abſit, & temporalium detrimentum patiatur. Ipſius námque industria credimus, quòd antiqua relligio, & forma diſciplinæ, & grauitas habitus, in eccleſia vestra reparari: & ſi quæ fuerint ipſius contentiones, ex pastoris abſentia, Dei gratia cooperante, & eodem præſente, poterint reformari. Dat. &c.*

*Forsitan naturalem.*

recommending Bp Robert to them,

and counselling them to stand by him.

Hereby you ſee how king Stephan was dealt withall. And albeit the archbiſhop of Canturburie is not openlie to be touched herewith, yet it is not to be doubted, but he was a dooer in it, ſo far as might tend to the maintenance of the right and prerogatiue of holie church. And euen no leſſe vnquietneſſe had another of our princes with John[1] of Arundell, who fled to Rome for feare of his head, and cauſed the pope to write an ambitious and contumelious letter vnto his ſouereigne about his reſtitution. But when (by the kings letters yet extant) & beginning thus; *Thomas proditionis non expers nostræ regiæ maiestati inſidias fabricauit,* the pope vnderſtood the botome of the matter, he was contented that Thomas ſhould be depriued, and another archbiſhop choſen in his ſted.

Treasonous Thomas of Arundel also gave King Richard II. much trouble in 1398.

[1 Read 'Thomas': see the Latin below.]

Roger Walden had his see (but only for two years).

Neither did this pride ſtaie at archbiſhops and biſhops, but deſcended lower, euen to the rake-helles of the clergie and puddels of all vngodlineſſe. For beſide the iniurie receiued of their ſuperiors, how was K. John dealt withall by the vile Ciſtertians at Lincolne in the ſecond of his reigne? Certes, when he had (vpon iuſt occaſion) conceiued ſome grudge againſt them for their ambitious demeanor; and vpon deniall to paie ſuch ſummes of moneie as were allotted vnto them, he had cauſed ſeizure to be made of ſuch horſſes, ſwine, neate, and other things of theirs, as were mainteined in his forreſts. They denounced him as faſt amongſt themſelues with bell, booke and candle, to be accurſſed and excommunicated. Therevnto they ſo handled the matter with the pope and their friends, that the king was faine to yeeld to their good graces: inſomuch that a meeting for pacification was appointed betweene them at Lincolne, by meanes of the preſent archbiſhop [1] of Canturburie, who went off betweene him and the Ciſtertian commiſſioners before the matter could be finiſhed. In the end, the king himſelfe came alſo vnto the ſaid commiſſioners as they ſat in their chapiter houſe, and there with teares fell downe at their feet, crauing pardon for his treſpaſſes againſt them, and heartilie requiring that they would (from thencefoorth) commend him and his realme in their praiers vnto the protection of the almightie, and receiue him into their fraternitie: promiſing moreouer full ſatiſfaction of their damages ſuſteined; and to build an houſe of their order in whatſoeuer place of England it ſhould pleaſe them to aſſigne. And this he confirmed by charter, bearing date the ſeauen and twentith of Nouember, after the Scotiſh king was returned into Scotland, & departed from the king. Whereby (and by other the like, as betweene John Stratford and Edward the third, &c:) a man may eaſilie conceiue how proud the

The rakehels of the Popish clergy were proud too.

Witness how the Cistercians at Lincoln

excommunicated King John,

made him yield to them,

fall at the feet of the Pope's commissioners, crave pardon for his tresspasses,

promise to pay damages, and build them a house.

John Stratford troubld Edward III. too.

[1] The Archbishop who was present there.—F.

So proud were the clergy of old.

cleargie-men haue beene in former times, as wholie preſuming vpon the primaſſie of their pope. More matter could I alledge of theſe and the like broiles, not to be found among our common hiſtoriographers: howbeit reſeruing the ſame vnto places more conuenient, I will ceaſſe to ſpeake of them at this time, and go forward with ſuch other things as my purpoſe is to ſpeake of. At the firſt therefore there was like and equall authoritie in both our archbiſhops:] but as he [1] of Canturburie hath long ſince obteined the prerogatiue aboue Yorke (although [I saie] not without great trouble, ſute, ſome bloudſhed & contention) ſo the archbiſhop of Yorke is neuertheleſſe [written] primate of England, as one contenting himſelfe with a peece [of a title] at the leaſt, when (all) could not be gotten. And as he of Canturburie crowneth the king, ſo this of Yorke dooth the like to the queene, whoſe perpetuall chapleine he is, & hath beene from time to time, [ſince the determination of this controuerſie,] as [2] writers doo report. The firſt alſo hath vnder his iuriſdiction to [3] the number of one and twentie inferiour biſhops, the other hath onlie foure, by reaſon that the churches of Scotland are now remooued from his obedience vnto an archbiſhop of their owne, whereby the greatneſſe and circuit of the iuriſdiction of Yorke is not a little diminiſhed. In like ſort, each of theſe ſeauen and twentie ſees haue their cathedrall churches, wherein the deanes [(a calling not knowne in England before the conqueſt)] doo beare the cheefe rule, being men eſpeciallie choſen to that vocation, both for their learning and godlineſſe, ſo neere as can be poſſible. Theſe cathedrall churches haue in like maner other dignities and canonries ſtill remaining vnto them, as heeretofore vnder the popiſh regiment. Howbeit thoſe that are choſen to the ſame are no idle and vnprofitable perſons (as in times paſt they haue beene when moſt of theſe

Though the Archbp of Canterbury is above him of York, yet

he of York is calld Primate of England,

and crowns the Queen.

[3 p. 135]

*Twentie one bishoprikes vnder ye see of Canturburie. Onelie foure sees vnder the archbishop of yorke.*

*Deanes.*

*Canonries.*

But our present Canons, &c.,

[1] The Archbishop

[2] as the

liuings were either furniſhed with ſtrangers, eſpeciallie out of Italie, [boies,] or ſuch idiots as had leaſt ſkill of all in diſcharging of thoſe functions, wherevnto they were called by vertue of theſe ſtipends) but ſuch as by preaching and teaching can and doo learnedlie ſet foorth the glorie of God, and further the ouerthrow of antichriſt to the vttermoſt of their powers.

preach well, and help to overthrow Antichrist.

[Theſe churches are called cathedrall, bicauſe the biſhops dwell or lie neere vnto the ſame, as bound to keepe continuall reſidence within their iuriſdictions, for the better ouerſight and gouernance of the ſame: the word being deriued *A cathedra*, that is to ſaie, a chaire or ſeat where he reſteth, and for the moſt part abideth. At the firſt there was but one church in euerie iuriſdiction, wherinto no man entred to praie, but with ſome oblation or other toward the maintenance of the paſtor. For as it was reputed an infamie to paſſe by anie of them without viſitation, ſo it was a no leſſe reproch to appeare emptie before the Lord. And for this occaſion alſo they were builded verie huge and great, for otherwiſe they were not capable of ſuch multitudes as came dailie vnto them, to heare the word, and receiue the ſacraments.

Cathedrals are so calld from *cathedra*, a seat where the Bishop abides.

At first, each diocese had but one church,

a huge one,

But as the number of chriſtians increaſed, ſo firſt monaſteries, then finallie pariſh churches, were builded in euerie iuriſdiction: from whence I take our deanerie churches to haue their originall, now called mother churches, and their incumbents archpreeſts; the reſt being added ſince the conqueſt, either by the lords of euerie towne, or zealous men, loth to trauell farre, and willing to haue ſome eaſe by building them neere hand. Vnto theſe deanerie churches alſo the cleargie in old time of the ſame deanrie were appointed to repaire at ſundrie ſeaſons, there to receiue wholeſome ordinances, and to conſult vpon the neceſſarie affaires of the whole iuriſdiction, if neceſſitie ſo required: and ſome image hereof is yet to be ſeene in the

but soon monasteries and parish churches followd, whence came our Deanery or Mother Churches,

to which the Clergy repaird at sundry seasons,

as they do still in the North. Cathedrals are now, in their lower parts, only markets and shops.

north parts. But as the number of churches increaſed, ſo the repaire of the faithfull vnto the cathedrals did diminiſh: whereby they now become, eſpeciallie in their nether parts, rather markets and ſhops for merchandize, than ſolemn places of praier, wherevnto they were firſt erected.] Moreouer, in the ſaid cathedrall churches vpon ſundaies and feſtiuall daies, the canons doo make certeine ordinarie ſermons by courſe, wherevnto great numbers of all eſtates doo orderlie reſort: and vpon the working daies, thriſe in the weeke, one of the ſaid canons, [or ſome other in his ſteed,] dooth read and expound ſome peece of holie ſcripture, wherevnto the people doo verie reuerentlie repaire. The biſhops themſelues in like ſort are not idle in their callings, for being now exempt from court and councell, [which is one (and a no ſmall) peece of their felicitie (although Richard archbiſhop of Canturburie thought otherwiſe, as yet appeareth by his letters to pope Alexander, *Epiſtola* 44. *Petri Bleſenſis*, where he ſaith; Bicauſe the cleargie of his time were ſomewhat narrowlie looked vnto, *Supra dorſum eccleſiæ fabricant peccatores, &c.*)] they ſo applie their minds to the ſetting foorth of the word, that there are verie few of them, which doo not euerie ſundaie or oftener reſort to ſome place or other, within their iuriſdictions, where they expound the ſcriptures with much grauitie and ſkill; [and yet not without the great miſliking and contempt of ſuch as hate the word. Of their manifold tranſlations from one ſee to another I will ſaie nothing, which is not now doone for the benefit of the flocke, as the preferment of the partie fauoured, and aduantage vnto the prince, a matter in time paſt much doubted of, to wit, whether a biſhop or paſtor might be tranſlated from one ſee to another; & left vndecided, till preſcription by roiall authoritie made it good. For among princes a thing once doone, is well doone, and to be doone oftentimes, though no warrant be to be found therefore.]

*Ordinarie ſermons.*

*Ordinarie expoſitions of the ſcriptures.*

*The biſhops preach diligentlie, whose predecessors heretofore haue beene occupied in temporall affairs.*

But translations of Bishops are now wrongly made.

With princes, once done is well done, and to be done often.

They haue vnder them alſo their archdeacons, ſome one, diuerſe two, and manie foure or mo, as their circuits are in quantitie, which archdeacons are termed in law the biſhops eies: and theſe (beſide their ordinarie courts, which are holden [within ſo manie or more of their ſeuerall deanries] by themſelues or their officials once in a moneth at the leaſt) doo keepe yearelie two viſitations or ſynods (as the biſhop dooth in euerie third yeare, wherein [he confirmeth ſome children, though moſt care but a litle for that ceremonie) in which] they make diligent inquiſition and ſearch, as well for the doctrine and behauiour of the miniſters, as the orderlie dealing of the pariſhioners in reſorting to their pariſh churches and conformitie vnto religion. They puniſh alſo with great ſeueritie all ſuch treſpaſſers, [either in perſon or by the purſſe (where permutation of penance is thought more greeuous to the offendor)] as are preſented vnto them: or if the cauſe be of the more weight, as in caſes of hereſie, pertinacie, contempt, and ſuch like, they referre them either to the biſhop of the dioceſſe, or his chancellor, or elſe to ſundrie graue perſons ſet in authoritie, by vertue of an high commiſſion directed vnto them from the prince to that end, who in verie courteous maner doo ſee the offendors gently reformed, or elſe ſeuerlie puniſhed, if neceſſitie ſo inforce.

*Archdecons* are in law The Bishops' Eyes. They hold two Visitations a year. The Bishop one every third year, to confirm children, which is little car'd for The Archdeacons punish trespassers. *High commissioners.*

Beſide this, in manie of our archdeaconries we haue an exerciſe latelie begun, which for the moſt part is called a propheſie or conference, and erected onelie for the examination or triall of the diligence of the cleargie in their ſtudie of holie ſcriptures. Howbeit, ſuch is the thirſtie deſire of the people in theſe daies to heare the word of God, that they alſo haue as it were with zealous violence intruded themſelues among them (but as hearers onelie) to come by more knowledge through their preſence at the ſame. Herein alſo (for the moſt

*A propheſie or conference* of Ministers, to examine them in Scripture. The zealous laity have got in to hear these.

Two young ministers expound the Bible

part) two of the yoonger ſort of miniſters doo expound, ech after other, ſome peece of the ſcriptures ordinarilie appointed vnto them in their courſes (wherein they orderlie go through with ſome one of the euangeliſts, or of the epiſtles, as it pleaſeth [1] the whole aſſemblie [1] to chooſe at the firſt in euerie of theſe conferences); and when they haue ſpent an houre or a little more betweene them, then commeth one of the better learned ſort, who [being a graduat for the moſt part, or knowne to be a preacher ſufficientlie authoriſed, & of a ſound iudgement,] ſupplieth the roome of a moderator, making firſt a breefe rehearſall of their diſcourſes, and then adding what him thinketh good of his owne knowledge, wherby two houres are thus commonlie ſpent at this moſt profitable meeting. When all is doone, if the firſt ſpeakers haue ſhewed anie peece of diligence, they are commended for their trauell, and in[2]couraged to go forward. If they haue beene found to be ſlacke, [or not found in deliuerie of their doctrine,] their negligence [and error] is openlie reprooued before all their brethren, who go aſide of purpoſe from the laitie, after the exerciſe ended, to iudge of theſe matters, and conſult of the next ſpeakers and quantitie of the text to be handled in that place. The laitie neuer ſpeake [of courſe (except ſome vaine and buſie head will now and then intrude themſelues with offenſe)] but are onelie hearers; and as it is vſed in ſome places weekelie, in other once in foureteene daies, in diuerſe monethlie, and elſewhere twiſe in a yeare, ſo is it a notable ſpurre vnto all the miniſters, thereby to applie their bookes, which otherwiſe (as in times paſt) would [3] giue themſelues to hawking, hunting, tables, cards, dice, tipling at the alehouſe, ſhooting [of matches,] and other like vanities, nothing commendable in ſuch as ſhould be godlie and zealous ſtewards of the good gifts of God, faithfull diſtributors of his

for an hour; then a graduate

sums up and comments on their discourses for another hour.

The good are praisd, [2 p. 136] and the slack reprovd.

The laity never speak.

This is a notable spur to ministers, and keeps them from the old hunting, cards, and tippling.

1—1 them

[3] did. See *Doctour Doubble Ale*, Hazlitt's Pop. Poet., iii. 306.

word vnto the people, and diligent paſtors according to their calling.

[But alas! as ſathan, the author of all miſcheefe, hath in ſundrie manners heretofore hindered the erection and maintenance of manie good things: ſo in this he hath ſtirred vp aduerſaries of late vnto this moſt profitable exercise, who, not regarding the commoditie that riſeth thereby ſo well to the hearers as ſpekers; but either ſtumbling (I cannot tell how) at words and termes, or at the leaſt wiſe not liking to here of the reprehenſion of vice, or peraduenture taking a miſliking at the ſlender demeanours of ſuch negligent miniſters, as now and then in their courſes doo occupie the roomes: haue either by their owne practiſe, their ſiniſter information, or ſuggeſtions made vpon ſurmiſes vnto other, procured the ſuppreſſion of theſe conferences, condemning them as hurtfull, pernicious, and dailie breeders of no ſmall hurt & inconuenience.[1] But

But, alas, the Devil has

stirrd up adversaries

who have got these Conferences suppresst.

[1] Writing on March 25, 1574, to one Matchet, his chaplain, parson of Thurgarton, in the diocese of Norwich, Archbishop Parker requested him to repair to his ordinary, and to show him how the Queen willd the Archbishop to suppress those *vain prophesyings*, and requird the ordinary, in her Majesty's name, to stop them. This not being acceptable to the Bishop of Norwich, an altercation betweēn the Archbishop and the Bishop ensu'd. But eventually the prophesyings were stopt, —the following order being sent by the Bishop of Norwich to his Chancellor on the 7th of June, 1574:—"After my hearty commendations: whereas by the receipt of my Lord of Canterbury's letter, I am commanded by him, in the Queen her Majesty's name, that the prophesyings throughout my diocese should be suppressed; these are therefore to will you, that, as conveniently as you may, you give notice to every of my Commissaries, that they, in their several circuits, may suppress the same. And so I leave you to God."—Strype's *Life of Abp. Parker*, vol. ii. p. 362. See more about them in these references to Strype's Works, from the Index:—

"*Prophesyings*, certain exercises expounding the Scriptures, so called, P. II. 358, A. II. i. 133; orders respecting their use in the church of Northampton, 136, G. 260; this exercise set up at Bury, A. II. i. 325; Bishop Parkhurst's letter of permission, ii. 494; generally used by the clergy, i. 472; Bishop Cooper's regulations and allowance for them in Herefordshire, *ib.* 476; Bishop Parkhurst stops them in the diocese of Norwich, 477—480, P. II. 358—362; some privy counsellors write to him in their favour, *ib.*; he communicates with Archbishop Parker and some bishops upon the matter, *ib.*; they are suppressed, *ib.*; the contentions of the ministers, the occasion thereof, *ib.*; directions for this exercise in the diocese of Chester, A. II. i. 481, ii. 544; III. i. 476; the permission of Bishop Chaderton, II. ii. 546; III. i. 477; Bishop Cox's opinion of them, II. ii. 13; the Queen's letter to the Bishop of

hereof let God be iudge, vnto whome the cauſe belongeth.]

*Ministers & deacons*

Our elders or miniſters and deacons (for ſubdeacons and the other inferiour orders, ſometime vſed in [1] popiſh church we haue not,) are made according to a certeine

are consecrated,

forme of conſecration concluded vpon in the time of king Edward the ſixt, by the cleargie of England, and ſoone after confirmed by the three eſtates of the realme,

and from them

in the high court of parlement. And out of the firſt ſort, that is to ſaie, of ſuch as are called to the miniſterie [(without reſpect whether they be married or not)] are biſhops, deanes, archdeacons, & ſuch as haue the higher

the hierarchy are elected.

places in the hierarchie of the church elected; and theſe alſo, as all the reſt, at the firſt comming vnto anie

On promotion they pay one year's

ſpirituall promotion, doo yeeld vnto the prince the entire taxe of [that] their liuing [2] for one whole yeare, if it

income to the King as First-fruits,

amount in value vnto ten pounds and vpwards, and this vnder the name [and title] of firſt fruits.[3]

*Faculties.* enabling men to hold two livings not over 30 miles apart.

[4] [With vs alſo it is permitted, that a ſufficient man may (by diſpenſation from the prince[5]) hold two liuings, not diſtant either from other aboue thirtie miles;

Lincoln to stop them in his diocese, 114, 612; Abuses of these exercises, G. 326; Archbishop Grindal's orders for their reformation, 327; the Queen orders the Archbishop to put a stop to them, 328; his expostulations with her on the subject, 329, 558; the Queen's letter for their suppression, 574, W. I. 163."—*Index to Strype's Works*, vol. ii., p. 208 (1828 edit.).

There are frequent allusions to the *Prophesyings* "in the Bishops' Injunctions and Questions, the whole of which are printed in the Appendix to the *2nd Report of the Ritual Commission.* See page 432, par. 25; p. 435, par. 20; p. 445, par. 26; p. 447, par. 18."—F.

[1] in the [2] liuings

[3] John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, writing to his friend Henry Bullinger, on April 28, 1562, says:—"And that you might not think I had forgotten you (since I was unable to write through illness), I sent you a small present. *Whenever I shall have paid my first fruits*, and extricated myself from debt, you shall know who and what kind of a man is your friend Parkhurst."—Parker Society's *Zürich Letters*, i. 107.—F.

[4] This addition ends on p. 22.—F.

[5] The act of Henry VIII. for restraining pluralities contains a clause making employment at court an excuse for non-residence and pluralities; see Tyndale's *Expositions, &c.*, 256, 336. Bradford contends that they are hurtful to the Church, *Writings*, ii. 395; so does Jewel, ii. 984; Whitgift defends them, i. 528, &c. See also Bullinger's *Decades*, iv. 144; Hutchinson's *Works*, 5; Latimer's *Works*, i. 122; Whitgift's *Works*, i. 506, &c., Parker Society (Index).—F.

[whereby it commeth to paſſe, that as hir maieſtie dooth reape ſome commoditie by the facultie, ſo the vnition of two in one man dooth bring oftentimes more benefit to one of them in a moneth (I meane for doctrine) than they haue had before peraduenture in manie yeares.

Manie exclame againſt ſuch faculties,[1] as if there were mo good preachers that want maintenance, than liuings to mainteine them. In deed, when a liuing is void, there are ſo manie ſutors for it, that a man would thinke the report to be true, and moſt certeine: but when it commeth to the triall, who are ſufficient, and who not, who are ſtaied men in conuerſation, iudgement, and learning; of that great number you ſhall hardlie find one or two, ſuch as they ought to be: and yet none more earneſt to make ſute, to promiſe largelie, beare a better ſhew, or find fault with the ſtate of things, than they. Neuertheleſſe, I doo not thinke that their exclamations, if they were wiſelie handled, are altogither grounded vpon rumors or ambitious minds, if you reſpect the ſtate of the thing it ſelfe, and not the neceſſitie growing through want of able men, to furniſh out all the cures in England, which both our vniuerſities are neuer able to performe. For if you obſerue what numbers of preachers Cambridge[2] and

Many object to this pluralism,

but there are so few really good Ministers,

we so want able men,

of whom Cambridge and Oxford can't supply enough,

[1] See W. Stafford's argument against pluralities in his *Compendious Examination*, 1581, fol. 53. "What reason is it that one man should haue two mens liuinges and two mens charge, when he is able to discharge but one? Then, to haue more, and discharge the cure of neuer a one, is to farre agaynst reason. But some percase will say, 'there be some of vs worthy a greater preferment then others, and one benefice were to litle for such a one.' Is there not as many degrees in the variety of benefices as there is in mens qualities? Yes, forsooth, there is yet in this realme (thanked be God) benefices from M. markes to XX. markes a yeare of sundry value to endow euery man with, after his qualities and degree. And if a meane benefice happen to fal, let euery man be contented therewith til a better fal," &c. &c.—F.

[2] "It would pytye a mans hert to heare that that I heare of the state of Cambridge: what it is in Oxforde I can not tell. Ther be few do study diuinitie, but so many as of necessiti must furnish *the* Colledges. For their lyuynges be so small, and vytaylee so dere, that they tarry not ther, but go other where to seke lyuynges,

[Oxford doo yearelie ſend foorth; and how manie new compoſitions are made in the court of firſt fruits, by the deaths of the laſt incumbents: you ſhall ſoone ſee a difference. Wherefore, if in countrie townes & cities, yea euen in London it ſelfe, foure or fiue of the litle churches were brought into one, the inconuenience would in great part be redreſſed and amended.

*that it'd be a benefit to put four or five little churches into one.*

And to ſaie truth, one moſt commonlie of theſe ſmall liuings is of ſo little value, that it is not able to mainteine a meane ſcholar, much leſſe a learned man, as not being aboue ten, twelue, fixteene, ſeuenteene, twentie, or thirtie pounds at the moſt, toward their charges, which now (more than before time) doo go out of the ſame. I ſaie more than before, bicauſe euerie ſmall trifle, noble mans requeſt, or courteſie craued by the biſhop, dooth impoſe and command a twentith part, a three ſcore part, or two pence in the pound, &c: out of our liuings, which hitherto hath not beene vſuallie granted, but by conſent of a ſynod, wherein things were decided according to equitie, and the poorer ſort conſidered of, which now are equallie burdened.]

*One small living won't keep a mean scholar even, being only from £10 to £30 a year.*

*The clergy are now, too, more taxt than ever.*

[1] We paie alſo the tenths of our liuings to the prince yearelie, according to ſuch valuation of ech of them, as hath beene latelie made: [1] [which [2] neuertheleſſe in time paſt were not annuall, but voluntarie, & paid at requeſt of king or pope. Herevpon alſo hangeth a pleaſant ſtorie though doone of late yeares, to wit 1452,

*[First fruites and] Tenths* we pay yearly to the Queen.

and so they go aboute. Nowe there be a fewe gentylmen, and they studye a little diuinitie. . . . There be none nowe but greate mens sonnes in Colledges, and theyr fathers loke not to haue them preachers, so euerye waye thys offyce of preachynge is pyncht at."—*Latimer's 5th Sermon before Edward IV.*, A.D. 1549, p. 140, ed. Arber.

The scarcity of preachers in the time of Queen Elizabeth is lamented by Jewel in his *Works*, ii. 999, 1000, and by Archbp. Sandys, *Works*, p. 154 (Parker Soc.). He also complains of the ignorance of ministers in Elizabeth's time, *Works*, ii. 1012 (Parker Soc.).—F.

1—1 They paye the tenthes yearely also of theyr sayde liuynges accordyng to such valuations as haue beene made latelye of the same.

2 This addition ends on p. 24.—F.

[at which time the cleargie, ſeeing the continuall loſſes that the king of England ſuſteined in France, vpon ſome motion of releeſe made, granted in an open conuocation to giue him two tenths toward the recouerie of Burdeaux, which his grace verie thankefullie receiued. It fortuned alſo at the ſame time that Vincentius Clemens the popes factor was here in England, who hearing what the clergie had doone, came into the conuocation houſe alſo in great haſt and leſſe ſpeed, where, in a ſolemne oration he earneſtlie required them to be no leſſe fauourable to their ſpirituall father the pope, and mother the ſee of Rome, than they had ſhewed themſelues vnto his vaſſall and inferiour, meaning their ſouereigne lord in temporall iuriſdiction, &c. In deliuering alſo the cauſe of his ſute, he ſhewed how greeuouſlie the pope was diſturbed by cutthrotes, varlets, and harlots, which doo now ſo abound in Rome, that his holineſſe is in dailie danger to be made awaie amongſt them. To be ſhort, when this fine tale was told, one of the companie ſtood vp and ſaid vnto him: "My lord, we haue heard your requeſt; and, as we thinke, it deſerueth litle conſideration and leſſe eare; for how would you haue vs to contribute to his aid in ſuppreſſion of ſuch as he and ſuch as you are, doo continuall vphold: it is not vnknowen in this houſe what rule is kept in Rome."

In 1452 the clergy voted King two tenths to recover Bordeaux.

The Pope's Factor urg'd them to give the same to the Pope,

as he was disturbd by cutthroats and harlots in Rome.

An Englishman said, 'We can't pay to suppress the harlots that you Romish clergy support in Rome.'

"I grant" (quoth Vincent) "that there wanteth iuſt reformation of manie things in that citie, which would haue beene made ſooner, but now it is too late: neuertheleſſe I beſeech you to write vnto his holineſſe, with requeſt that he would leaue and abandon that Babylon, which is but a ſinke of miſchiefe, and keepe his court elſewhere in place of better fame. And this he ſhall be the better able alſo to performe, if by your [1]liberalitie extended towards him, vnto whom you are moſt bound, he be incouraged thereto." Manie other words paſſed to and fro amongſt them, howbeit in the

'True,' said the Factor;

'but do you ask the Pope to leave Rome, that sink of iniquity, and give him your money to enable him to do it.'

[1 p. 137]

But the English clergy wouldn't.

[end Vincent ouercame not, but was diſmiſſed without anie penie obteined. But to returne to our tenths, a paiement firſt as deuiſed by the pope, and afterward taken vp as by the preſcription of the king, wherevnto we may ioine alſo our firſt fruits, which is one whole yeares commoditie of our liuing, due at our entrance into the ſame, the tenths abated vnto the princes cofers, and paid commonlie in two yeares.] For the receipt [alſo] of theſe[1] two paiments, an eſpeciall office or court is erected, which beareth name of firſt fruits and tenths, wherevnto, if the partie to be preferred, doo not make his dutifull repaire by an appointed time after poſſeſſion taken, there to compound for the paiment of his [ſaid] fruits, he incurreth the danger of a great penaltie, limited by a certeine ſtatute prouided in that behalfe, againſt ſuch as doo intrude into the eccleſiaſticall function, [and refuſe to paie the accuſtomed duties belonging to the ſame.]

Besides our tenths,

we pay firstfruits,

for both which a special Court of Firstfruits and Tenths has been set up,

and if a parson doesn't pay up, he incurs a great penalty.

We clergy pay [*Subsidies*] too, more than the laity.

They paie likewiſe ſubſidies with the temporaltie, but in ſuch ſort, that if theſe paie after foure ſhillings for land, the cleargie contribute[2] commonlie after ſix ſhillings of the pound, ſo that of a benefice of twentie pounds by the yeare, the incumbent thinketh himſelfe well acquited, if, all [3]ordinarie paiments[3] being diſcharged, he may reſerue [4]thirteene pounds ſix ſhillings eight pence[4] towards his owne ſuſtentation, and maintenance of his familie. Seldome alſo are they without the compaſſe of a ſubſidie, for if they be one yeare cleare from this paiement, [a thing not often ſeene of late yeeres,] they are like in the next to heare of another grant: ſo that I ſaie againe they are ſeldome without the limit of a ſubſidie. [Herein alſo they ſomewhat find themſelues grieued, that] the laitie may at euerie taxation[5] helpe themſelues, and ſo they doo through conſideration had of their decaie and hinderance, and yet their impoueriſhment cannot but touch alſo the

Out of £20 a year,

we hardly get £13 6s. 8d.

We can't get relief from taxation, on account of poverty, like the laity can.

[1] which [2] paye [3—3] things [4—4] fifteene pounde [5] taxation also

parſon or vicar, [vnto whom ſuch libertie is denied,] as is dailie to be ſeene in their accompts and tithings.

[Some of them alſo, after the mariages of their children, will haue their proportions qualified, or by freendſhip get themſelues quite out of the booke. But what ſtand I vpon theſe things, who haue rather to complaine of the iniurie offered by ſome of our neighbors of the laitie, which dailie indeuor to bring vs alſo within the compaſſe of their fifteens or taxes for their owne eaſe, whereas the taxe of the whole realme, which is commonlie greater in the champeigne than woodland ſoile, amounteth onelie to 37930 pounds nine pence halfepenie, is a burden eaſie inough to be borne vpon ſo manie ſhoulders, without the helpe of the cleargie, whoſe tenths and ſubſidies make vp commonlie a double, if not troubleſome vnto their aforeſaid paiments. Sometimes alſo we are threatned with a *Melius inquirendum*, as if our liuings were not racked high inough alreadie. But if a man ſhould ſeeke out where all thoſe church lands, which in time paſt did contribute vnto the old ſumme required or to be made vp, no doubt no ſmall number of the laitie of all ſtates ſhould be contributors alſo with vs, the prince not defrauded of hir expectation and right. We are alſo charged with armor & munitions from thirtie pounds vpwards, a thing more needfull, than diuerſe other charges impoſed vpon vs are conuenient; by which & other burdens our eaſe groweth to be more heauie by a great deale (notwithſtanding our immunitie from temporall ſeruices) than that of the laitie, and for ought that I ſee, not likelie to be diminiſhed, as if the church were now become the aſſe whereon euerie market man is to ride and caſt his wallet.].

The laity too try to make us clergy pay part of their Fifteens or Taxes,

tho' our Tenths and Subsidies are twice as heavy as their Taxes.

Where are the old Church lands gone to? Let the laity pay for them.

We're charg'd with Armour and Munitions too!

The Church is now the ass for every man to ride on!

The other paiments due vnto the archbiſhop and biſhop at their ſeuerall viſitations (of which the firſt is double to the latter) and ſuch alſo as the archdeacon

We pay for Visitations too

receiueth at his ſynods, &c: remaine ſtill as they did without anie alteration; onelie this I thinke be added within memorie of man, that at the comming of euerie prince, his appointed officers doo commonlie viſit the whole realme vnder the forme of an eccleſiaſticall inquiſition, in which the clergie doo [vſuallie] paie double fees, as vnto the archbiſhop. Hereby then, and by thoſe alreadie remembred, it is found that the church of England is no leſſe commodious to the princes coffers than the [ſtate of the] laitie, if it doo not farre exceed the ſame, ſince their paiments are certeine, continuall, and ſeldome abated, howſoeuer they gather vp their owne duties [with grudging, murmuring, ſute, and ſlanderous ſpeeches of the paiers,] or haue their liuings otherwiſe hardlie valued vnto the vttermoſt farding, or ſhrewdlie cancelled by the couetouſneſſe of the patrones,[1] of whome ſome doo beſtow aduouſons of benefices vpon their bakers, butlers, cookes, [good archers, falconers,] and horſſe-keepers,[2] in ſted of other recompenſe, for their long

and double Inquisition fees to the Prince.

Thus we pay for Prince and Laity too,

and they both grumble at us and slander us.

Some greedy patrons even give advowsons to their cooks, falconers, and housekeepers,

[1] (Long side-note here in edition of 1577, as follows): The very cause why weauers pedlers & glouers haue been made Ministers, for *the* learned refuse such matches, so that yf the Bishops in times past hadde not made such by oversight friendship I wote not howe such men should haue done wyth their aduousons, as for a glouer or a tayler will be glad of an augmen*t*ation of 8 or 10 pou*n*d by the yere, and well contented that his patrone shall haue all the rest, so he may be sure of this pension.

[2] "But what do you patrons? Sell your benefices, or give them to your servants for their service, for keeping of hounds or hawks, for making of your gardens. These patrons regard no souls, neither their own nor other men's. What care they for souls, so they have money, though they [souls] perish, though they go to the devil?"—Latimer's Sermon at Stamford, 9 Nov. 1550, *Works*, i. 290.

On the general character of the ministers of England, see the Parker Society's *Zürich Letters*, ii. 63. Harding calls them tinkers, tapsters, fiddlers and pipers, Jewel's *Works*, iv. 873, 209; Jewel admits their want of learning, *ib.* 910; many of them were made of "the basest sort of the people," Whitgift's *Works*, i. 316; artificers and unlearned men were admitted to the ministry, Archbp. Parker's *Correspondence*, p. 120; many had come out of the shop into the clergy, Fulke's *Works*, ii. 118; an order was given to ordain no more artificers, Archbp. Grindal's *Remains*, p. 241, note; some beneficed ministers were neither priests nor deacons, Archbp. Parker's *Corr.*, pp. 128, 154, 308; laymen were presented to benefices, and made prebendaries, *ib.* 311, 312, and an Archdeacon was not in orders, *ib.* 142, note.—*Parker Society's Index*, p. 537.—F.

and faithfull ſeruice, which they imploie [afterward] vnto their moſt aduantage.[1]

[Certes here they reſemble the pope verie much, for as he ſendeth out his idols, ſo doo they their paraſites, pages, chamberleins, ſtewards, groomes, & lackies; and yet theſe be the men that firſt exclame of the inſufficiencie of the miniſters, as hoping thereby in due time to get alſo their glebes and grounds into their hands.[2] In times paſt, biſhopriks went almoſt after the ſame maner vnder the laie princes, and then vnder the pope, ſo that he which helped a clerke vnto a ſee, was ſure to haue a preſent or purſe fine, if not an annuall penſion, beſides that which went to the popes coffers, and was thought to be verie good merchandize. Hereof one example may be touched, as of a thing doone in my yoonger daies, whileſt queene Marie bare the ſwaie and gouerned in this land. After the death of Stephan Gardiner, the ſee of Wincheſter was void for a ſeaſon, during which time cardinall Poole made ſeizure vpon the reuenues and commodities of the ſame, pretending authoritie therevnto *Sede vacante*, by vertue of his place. With this act of his, the biſhop of Lin-

and yet cry out about the incompetency of Ministers!

Of old, Bishops paid their patrons for their sees.

Take an example in Queen Mary's days:

after Gardiner's death, Cardinal Pole seizd his vacant see of Winchester.

To stop him, the

[1] "I will not speak now of them that, being not content with their lands and rents, do catch into their hands spiritual livings, as parsonages and such like; and that under the pretence to make provision for their houses. What hurt and damage this realm of England doth sustain by that devilish kind of provision for gentlemen's houses, knights' and lords' houses, they can tell best that do travel in the countries, and see with their eyes great parishes and market towns, with innumerable others, to be utterly destitute of God's word; and that, because that these greedy men have spoiled the livings, and gotten them into their hands; and instead of a faithful and painful preacher, they hire a Sir John, which hath better skill in playing at tables, or in keeping of a garden, than in God's word; and he for a trifle doth serve the cure, and so help to bring the people of God in danger of their souls. And all those serve to accomplish the abominable pride of such gentlemen, which consume the goods of the poor (the which ought to have been bestowed upon a learned minister) in costly apparel, belly-cheer, or in building of gorgeous houses." 1562. A. Bernher's Dedication to Latimer's Sermons on the Lord's Prayer of A.D. 1552. *Latimer's Works*, i. 317 (Parker Soc.).—F.

[2] On the neglect of their duties by the Elizabethan clergy, and shifting the consequences of it on to the laity, see the Doctor's speech, on leaves 51—53 of Wm Stafford's *Compendious Examination*, 1581 A.D.—F.

Bishop of Lincoln askt the Pope for the see,

and promist him £1600 a year for it.

The Pope, counting more, rebukt the Bishop for his simony,

frightend him,

got more money out of him,

and then procurd him the see.

I could tell many more like cases.

colne (called White) tooke ſuch diſpleaſure, that he ſtepped in like a mate, with full purpoſe (as he ſaid) to keepe that ſee from ruine. He wrote alſo to Paulus the fourth pope, requiring that he might be preferred therevnto, promiſing ſo as he might be *Compos voti*, to paie to the popes coffers 1600 pounds yearlie during his naturall life, and for one yeere after. But the pope nothing liking of his motion, and yet deſirous to reape a further benefit, firſt ſhewed himſelfe to ſtomach his ſimonicall practiſe verie grieuouſlie, conſidering the dangerouſneſſe of the time and preſent eſtate of the church of England, which hoong as yet in balance readie to yeeld anie waie, ſauing foorth right, as he alledged in his letters. By which replie he ſo terrified the poore biſhop, that he was driuen vnto another iſſue, I meane, to recouer the popes good will, with a further ſumme than ſtood with his eaſe to part withall. In the end, when the pope had gotten this fleece, a new deuiſe was found, and meanes made to aid by the prince, that White might be biſhop of Wincheſter, which at the laſt he obteined, but in ſuch wiſe as that the pope and his neereſt friends did loſe but a little by it. I could, if need were, ſet downe a report of diuerſe other the like practiſes, but this ſhall ſuffice in ſteed of all the reſt, leaſt in reprehending of vice I might ſhew my ſelfe to be a teacher of vngodlineſſe, or to ſcatter more vngratious ſeed in lewd ground [1]alreadie choked with wickedneſſe.]

[1 p. 138]

Our old names, parson, vicar, &c., are still us'd,

the Canon Law is still pleaded,

[2]To proceed therefore with the reſt, I thinke it good alſo to remember, that the names[2] vſuallie giuen vnto ſuch as feed the flocke, remaine in like ſort as in times paſt, ſo that theſe words, parſon, vicar, curat, and ſuch are not yet[3] aboliſhed more than the canon law it ſelfe, which is dailie pleaded, as I haue ſaid elſewhere; although the ſtatutes of the realme haue greatlie infringed the large ſcope, and brought the

[2—2] But to proceede with our purpose. The names moreover [3] as yet

exercise of the same into some narrower limits. There is nothing read in our churches but the canonicall scriptures, whereby it commeth to passe that the psalter is said ouer once in thirtie daies, the new testament foure times, and the old testament once in the yeare. And herevnto if the curat be adiudged by the bishop or his deputies, sufficientlie instructed in the holie scriptures, [and therewithall able to teach,] he permitteth him to make some exposition or exhortation in his parish, vnto amendment of life. And for so [1] much as our churches and vniuersities haue beene so spoiled in time of errour, as there cannot yet be had such number of able [2] pastours as may suffice for euerie parish to haue one [3]: there are [(beside foure sermons appointed by publike order in the yeare)] certeine sermons or homilies (deuised by sundrie learned men, confirmed for sound doctrine by consent of the diuines, and publike authoritie of the prince) and those appointed to be read by the curats of meane vnderstanding (which homilies doo comprehend the principall parts of christian doctrine, as of originall sinne, of iustification by faith, of charitie, and such like) vpon the sabbaoth daies, vnto the congregation. [4] And after a certeine number of psalmes read, which are limited according to the dates of the month, for morning and euening praier, we haue two lessons, wherof the first is taken out of the old testament, the second out of the new; and of these latter, that in the morning is out of the gospels, the other in the after-noone, out of some one of the epistles. After morning praier also we haue the letanie and suffrages, an inuocation in mine opinion not deuised without the great assistance of the spirit of God, although manie curious mindsicke persons vtterlie con-

we read the Psalter once a month, the New Testament 4 times a year, and the Old once. Curates, if able, are allowd to preach.

The *Homilies* are read in church on

Sabbath-days; [4 for other 4 see next page.]

so are the Psalms,

two Lessons,

and after Morning Prayer, the Litany and Suffrages.

[1] for as [2] learned [3] See note, p. 21 above.—F.

[4]—[4] Likewise in our common prayer, the lessons are onely certeine appointed chapters, taken out of the olde & newe Testament. The administration moreouer of the sacraments and residue of the seruice is done in the churches wholly

demne it as ſuperſtitious, and ſauoring of coniuration and ſorcerie.

Then we have the Communion; or if no people come to it, we read the Decalogue, &c.: then a Homily:

This being doone, we proceed vnto the communion, if anie communicants be to receiue the euchariſt; if not we read the decalog, epiſtle and goſpell, with the Nicene creed (of ſome in deriſion called the drie communion,) and then proceed vnto an homilie or ſermon, which hath a pſalme before and after it, and finallie vnto the baptiſme of ſuch infants as on euerie ſabaoth daie (if occaſion ſo require) are brought vnto the churches: and thus is the forenoone beſtowed. In the after noone likewiſe we meet againe, and after the pſalmes and leſſons ended, we haue commonlie a ſermon, or at the leaſtwiſe our youth catechiſed by the ſpace of an houre. And thus doo we ſpend the ſabaoth daie in good and godlie exerciſes, all doone [4] in our vulgar toong, that each one preſent may heare and vnderſtand the ſame, which alſo in cathedrall and collegiat churches is ſo ordered, that the pſalmes onelie are ſoong by note, the reſt being read (as in common pariſh churches) by the miniſter with a lowd voice, ſauing that in the adminiſtration of the communion the quier ſingeth the anſwers, the creed, and ſundrie other things appointed, but in ſo plaine, I ſaie, and diſtinct maner, that each one preſent may vnderſtand what they ſing, euerie word hauing but one note, though the whole harmonie conſiſt of manie parts, and thoſe verie cunninglie ſet by the ſkilfull in that ſcience.

lastly, Baptisms.

For *Afternoon Service* we have Psalms, Lessons, and a Sermon or Catechising.

[4 for first see last page.]

All is in the vulgar tongue, tho' in Cathedrals, &c., the psalms are sung,

and also the answers in the Communion.

The translation of the Services always offended the Pope,

though some Princes would have it.

[Certes this tranſlation of the ſeruice of the church into the vulgar toong, hath not a litle offended the pope almoſt in euerie age, as a thing verie often attempted by diuers princes, but neuer generallie obteined, for feare leaſt the conſenting thervnto might breed the ouerthrow (as it would in deed) of all his religion and hierarchie; neuertheleſſe, in ſome places where the kings and princes dwelled not vnder his noſe, it was

performed maugre his reſiſtance. Wratiſlaus duke of Bohemia, would long ſince haue doone the like alſo in his kingdome; but not daring to venter ſo farre without the conſent of the pope, he wrote vnto him thereof, and receiued his anſwer inhibitorie vnto all his proceeding in the ſame :— Wratiſlaus of Bohemia askt the Pope's consent to it,

*Gregorius ſeptimus, Vratiſlao Bohemorum duci, &c. Quia nobilitas tua postulat, quòd ſecundum Sclauonicam linguam apud vos diuinum celebrari annueremus officium, ſcias nos huic petitioni tuæ nequaquàm poſſe fauere, ex hoc nempe ſe voluentibus liquet, non immeritò ſacram ſcripturam optimo Deo placuiſſe quibuſdam locis eſſe occultam; ne ſi ad liquidum cunctis pateret, fortè vileſceret, & ſubiaceret deſpectui, aut prauè intellecta à mediocribus in errorem induceret. Neque enim ad excuſationem iuuat, quòd quidam viri hoc, quod ſimplex populus quærit patienter tulerunt, ſeu incorrectum dimiſerunt: cum primitiua eccleſia multa diſſimulauerit, quæ à ſanctis patribus postmodum, firmata christianitate & religione creſcente, ſubtili examinatione correcta ſunt: vnde id nè fiat, quod à vestris imprudenter expoſcitur, authoritate beati Petri inhibemus; téque ad honorem optimi Dei huic vanæ temeritati viribus totis reſistere præcipimus, &c. Datum Romæ, &c.* but the Pope refuſd, and forbade its being done.

I would ſet downe two or three more of the like inſtruments paſſed from that ſee vnto the like end, but this ſhall ſuffice, being leſſe common than the other, which are to be had more plentifullie.]

As for our churches themſelues, belles, and times of morning and euening praier, remaine[1] as in times paſt, ſauing that all images, ſhrines, tabernacles, roodlofts, and monuments of idolatrie are remooued, taken downe, and defaced; onelie the ſtories in glaſſe windowes excepted, which for want of ſufficient ſtore of new ſtuffe, and by reaſon of extreame charge that ſhould grow by[2] the alteration of the ſame into white Our churches remain as of old; but idolatrous images, &c., are removd, except the stories in the glass windows, which would cost too much to change.

[1] they remaine [2] throwe

panes throughout the realme, are not altogither abolished in most places at once, but by little and little suffered to decaie, that white glasse may be prouided and set vp in their roomes. Finallie, whereas there was woont to be a great partition betweene the quire and the bodie of the church; now it is either verie small or none at all: and to saie the truth altogither needlesse, sith the minister saith his seruice commonlie in the bodie of the church, with his face toward the people, in a little tabernacle of wainscot prouided for the purpose: by which means the ignorant doo not onelie learne diuerse of the psalmes and vsuall praiers by heart, but also such as can read, doo praie togither with him: so that the whole congregation at one instant[1] powre out their petitions vnto the liuing God, for the whole estate of his church in most earnest and feruent manner. [Our holie and festiuall daies are verie well reduced also vnto a lesse number; for whereas (not long since) we had vnder the pope foure score and fifteene, called festiuall, and thirtie *Profesti*, beside the sundaies, they are all brought vnto seauen and twentie: and with them the superfluous numbers of idle waks, guilds, fraternities, church-ales, helpe-ales, and soule-ales, called also dirge-ales, with the heathnish rioting at bride-ales, are well diminished and laid aside. And no great matter were it if the feasts of all our apostles, euangelists, and martyrs, with that of all saincts, were brought to the holie daies that follow vpon Christmasse, Easter, and Whitsuntide; and those of the virgine Marie, with the rest, vtterlie remooued from the calendars, as neither necessarie nor commendable in a reformed church.

The choir is not cut off from the body of the church,

where the Minister says his service in a little tabernacle,

and the people pray with him.

Holy and Festival-Days have been reduc'd from 125 to 91 (that is, from 43, with 52 Sundays and 30 eves, to 27, with 52 Sundays and 12 eves);

and all wakes and gilds have been stopt,

as well as rioting at bride-ales.

We might as well get rid of Apostles' and the Virgin Mary's days, &c. too.

[2] p. 139] [*Apparell.*] Ours is more decent than the Popish clergy's.

[2]The apparell in like sort of our clergie men is comlie, & in truth, more decent than euer it was in the popish church: before the vniuersities bound their graduats vnto a stable attire, afterward vsurped also

[1] instant doe

euen by the blind ſir Johns. For if you peruſe well my chronologie inſuing, you ſhall find, that they went either in diuerſe colors like plaiers, or in garments of light hew, as yellow, red, greene, &c: with their ſhooes piked, their haire criſped, their girdles armed with ſiluer; their ſhooes, ſpurres, bridles, &c: buckled with like mettall: their apparell (for the moſt part) of ſilke, and richlie furred; their cappes laced and butned with gold: ſo that to meet a prieſt in thoſe daies, was to behold a peacocke that ſpreadeth his taile when he danſeth before the henne[1]: which now (I ſaie) is well reformed. Touching hoſpitalitie, there was neuer anie greater vſed in England, ſith by reaſon that mariage is permitted to him that will chooſe that kind of life, their meat and drinke is more orderlie and frugallie dreſſed; their furniture of houſhold more conuenient and better looked vnto; and the poore oftener fed generallie than heretofore they haue beene, when onlie a few biſhops, and double or treble beneficed men did make good cheere at Chriſtmaſſe onelie, or otherwiſe kept great houſes for the interteinment of the rich, which did often ſee and viſit them. It is thought much peraduenture, that ſome biſhops, &c: in our time doo come ſhort of the ancient gluttonie and prodigalitie of their predeceſſors: but to ſuch as doo conſider of the curtailing of their liuings, or exceſſiue prices whervnto things are growen, and how their courſe is limited by law, and eſtate looked into on euery ſide, the cauſe of their ſo dooing is well inough perceiued. This alſo offendeth manie, that they ſhould, after their deaths, leaue their ſubſtances to their wiues and children: wheras they conſider not, that in old time ſuch as had no lemans nor baſtards[2] (verie few were there God wot of this ſort) did leaue their goods and poſſeſſions to

They drest in parti-colours like players, or in red, green, &c., with silver ornaments,

silks and fur.

A priest was like a peacock dancing before a hen.

[*Hospitalitie.*]

The marriage of our clergy has increast this,

and the poor are now oftener fed.

Some of our Bishops are not so hospitable as Popish ones, because their income is cut down.

If they leave property to their wives,

so did Popish Priests to their lemans and bastards,

[1] See Chaucer's description of his Monk, Prol. to *Cant. Tales*, l. 165-207; and my *Ballads from Manuscripts*, vol. i. p. 193-4.—F.

[2] See *Ballads from Manuscripts*, vol. i. p. 59-78.—F.

or their kinsfolk.

their brethren and kinſfolks, whereby (as I can ſhew by good record) manie houſes of gentilitie haue growen and beene erected. If in anie age ſome one of them did found a college, almeſhouſe, or ſchoole, if you looke vnto theſe our times, you ſhall ſee no fewer deeds of charitie doone, nor better grounded vpon the right ſtub of pietie than before. If you ſaie that their wiues be fond, after the deceaſſe of their huſbands, and beſtow themſelues not ſo aduiſedlie as their calling requireth, (which, God knoweth, theſe curious ſurueiors make ſmall accompt of in truth, further than thereby to gather matter of reprehenſion:) I beſeech you then to looke into all ſtates of the laitie, & tell me whether ſome ducheſſes, counteſſes, barons, or knights wiues, doo not fullie ſo often offend in the like as they? for Eue will be Eue, though Adam would ſaie naie. Not a few alſo find fault with our thred-bare gowns, as if not our patrones but our wiues were cauſes of our wo. But if it were knowne to all, that I know to haue beene performed of late in Eſſex,—where a miniſter taking a benefice (of leſſe than twentie pounds in the Queenes bookes ſo farre as I remember) was inforced to paie to his patrone, twentie quarters of otes, ten quarters of wheat, and ſixteene yeerelie of barleie, which he called hawkes meat; and another lett the like in farme to his patrone for ten pounds by the yeere, which is well woorth fortie at the leaſt,—the cauſe of our thred-bare gownes would eaſilie appeere; for ſuch patrons doo ſcrape the wooll from our clokes. Wherfore I may well ſaie, that ſuch a thred-bare miniſter is either an ill man or hath an ill patrone, or both; and when ſuch cookes & cobling ſhifters[1] ſhall be remooued and weeded out of the miniſterie, I doubt not but our patrons will proue better men, and be reformed whether they will or not, or elſe the ſingle minded biſhops ſhall ſee the liuing beſtowed upon ſuch as doo deſerue it.

Instead of founding Colleges, we do good at our homes.

[*Mariage.*]

If some of our widows marry again badly,

so do some duchesses.

Eve will be Eve, though Adam say Nay. [*Thred-bare gownes, from whence they come.*]

Why, from Patrons grinding us:

getting Hawks' meat out of us, as they call it.

Patrons scrape the wool from the cloaks of us parsons.

May they get better, or may good Bishops bestow the livings on the deserving!

[1] See note 2, p. 26, above.—F.

When the Pragmatike ſanction tooke place firſt in France, it was ſuppoſed that theſe enormities ſhould vtterlie haue ceaſed: but when the elections of biſhops came once into the hands of the canons and ſpirituall men, it grew to be farre worſe. For they alſo within a while waxing couetous, by their owne experience learned aforehand, raiſed the markets, and ſought after new gaines by the gifts of the greateſt liuings in that countrie, wherein (as *Machiauell* writeth) are eighteene archbiſhoprikes, one hundred fortie and ſixe biſhoprikes, 740 abbies, eleuen vniuerſities, 1000700 ſteeples (if his report be found.) Some are of the opinion, that if ſufficient men in euerie towne might be ſent for from the vniuerſities, this miſchiefe would ſoone be remedied; but I am cleane of another mind. For when I conſider wherevnto the gifts of felowſhips in ſome places are growen; the profit that ariſeth at ſundrie elections of ſcholars out of grammar ſchooles, to the poſers, ſchoolemaſters, and preferrers of them to our vniuerſities; the gifts of a great number of almeſhouſes builded for the maimed and impotent ſouldiors, by princes and good men heretofore mooued with a pittifull conſideration of the poore diſtreſſed; how rewards, penſions, and annuities alſo doo reigne in other caſes, wherby the giuer is brought ſomtimes into extreame miſerie, & that not ſo much as the roome of a common ſouldior is not obteined oftentimes, without a *What will you giue me?*; I am brought into ſuch a miſtruſt of the ſequele of this deuiſe, that I dare pronounce (almoſt for certeine) that if *Homer* were now aliue, it ſhould be ſaid to him:

*Túque licèt venias muſis comitatus Homere,*
*Si nihil attuleris, ibis Homere foras!*

More I could ſaie, and more I would ſaie, of theſe and other things, were it not that in mine owne iudgement I haue ſaid inough alreadie for the aduertiſement of ſuch as be wiſe. Neuertheleſſe, before I finiſh this

The French found they couldn't trust Canons, &c.

[*Number of churches in France.*]

Asking for men from the Universities would not cure the evil.

There's [*Pretie packing.*] there!

Big thieves

robbing the poor;

givers of pensions even refusd help;

'What'll you give?' always askt.

If Homer came now emptyhanded, they'd send him packing.
I could say more; but withhold.

Now I'll add a few words on the

chapter, I will adde a word or two (ſo brieflie as I can) of the old eſtate of cathedrall churches, which I haue collected togither here and there among the writers, and whereby it ſhall eaſilie be ſeene what they were, and how neere the gouernment of ours doo in theſe daies approch vnto them; for that there is an irreconciliable ods betweene them and thoſe of the papiſts, I hope there is no learned man indeed, but will acknowlege and yeeld vnto it.

[*Old estate of cathedrall churches.*] Each see had one school,

We find therefore in the time of the primitiue church, that there was in euerie ſee or iuriſdiction one ſchoole at the leaſt, whereinto ſuch as were catechiſtes in chriſtian religion did reſort. And hereof as we may find great teſtimonie for Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, and Hieruſalem; ſo no ſmall notice is left of the like in the inferior ſort, if the names of ſuch as taught in them be called to mind, & the hiſtories well read which make report of the ſame. Theſe ſchooles were vnder the iuriſdiction of the biſhops, and from thence did they & the reſt of the elders chooſe out ſuch as were the ripeſt ſcholars, and willing to ſerue in the miniſterie, whome they placed alſo in their cathedrall churches, there not onelie to be further inſtructed in the knowledge of the word, but alſo to inure them to the deliuerie of the ſame vnto the people in ſound maner, to miniſter the ſacraments, to viſit the ſicke and brethren impriſoned, and to performe ſuch other duties as then belonged to their charges. The biſhop himſelfe and elders of the church were alſo hearers and examiners of their doctrine, and being in proceſſe of time found meet workmen for the lords harueſt, they were forthwith ſent abrode (after impoſition of hands, and praier generallie [1] made for their good proceeding) to ſome place or other then deſtitute of hir paſtor, and other taken from the ſchoole alſo placed in their roomes. What number of ſuch clerks belonged now and then to ſome one ſee, the chronologie following ſhall eaſilie declare: and in like ſort, what officers,

under its Bishop,

and the best scholars were put into the Cathedrals

to be traind.

After examination

and consecration they were sent out to work.

[1 p. 140]

widowes, and other perſons were dailie mainteined in thoſe ſeaſons by the offerings and oblations of the faithfull, it is incredible to be reported, if we compare the ſame with the decaies and ablations ſeene and practiſed at this preſent. But what is that in all the world which auarice and negligence will not corrupt and impaire? And as this is a paterne of the eſtate of the cathedrall churches in thoſe times, ſo I wiſh that the like order of gouernment might once againe be reſtored vnto the ſame, which may be doone with eaſe, ſith the ſchooles are alreadie builded in euerie dioceſſe, the vniuerſities, places of their preferment vnto further knowledge, and the cathedrall churches great inough to receiue ſo manie as ſhall come from thence to be inſtructed vnto doctrine. But one hinderance of this is alreadie and more & more to be looked for (beſide the plucking and ſnatching commonlie ſeene from ſuch houſes and the church) and that is, the generall contempt of the miniſterie, and ſmall conſideration of their former paines taken, whereby leſſe and leſſe hope of competent maintenance by preaching the word is likelie to inſue. Wherefore the greateſt part of the more excellent wits chooſe rather to imploy their ſtudies vnto phyſike and the lawes, vtterlie giuing ouer the ſtudie of the ſcriptures, for feare leaſt they ſhould in time not get their bread by the ſame. By this meanes alſo the ſtalles in their queeres would be better filled, which now (for the moſt part) are emptie, and prebends ſhould be prebends indeed, there to liue till they were preferred to ſome eccleſiaſticall function, and then other men choſen to ſucceed them in their roomes, whereas now prebends are but ſuperfluous additaments vnto former exceſſes, & perpetuall commodities vnto the owners, which before time were but temporall (as I haue ſaid before.) But as I haue good leiſure to wiſh for theſe things: ſo it ſhall be a longer time before it will be brought to paſſe. Neuertheleſſe,

Many widows, &c. were then kept by the offerings of the faithful, but now few are.

Avarice reigns.

I wish the old Cathedral-system were restord!

Schools, Universities, and Cathedrals are ready;

but plunder of,

and contempt for, the Ministry, prevent a competence being got in it; and so our best wits take to Physic and Law

Most of our Stalls are empty Prebends are not prebends,

but useless additions to prior preferments.

I pray for reform of this, and end.

as I will praie for a reformation in this behalfe, ſo will I here conclude this my diſcourſe of the eſtate of our churches, and go in hand with the limits and bounds of our ſeuerall ſees, in ſuch order as they ſhall come vnto my preſent remembrance.].

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## [1] [Of the number of biſhoprikes and *their ſeuerall circuits.*

Chap. 2.] [1]

I'll now treat of the ſeuerall ſees, and first of

[2] HAuing alreadie ſpoken generallie of the ſtate of our church, now will I touch the ſees ſeuerallie, ſaieng ſo much of ech of them as ſhall be conuenient for the time, and not onelie out of the ancient, but alſo the later writers, and ſomewhat of mine owne experience, beginning firſt with the ſee of Canturburie, as the moſt notable, whoſe archbiſhop is the primat of all this land for eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction, and moſt accompted of commonlie, bicauſe he is neerer to the prince, and readie at euerie call.[2]

*Canturburie.*

Though its province is all South and West England and Ireland,

The iuriſdiction of Canturburie [therefore,] erected firſt by Augustine the moonke, [in the time of Ethelbert king of Kent,] if you haue reſpect to hir[3] prouinciall regiment, extendeth it ſelfe ouer all the ſouth [and weſt] part[s] of this Iland [and Ireland, as I haue noted in the chapter precedent; and few ſhires there are wherein the archbiſhop hath not ſome peculiars].

[1]—[1] In 1577 ed. this chapter is run into the preceding one, or 5th of the 2nd Book. There is not much of Harrison's own self in this chapter, except about the collops (p. 61) and the Pope's best bellows (p. 63). I don't find it of much interest.—F.

[2]—[2] Thus much briefly of the estate of the church of England, I meane touching the regiment of the same, y^e^ seruice of God, & forme of common Prayer: now will I returne to the particular limites of eache seuerall Byshoprijc whereby we shall see theyr boundes and how farre theyr iurisdictions doe extende, beginning first with the Sie of Cantorbury in such briefe order as foloweth here at hand.

[3] his

But if you regard the ſame onelie that [1]was and is proper[1] vnto his ſee [from the beginning], it reacheth but ouer one parcell of Kent [which *Rudburne* calleth Cantwarland], the iuriſdiction[2] of Rocheſter including[3] the reſt: ſo that in this one countie the greateſt archbiſhoprike and[4] the leaſt biſhoprike of all are linked[5] [in] togither. That of Canturburie hath vnder it one archdeaconrie,[6] who hath iuriſdiction[7] ouer eleauen deanries or a hundred ſixtie[8] one pariſh churches; & in the popiſh time [in ſted of the 3093 pounds, eightéene ſhillings, halfepenie, farthing, which it now paieth unto hir maieſtie, vnder the name of firſt frutes,] there went out of this ſee to Rome, at euerie alienation[9] 10000 ducates or florens,[10] beſide 5000 that the new elect [did] vſuallie paie[11] for his pall, [each ducat being then worth an Engliſh crowne or thereabout, as I haue beene informed.][12]

yet its proper see is only part of Kent (Cantwarland).

It has one Archdeaconry.

It pays the Queen £3093 18s. 3d.

The ſee of Rocheſter is alſo included within the limits of Kent [being erected by Auguſtine in the 604 of Grace, and reigne of Ceolrijc ouer the weſt-Saxons. The biſhop of this ſee hath one archdeacon, vnder whoſe gouernment in cauſes eccleſiaſticall are three deanries, or][13] 132 pariſh churches: ſo that hereby it is to be gathered, that there are[14] 393 pariſh churches in Kent, ouer which[15] the ſaid[15] two archdeacons[16] haue eſpeciall cure & charge.[16] [14]He was woont to paie alſo vnto the court of Rome at his admiſſion to that ſee[17] 1300 ducats or florens, [as I read, which was an hard valuation, conſidering the ſmalneſſe of circuit belong-

*Rochester*

has one Archdeacon.

[1]—[1] belongeth unto [2] diocesse [3] enjoying [4] and at
[5] united & strictly linked [6] archdeacon [7] charge [8] three score and
[9] alienation for first fruites [10] (for I read both) [11] payed
[12] pall. I woulde speake somewhat of his peculiers dispersed here and there in other shires, but sith I haue no certaine knowledge of them, I passe them ouer untill an other tyme.
[13] whose Archdeacon hath onlye three denaries under his jurisdiction contayning [14] are at the least [15] these
[16] afore remembred do exercise Ecclesiasticall authoritie
[17] This Byshop at euery alienation was wont to pay to the Sie of Rome.

ing to his ſee. Howbeit, in my time it is ſo farre from eaſe by diminution, that it is raiſed to 1432 crownes, &c: or as we reſolue them into our pounds, 358 pounds, three ſhillings, ſix pence, halfepennie, farthing, a reckoning a great deale more preciſelie made than anie biſhop of that ſee dooth take any great delight in.] He was[1] croſſe-bearer in times[2] paſt vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie. [3][And there are and haue beene few ſees in England, which at one time or other haue not fetched their biſhops for the moſt part from this ſee: for as it is of it ſelfe but a ſmall thing in deed, ſo it is commonlie a preparatiue to an higher place. But of all that euer poſſeſſed it, Thomas Kempe had the best lucke, who, being but a poore mans ſonne of Wie (vnto which towne he was a great benefactor), grew firſt to be doctor of both lawes, then of diuinitie; and afterward being promoted to this ſee, he was tranſlated from thence to Chicheſter, thirdlie to London, next of all to Yorke, and finallie, after ſeauen and twentie yeares, to Canturburie, where he became alſo cardinall, deacon, and then preeſt in the court of Rome, according to this verſe, *Bis primas, ter præſes, bis cardine functus.* Certes I note this man, bicauſe he bare ſome fauour to the furtherance of the goſpell; and to that end he either builded or repared the pulpit in Paules churchyard, and tooke order for the continuall maintenance of a ſermon there vpon the ſabaoth, which dooth continue vnto my time, as a place from whence the foundeſt doctrine is alwaies to be looked for, and for ſuch ſtrangers to reſort vnto as haue no habitation in anie pariſh within the citie where it ſtandeth.] [3]

The Bishop of Rochester pays the Queen on his admission £358 3s. 6¾d.

The luckiest Archbishop of Canterbury was Thomas Kempe, son of a poor man of Wye,

who was made a Cardinal, and priest in the Court of Rome.

He favourd the Gospel, and

started the Sabbath Sermons at Paul's Cross, which are now the soundest in doctrine.

*London* The ſee of London [4][was erected at the firſt by

[1] also [2] tyme

[3]—[3] and Iustus was the first Byshop that was installed in the same.

[4]—[4] whereof Mellitus is accounted to be the first Pastor in the Popish Cataloge, is now contented to be under the gournaunce of a Bishop, which in olde time had hir Archebishop vntill Cantorbury bereft hir of that honour by the practise of Augustine

Lucius, who made it, of an archeflamine[1] and temple of Jupiter, an archbiſhops ſee, and temple vnto the liuing God, and ſo it continued, vntill Auguſtine tranſlated the title thereof to Canturburie. The names of the archbiſhops of London are these; *Theon, Eluan, Cadoc, Owen, Conan, Palladius, Stephan, Iltutus reſtitutus, anno* 350, *Theodromus, Theodredus, Hilarius, Faſtidius, anno* 420, *Guittelinus, Vodinus* ſlaine by the Saxons, and *Theonus Iunior.* But [2] for their iuſt order of ſucceſſion as yet I am not reſolued; neuertheleſſe the firſt biſhop there was ordeined by Auguſtine the moonke, in the yeare of Chriſt 604, in the time of Ceolrijc, after he had remooued his ſee further off into Kent: I wote not vpon what ſecret occaſion, if not the ſpeedie hearing of newes from Rome, and readineſſe to flee out of the land, if any trouble ſhould betide him. For iuriſdiction[4]] it includeth Eſſex, Midleſex, and part of Herefordſhire, which[3] is neither more nor leſſe in quantitie than the ancient kingdome of the eaſt Angles,[5] before it was vnited to[6] the weſt Saxons.[7] [The cathedrall church belonging to this ſee, was firſt begun by Ethelbert of Kent, *Indic.* 1. 598 of Inuber as I find, whileſt he held that part of the ſaid kingdome vnder his gouernment. Afterward when the Danes had ſundrie times defaced it, it was repared and made vp with hard ſtone, but in the end it was taken downe, and wholie reedified by Mawrice biſhop of that ſee, and ſometimes chapleine to the baſtard Henrie the firſt, allowing him ſtone and ſtuffe from Bainards caſtell neere vnto Ludgate, then ruinous for the furtherance of his works. Howbeit the moold of the quire was not ſtatelie inough in the eies of ſome of his ſucceſſors; wherefore in the yeare of Grace 1256, it was taken downe and brought into another forme, and called the

was an Archbishop's see till Augustine

transforrd it to Canterbury.

[2 p. 141]

London see includes Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire.

Its Cathedral was built by Ethelbert of Kent;

rebuilt by Bishop Maurice with the stone of Baynard's Castle,

and again built in 1256 A.D.

the monke, who, I wote not upon what priuie occasion, remooued his Archebishops Sie from thence farder into Kent. [1] Compare Robert Manning of Brunne.
[3] and [5] Saxons [6] that of the [7] as our hystories doe report.

new worke, at which time alſo the bodies of diuerſe kings and biſhops were taken vp and beſtowed in the walles, to the end their memories ſhould be of longer continuance.] The iuriſdiction of this ſee [alſo] vnder the biſhop, is committed to foure archdeacons, to wit,[1] of London, Eſſex, Middleſex, and Colcheſter, who[2] haue amongſt them to the number of 363 pariſh churches,[3] or thereabouts, beſide the peculiars belonging to the archbiſhop [and chapiter of that houſe], and at euerie alienation the [4]biſhop paieth for his owne part 1119 pounds, eight ſhillings and foure pence (but in old time 3000 florens) which diuerſe ſuppoſe to be more, than (as it now ſtandeth) the biſhop is able to make of it. Of the archdeconrie of S. Albons added therevnto by king Henrie the eight (whereby the biſhop hath fiue eies) I ſpeake not, for although it be vnder the biſhop of London for viſitations and ſynods, yet is it otherwiſe reputed as member of the ſee of Lincolne, and therefore worthilie called an exempt, it hath alſo fiue and twentie pariſhes, of which foure are in Buckingham, the reſt in Herefordſhire.[4]

It has four Archdeacons,

363 parish churches.

Henry VIII. added the Archdeaconry of St Alban's; but that now belongs to Lincoln.

*Chichester*

[5]The firſt beginning of the ſee of Chicheſter was in the Ile of Seales or Seolſeie, and from thence tranſlated[5] to Chicheſter, [in the time of William the baſtard, and generall remoouing of ſees from ſmall villages vnto the greater townes. It] conteineth[6] Suſſex onelie[7] vnder [8]hir iuriſdiction, wherein[8] are ſixteene deanries, and[9] 551 [10]pariſh churches[10]: it paid at euerie alienation to the ſee of Rome 333 ducats[11]: [12]and after Edbert the firſt biſhop,[12] one Cella ſucceeded, after

The see was first in Selsey,

[1] that is [2] and those [3] Parishes

[4]—[4] new incumbent was bounde to pay to the Bishop of Rome 3000. ducats or florens as I reade.

[5]—[5] Chichester (the beginning of which sie was in ye Ile of Selesey, but afterwards translated.

[6] hath now [7] only and the wight [8]—[8] which are

[9] containing to ye number of [10]—[10] parishes [11] as I haue reade of late

[12]—[12] One Edbert was the first bishop there, then

whome the [1] pontificall chaire (not then worth 677 pounds by the yeere, as now it is,) [1] was void by many yeares. It was erected [in Seoleſeie] alſo 711, by the decree of a ſynod holden in Suſſex, which borowed [2] it from the iuriſdiction of [3] Wincheſter, whereof before it was reputed a parcell. [Of all the biſhops that haue beene in this ſee, Thomas Kempe alwaies excepted, I read not of anie one that hath beene of more eſtimation than William Read, ſometime fellow of Merteine college in Oxford, doctor of diuinitie, and the moſt profound aſtronomer that liued in his time, as appeareth by his collection which ſometime I did poſſeſſe; his image is yet in the librarie there, and manie inſtruments of aſtronomie reſerued in that houſe (a college erected ſometime by Walter Merton biſhop of Rocheſter, and lord chancellor of England); he builded alſo the caſtell of Amberleie from the verie foundation, as Edward Scorie or Storie his ſucceſſor did the new croſſe in the market place of Chicheſter.]

A.D. 711, and was taken from the see of Winchester.

Its best holder was the astronomer Wm Read, of Merton (whose collection I possest).

[4] The byſhope of Wincheſter was ſometime called biſhop of the weſt Saxons, and [5] of Dorcheſter, which towne was giuen to Birinus and his ſucceſſors, by Kinigils [6] and Oſwald [7] of the Northumbers,[4] [in whoſe time it was erected by Birinus and his fellowes. In my time, it hath iuriſdiction onelie ouer] [8] Hamſhire, [9] Surrie, [10] Iardeſeie, Gardeſeie, and [10] the Wight, [11] conteining [11] eight deaneries, [12] two hundred ſeuentie and ſix pariſh churches,[12] and beſide [13] all this, he[13] is perpetuall prelate to the honorable order of the Garter, [deuiſed by Edward the third:] [14] he paid in old time to Rome[14] 12000 ducates or florens, [but now his firſt fruits are 2491 pounds nine ſhillings eight pence halfe penie.

*Winchester.*

This see has eight deaneries, and 276 churches.

Its Bishop is Prelate of the Order of the Garter.

[1] ſie [2] separated [3] ye ſie of
[4] (Given in a side note in 1577 ed.) [5] or
[6] Kinigils of the west Saxons [7] Oswald king [8] Winchester hath
[9] and [10] and in olde time [11] wherein are [12]—[12] and 276
[13]—[13] that the Bishoppe of this Diocesse [14]—[14] his taxe at his institution was

Winchester's the better manger, though Canterbury's the higher rack.

Canturburie was ſaid to be the higher racke, but Wincheſter hath borne the name to be the better mangier. There are alſo which make Lucius to be the firſt founder of an houſe of praier in Wincheſter, as Kinigils did build the ſecond, and Kinwaldus his ſonne the third; but you ſhall ſee the truth herof in the chronologie inſuing. And herevnto] if the old catalog of the biſhops of this ſee be well conſidered of, and the acts of the greateſt part of them indifferentlie weighed, as they are to be read in our hiſtories, you ſhall find the moſt egregious hypocrites, the ſtouteſt warriours, the cruelleſt tyrants, the richeſt monimoongers, and politike counſellors in temporall affaires, to haue, I wote not by what ſecret working of the diuine prouidence, beene placed here in Wincheſter, ſince the foundation of that ſee, which was erected by Birinus 639 (whome pope Honorius ſent hither out of Italie) and firſt planted at Dorcheſter, in the time of Kinigils, then tranſlated to Wincheſter, where it dooth yet continue.

Some of its Bishops have been the biggest hypocrites and rogues, others the best warriors and counsellors.

The see was erected by Birinus, A.D. 639.

*Salisburie* was transferrd from Sherborne,

Saliſburie [was made the cheefe ſee of Shirburne by biſhop Harman (predeceſſor to Oſmond) who brought it from Shirburne to that citie; it] hath now Barkeſhire,[1] Wilſhire,[2] [and Dorſetſhire vnder hir iuriſdiction.] For after the death of Hedda, which was 704, Wincheſter was diuided in two, ſo that onelie Hamſhire[3] and Surrie were left vnto it, and Wilton, Dorſet, Barkeſhire, Summerſet, Deuon & Cornewill aſſigned vnto Shirburne,[4] till other order was taken. [Biſhop Adelme did firſt ſit in that biſhoprike (704 as I ſaid) and placed his chaire at Shirburne vpon the ſaid diuiſion. And as manie lerned biſhops did ſucceed him in that roome, before and after it was remooued to Sarum; ſo there was neuer a more noble ornament to that ſee than biſhop Iuell, of whoſe great learning and iudgement the world it ſelfe beareth witneſſe, notwithſtanding that the papiſts prefer S. Oſmond (as they call

after Winchester was divided into two.

Sherborne had many learned bishops, specially

Bishop Jewel (author of the *Apology*)

[1] and [2] onely [3] Hampton [4] Salisbury

him) becauſe he builded the minſter there, and made the porteſſe called *Ordinale eccleſiastici officij*, which old preeſts were woont to vſe. The biſhops alſo of this ſee were ſometimes called biſhops of Sunning, of their old manſion houſe neere vnto Reading (as it ſhould ſeeme) and among thoſe that liued before the ſaid Iuell, one Roger builded the caſtell of the Vies in the time of Henrie the firſt, taken in thoſe daies for the ſtrongeſt hold in England, as vnto whoſe gate there were regals and gripes for ſix or ſeuen port culliſes. Finallie this ſée paid vnto Rome 4000 florens, but vnto hir maieſtie in my time 1367 pounds twelue ſhillings eight pence, as I did find of late.][1]

and Osmund, who establisht the Sarum use.

They were sometimes calld Bishops of Sunning.

Another Bishop built Devizes Castle.

Exceſter hath Deuonſhire and Cornewall, [ſometime two ſeuerall biſhopriks, but in the end brought into one of Cornewall, and from thence to Exceſter in the time of the Baſtard or ſoone after. It began vpon this occaſion, *Anno Gratiæ* 905, in a prouinciall councell holden by the elder Edward & Plegimond archbiſhop of Canturburie, among the Gewiſes,[2] wherein it was found, that the ſee of Wincheſter had not onelie beene without hir paſtor by the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres, but alſo that hir iuriſdiction was farre greater than two men were able well to gouerne; therefore from the former two, to wit, Wincheſter and Shirburne, three other were taken, whereby that ſee was now diuided into fiue parts; the latter three being Welles, Kirton, and Cornwall: this of Cornwall hauing hir ſee then at ſaint Patroks, not farre from north-Wales vpon the riuer Helmouth: he of Deuon holding his iuriſdiction in Deuonſhire, Kirton, or Cridioc: and the biſhop of Welles being allowed Dorſet and Barkſhires for his

*Excester* has Devon and Cornwall,

A.D. 905;

[2 p. 142]

out of Winchester and Sherborne were made three fresh sees.

[1] The valuation hereof in Rome was lately 4000 ducats or florens, as the taxe therof yet recordeth. Certes I haue not read of any bishop that hath beene a greater ornament to this Sie then Bishop Jewell lately deceased, sith the tyme that Adelme dyd first beginne that Bishoprijcke 704, which was before a percell of the iurisdiction of Winchester, founded at Shirburne, & afterward translated to Salisbury, but I can not well tell in what yeare after the conquest.

part, to gouerne and looke vnto according to his charge. Finallie, theſe two of Deuon and Cornwall being vnited,] [1] the valuation [2] thereof was taxed by the ſee of Rome at ſix thouſand ducats or florens, which were trulie paid at euerie alienation; [2] [but verie hardlie (as I geſſe) ſith that in my time, wherein all things are racked to the verie vttermoſt, I find that it is litle worth aboue fiue hundred pounds by the yeere, bicauſe hir tenths are but fiftie.]

The Bishopric of Exeter is worth a little over £500 a year now.

*Bath.* This see was once at Wells.

Bath, whoſe ſee was ſometime at Welles, [before Jõhn the biſhop there annexed the church of Bath vnto it, which was 1094,] hath Summerſetſhire onlie, and the valuation thereof [3] in the court of Rome was foure hundred & thirtie florens: but in hir maieſties books I find it fiue hundred thirtie and three pounds, and about one od ſhilling: which declareth a preciſe examination of the eſtate of that ſee.[3] [Of the erection of this biſhoprike, mentioned in the diſcourſe of Exceſter, I find the former aſſertion confirmed by another author, and in ſomewhat more large maner, which I will alſo remember, onelie becauſe it pleaſeth me ſomewhat better than the words before alleged out of the former writer.] This biſhoprike [(ſaith he)] was erected 905, in a councell holden among the Gewiſes, whereat king Edward of the weſt-Saxons, and Plegimond archbiſhop of Canturburie were preſent. For that part of the countrie had beene ſeuen yeeres without anie paſtorall cure. And therfore in this councell it was agreed, that for the two biſhoprikes (whereof one was at Wincheſter, another at Shireburne) there ſhould be fiue ordeined, whereby the people there might be the better inſtructed. By this meanes Frithſtan was placed at Wincheſter, and Etheline at Shireburne,

It's now worth £533 1s. a year.

It was erected A.D. 905.

*The bishoprike of Shirburne diuided into three.*

[1] &

[2—2] of this liuing was 6000. ducates, which were payde at euery alienation unto the Bishoppe of Rome.

[3—3] was rated at 430 Ducates in ye Popish taxation, except I be deceived.

both of them being then void. Shireburne alſo ſuſteined the ſubdiuiſion; ſo that Werſtane was made biſhop of Cridioc or Deuonſhire (whoſe ſee was at Kirton) Herſtan of Cornwall, and Eadulfe of Welles, vnto whome Barkſhire and Dorſetſhire were appointed. But now you ſee what alteration is made, by conſideration of the limits of their preſent iuriſdictions.

*Worcester*

Worceſter ſometime called *Epiſcopatus Wicciorum* [(that is, the biſhoprike of the Wiccies or Huiccies)] hath Worceſter, & part of Warwikeſhires. And before the biſhoprike of Gloceſter was taken out of the ſame, it paid to the pope two thouſand ducats of gold at euerie change of prelat: [but now the valuation thereof is one thouſand fortie nine pounds, ſeauen pence halfe penie farthing (except my remembrance doo deceiue me.)] This ſee was begunne either in, or not long before the time of Offa king of the eaſt-Angles, and Boſelus was the firſt biſhop there; after whome ſucceeded Oſtfort, then Egwine who went in pilgrimage to Rome, with Kinredus of Mercia and the ſaid Offa, and there gat a monaſterie (which he builded in Worceſter) confirmed by Conſtantine the pope. [In this ſee was one of your lordſhips anceſtors ſometime biſhop, whoſe name was Cobham, and doctor both of diuinitie and of the canon law, who, during the time of his pontificalitie there, builded the vault of the north ſide of the bodie of the church, and there lieth buried in the ſame (as I haue beene informed.) Certes this man was once elected, and ſhould haue beene archbiſhop of Canturburie in the roome of Reginald that died 1313 vnder Edward the ſecond: but the pope fruſtrated his election, fearing leaſt he would haue ſhewed himſelfe more affectionate towards his prince than to his court of Rome; wherefore he gaue Canturburie to the biſhop of Worceſter then being. And furthermore, leaſt he ſhould ſeeme altogither to reiect the ſaid Thomas and diſpleaſe the king, he gaue him in the end

is valu'd at £1049 0s. 7¾d. a year.

Dr Cobham (an ancestor of Sir Wm Broke, knt, Baron of Cobham, to whom this 'Description' is dedicated) was once Bishop of Worcester, and lies buri'd in the Cathedral.

the biſhoprike of Worceſter, whereinto he entred 1317, *Martij* 31, being thurſdaie (as appeereth by the regiſter of that houſe) after long plee holden for the aforeſaid ſee of Canturburie in the court of Rome, wherein moſt monie did ofteneſt preuaile. This is alſo notable of that ſee, that fiue Italians ſucceeded ech other in the ſame, by the popes prouiſion; as *Egidius, Sylueſter, Egidius* his nephue (for nephues might ſay in thoſe daies; "Father, ſhall I call you vncle?" And vncles alſo; "Son, I muſt call thee nephue?") *Iulius de Medices*, afterward pope Clement, and *Hieronymus de Nugutijs:* men verie likelie, no doubt, to benefit the common people by their doctrine. Some of theſe being at the firſt but poore men in Rome, and yet able by ſelling all they had to make a round ſumme againſt a rainie daie, came firſt into fauor with the pope, then into familiaritie, finallie into orders; and from thence into the beſt liuings of the church, farre off where their parentage could not eaſilie be heard of, nor made knowne vnto their neighbours.]

Five Italians succeeded each other as Bishops of Worcester. Their morals were about as good as their English.

*Glocester*

Glocester hath Glocesterſhire onelie, wherein are nine deanries, and to the number of 294 pariſh churches, as I find by good record. But it neuer paid anie thing to Rome,—bicauſe it was erected by king Henrie the eight, after he had aboliſhed the vſurped authoritie of the pope,—except in queene Maries, if anie ſuch thing were demanded,[1] as I doubt not but it was: [yet is it woorth yeerelie 315 pounds, ſeauen ſhillings three pence, as the booke of firſt fruits declareth.]

was erected by Henry VIII.

*Hereford*

Hereford hath Herefordſhire and part of Shropſhire, and [it] paid to Rome at euerie [2] alienation [2] 1800 ducats [3] at the leaſt [but in my time it paieth vnto hir maieſties cofers 768 pounds, ten ſhillings, ten pence, halfe penie, farthing. In this ſee there was a biſhop ſometime called John Bruton, vpon whome the king then reigning, by likelihood for want of competent

is valu'd at £768 10*s.* 10½*d.*

[1] demeaned [2] change of Bishop [3] or florens

maintenance, beſtowed the keeping of his wardrobe, which he held long time with great honour, as his regiſter ſaith. A wonderfull preferment, that biſhops ſhould be preferred from the pulpit, to the cuſtodie of wardrobes! but ſuch was the time. Neuertheleſſe, his honorable cuſtodie of that charge is more ſolemnlie remembred, than anie good ſermon that euer he made, which function peraduenture he committed to his ſuffragane, ſith biſhops in thoſe daies had ſo much buſineſſe in the court, that they could not attend to doctrine and exhortation.]

To increase his income, Bishop Bruton was made Keeper of the King's Wardrobe!

Lichefield, wherevnto Couentrie was[1] added, [in the time of Henrie the firſt, at the earneſt ſute of Robert biſhop of that ſee] hath Staffordſhire, Darbiſhire, part of Shropſhire, and the reſt of Warwikeſhire, that is void of ſubiection to the ſee of Worceſterſhire. It was erected in the time of Peada king of the ſouth Mercians, which laie on this ſide the Trent, and therein one Dinas was inſtalled, about the yeare of Grace 656, after whom[3] Kellac [firſt] then Tunher an Engliſhman, [4]ſucceeded, this later being well learned, and[4] conſecrated by the Scots. [In the time of the baſtard, I wot not vpon what occaſion, one Peter, biſhop of this ſee, tranſlated his chaire [5]to Cheſter, and there held it for a ſeaſon, whereby it came to paſſe that the biſhops of Lichfield were for a while called biſhops of Cheſter. But Robert, his ſucceſſor, not likeing of this preſident, remooued his chaire from Cheſter to Couentrie, and there held it whileſt he liued, whereby the originall diuiſion of the biſhoprike of Lichfield, into Lichefield, Cheſter, and Couentrie, dooth eaſilie appeare, although in my time Lichfield and Couentrie be united, and Cheſter remaineth a biſhoprike by it ſelfe.] It paid [6]the pope at euerie

*Lichfield.*[2]

contains Staffordshire, Derbyshire, &c.

[5 p. 143] Why its Bishops were once call'd Bishops of Chester.

Now Lichfield and Coventry are one bishopric; and Chester another.

[1] is [3] succeeded [4—4] but

[2] whose Sie was holden for a time at westchester, that now hath a Bishop of hir owne. [6—6] to the Pope

alienation[6] 1733 [1] florens, or (as ſome old bookes haue) 3000, a good round ſumme,[1] but not without a iuſt puniſhment, [2] as one ſaith, ſith that anno 765, Edulfe, biſhop there vnder Offa king of Mercia, would by his helpe haue bereaued the archbiſhop of Canturburie of his pall, & ſo did in deed vnder pope Hadrian, holding the ſame vntill things were reduced vnto their ancient forme.[2] [Before the time alſo of biſhop Langton, the prebends of this ſee laie here and there abroad in the citie, where the vicars alſo had an houſe, of which this honeſt biſhop miſliked not a little for ſundrie cauſes; wherefore he began their cloſe, and beſtowed ſo much in building the ſame, and pauing the streets, that his hungrie kinſmen did not a little grudge at his expenſes, thinking that his emptie cofers would neuer make them gentlemen, for which preferment the freends of moſt biſhops gaped earneſtlie in thoſe daies. King John was the greateſt benefactor vnto this ſee, next vnto Offa; and it is called Lichfield, *Quaſi mortuorum campus,* bicauſe of the great ſlaughter of chriſtians made there (as ſome write) vnder Diocleſian. Howbeit in my time the valuation thereof is 703 pounds, fiue ſhillings two pence, halfepenie, farthing, a ſumme verie narrowlie caſt by that auditor which tooke it firſt in hand.]

Bishop Langton built the Cathedral Close at Lichfield.

Lichfield = field of the corpses.

The yearly value of the bishopric is £703 5s. 2¾d.

[*Oxforde*] [3] Oxford hath Oxfordſhire onelie, a verie yoong iuriſdiction, erected by king Henrie the eight, & where in the time of queene Marie, one Goldwell was biſhop, who (as I remember) was a Jeſuit, dwelling in Rome, and more conuerſant (as the [conſtant] fame went) in the blacke art, than ſkilfull in the ſcriptures, and yet he was of great countenance amongſt the

Goldwell, a Jesuit, was Bishop in Queen Mary's time.

[1]—[1] Ducates, in mine opinion a good round fine.

[2]—[2] sith that in times past vz. 765 Eldulf Bishoppe there under King Offa of Mertia woulde haue bereft the sie of Cantorbury hir pall in the time of Pope Adriane, and so dyd for a season till thinges were reduced into their former order.

[3] Oxforde (side heading).

Romane monarchs. It is ſaid that, obſeruing the canons of his order, he regarded not the temporalities [of that ſee]: but I haue heard ſince that he wiſt well inough what became of thoſe commodities, [for by one meane and other he found the ſweetneſſe of 354 pounds ſixteene ſhillings three pence halfe penie, yearelie growing to him, which was euen inough (if not too much) for the maintenance of a frier toward the drawing out of circles, characters, & lineaments of imagerie, wherein he was paſſing ſkilfull, as the ſame then went in Rome, and not vnheard of in Oxford.]

Out of his £354 16s. 3½d. a year,

he kept a friar to draw circles, &c. for his practise in the Black Art.

Elie hath Cambridgſhire, and the Ile of Elie. It was erected 1109 by Henrie the firſt, being before a rich and wealthie abbeie. One Heruie alſo was made biſhop there, as I haue found in a regiſter, belonging ſometime to that houſe [being tranſlated from Bangor]. Finallie it paid to the pope at euerie alienation 7000 ducats, as the regiſters there do[1] teſtifie at large. [[2] Albeit that in my time I find a note of 2134 pounds ſixteene ſhillings three pence halfe penie farthing, whoſe diſme, ioined to thoſe of all the biſhopriks in England, doo yeeld yearelie to hir maieſties coffers 23370 pounds ſixteene ſhillings three penſe halfe penie farthing: whereby alſo the huge ſums of monie going out of this land to the court of Rome dooth in ſome meaſure appeere. Ethelwold, afterward biſhop of Wincheſter, builded the firſt monaſterie of Elie vpon the ruines of a nunrie then in the kings hands; howbeit the ſame houſe, whereof he himſelfe was abbat, was yer long deſtroied by enimies, and he, in lieu of his old preferment, rewarded by king Edgar, with the aforeſaid biſhoprike, from whence with more than lionlike boldneſſe he expelled the ſecular preeſts, and ſtored with moonkes prouided from Abandune neere Oxford, by the helpe of Edgar, and Dunſtane, then metropolitane of England. There was ſometime a greeuous conten-

*Elie.*

erected 1109 A.D.

[2] This addition ends on p. 55.]

All the Bishops' tenths amount to £23370 16s. 3¾d. a year, and go to the Queen.

[1] doth

The grievous dispute between Bishop Lild of Ely, and King Edward III. :—

[tion betweene Thomas Lild biſhop of this ſee, and the king of England, about the yeare of Grace 1355, which I will here deliuer out of an old record, becauſe the matter is ſo parciallie penned by ſome of the brethren of that houſe, in fauour of the biſhop; & for that I was alſo abuſed with the ſame in the entrance thereof at the firſt into my chronologie. The blacke prince fauoring one Robert Stretton his chapleine, a man vnlearned, and not worthie the name of a clearke, the matter went on ſo farre, that what for loue, and ſomewhat elſe, of a canon of Lichfield he was choſen biſhop of that ſee. Herevpon the pope, vnderſtanding what he was by his *Nuncio* here in England, ſtaied his conſecration by his letters for a time, and in the meane ſeaſon committed his examination to the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and the biſhop of Rocheſter, who felt and dealt ſo fauourablie with him in golden reaſoning, that his worthineſſe was commended to the popes holineſſe; & to Rome he goeth. Being come to Rome, the pope himſelfe appoſed him, and after ſecret conference vtterlie diſableth his election, till he had prooued by ſubſtantiall argument and of great weight before him alſo, that he was not ſo lightlie to be reiected. Which kind of reaſoning ſo well pleaſed his holineſſe, that *Ex mera plenitudine potestatis*, he was made capable of the benefice, and ſo returneth into England; when he came home, this biſhop being in the kings preſence, told him how he had doone he wiſt not what, in preferring ſo vnmeet a man vnto ſo high a calling. With which ſpeach the king was ſo offended, that he commanded him out of hand to auoid out of his preſence. In like ſort the ladie Wake, then ducheſſe of Lancaſter, ſtanding by, and hearing the king hir couſine to gather vp the biſhop ſo roundlie, and thereto an old grudge againſt him for ſome other matter, dooth preſentlie picke a quarrell againſt him about certeine lands then in his poſſeſſion; which he

The unlearned Robert Stretton is chosen Bishop of Ely

The Pope stays his consecration.

Stretton goes to Rome,

bribes the Pope, is approvd, and on his return is rude to the King, who

orders him out of the room.

The Duchess of Lancaster disputes the Bishop's right to some land:

[defended, & in the end obteined againſt her by plee and courſe of law yer long alſo afore hapned in a part of hir houſe, for which ſhe accuſed the biſhop, and in the end, by verdict of twelue men found that he was priuie vnto the fact of his men in the ſaid fact, wherfore he was condemned in nine hundred pounds damages, which he paid, euerie penie.

he defends it, and keeps the land,

but has to pay £900 damages.

Neuertheleſſe, being ſore grieued, that ſhe had (as he ſaid) wreſted out ſuch a verdict againſt him, and therein packed vp a queſt at hir owne choiſe: he taketh his horſſe, goeth to the court, and there complaineth to the king of his great iniurie receiued at hir hands. But in the deliuerie of his tale, his ſpeech was ſo blockiſh, & termes ſo euill fauoredlie (though malicioulie) placed, that the king tooke yet more offenſe with him than before; inſomuch that he led him with him into the parlement houſe, for then was that court holden, and there before the lords accuſed him of no ſmall miſdemeanor toward his perſon by his rude and threatening ſpeeches. But the biſhop egerlie denieth the kings obiections, which he ſtill auoucheth vpon his honor; and in the end confirmeth his allegations by witneſſe: wherevpon he is baniſhed from the kings preſence during his naturall life by verdict of that houſe. In the meane time the ducheſſe hearing what was doone, ſhe beginneth a new to be dealing with him: and in a brabling fraie betweene their ſeruants, one of hir men was ſlaine: for which he was called before the magiſtrat, as chiefe acceſſarie vnto the fact. But he, fearing the ſequele [1] of his third cauſe by his ſucceſſe had in the two firſt, hideth himſelfe after he had ſold all his moouables, and committed the monie vnto his truſtie friends. And being found giltie by the inqueſt, the king ſeizeth vpon his poſſeſſions, and calleth vp the biſhop to anſwer vnto the treſpaſſe. To be ſhort, vpon ſafe-conduct the biſhop commeth to the kings preſence, where he denieth that he was acceſſarie to the fact,

The Bishop (of Ely), angry at the false verdict, complains to the King, but so rudely

that the King accuses him before the Parliament,

and he is banisht from the King's presence.

The Duchess then summons him for being accessary to the death of one of her servants.

[1] p. 144]

The Bishop hides himself, and is found guilty,

[either before, at, or after the deed committed, and therevpon craueth to be tried by his peeres. But this petition was in vaine: for ſentence paſſeth againſt him alſo by the kings owne mouth. Wherevpon he craueth helpe of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and priuileges of the church, hoping by ſuch meanes to be ſolemnlie reſcued. But they, fearing the kings diſpleaſure, who bare ſmall fauour to the clergie of his time, gaue ouer to vſe anie ſuch meanes; but rather willed him to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the kings mercie, which he refuſed, ſtanding vpon his innocencie from the firſt vnto the laſt. Finallie, growing into choler, that the malice of a woman ſhould ſo preuaile againſt him, he writeth to Rome, requiring that his caſe might be heard there, as a place wherein greater iuſtice (ſaith he) is to be looked for than to be found in England. Vpon the peruſall of theſe his letters alſo, his accuſers were called thither. But for ſo much as they appeered not at their peremptorie times, they were excommunicated. Such of them alſo as died before their reconciliations were taken out of the churchyards, and buried in the fields and doong-hilles, *Vnde timor & turba* (ſaith my note) *in Anglia.* For the king inhibited the bringing in and receipt of all proceſſes, billes, and whatſoeuer inſtruments ſhould come from Rome; ſuch alſo as aduentured contrarie to this prohibition to bring them in, were either diſmembred of ſome ioint, or hanged by the necks. Which rage ſo incenſed the pope, that he wrote in verie vehement maner to the king of England, threatening far greater curſſes, except he did the ſooner ſtaie the furie of the lady, reconcile himſelf vnto the biſhop, and finallie, making him amends for all his loſſes ſuſteined in theſe broiles. Long it was yer the king would be brought to peace. Neuertheleſſe, in the end he wrote to Rome about a reconciliation to be had betweene them: but yer all things were concluded, God himſelf did end the quarrell,

but asks for trial by his peers.

Edward III. condemns the Bishop of Ely. The Bishop appeals first to the Archbishop,

and then to the Pope.

His accusers don't attend at Rome, and are excommunicated.

Edward III. forbids the import of Papal bulls, &c.

The Pope threatens the King with curses.

At last the King gives way; and then

[by taking awaie the biſhop. And thus much out of an old pamphlet in effect word for word: but I haue ſomewhat framed the forme of the report after the order that *Stephan Birchington* dooth deliuer it, who alſo hath the ſame in manner as I deliuer it.][1]

luckily, Bishop Stretton dies.

[1] This addition begins on p. 61.]

[2] The ſee of Norwich [2] called in old time *Epiſcopatus* [3]*Donnicenſis, Dononiæ,* or *Eastanglorum,* was erected at Felſtow or Felixſtow, where Felix of Burgundie (ſometime ſchoolemaſter to Sigebert of the eaſt-Angles, by whoſe perſauſion alſo the ſaid Sigebert erected the vniuerſitie at Cambridge) being made biſhop of the eaſt-Angles firſt placed his ſee, afterward it was remooued from thence to Donwich, and thence to Helmham, *Anno* 870, about the death of Celnothus of Canturburie; thirdlie, to Theodford, or Thetford; & finallie, after the time of the Baſtard, to Norwich. For iuriſdiction, it conteineth in our daies Norffolke and Suffolke onelie, whereas at the firſt it included Cambridgeſhire alſo, and ſo much as laie within the kingdome of the eaſt-Angles.[3] It began about the yeere 632, vnder Cerpenwald [4] king of the eaſt-Saxons, [5]who beſtowed it vpon Felix, whome pope Honorius alſo confirmed, and after which he held it by the ſpace of ſeauenteene yeeres.[5] [6]It paid [ſometimes] at euerie alienation 5000 ducats to Rome.[7] [But in my time hir maieſtie hath 899 pounds, 8 ſhillings 7 pence farthing, as I haue been informed. In the ſame iuriſdiction alſo there were once 1563 pariſh churches, and 88 religious houſes: but in our daies I can not heare of more churches than 1200: and yet of theſe I know one conuerted into a barne, whileſt the people heare ſeruice

*Norwich.*

was founded at Felixstow, about 632 A.D.,

then remov'd to Donwich, to Helmham,

and lastly to Norwich.

Felix was the first Bishop.

Its value is £899 8*s.* 7¼*d.* a year.

It contains 1200 churches: one turnd into a barn,

[2—2] Northwich

[3—3] domucensis, (whose sie was first at Helmeha*m*, then at Thetforde) hath Suffolke and Norfolke. The circuite hereof was once all one, with that of the Kinges of the east Angles, till Ely was taken from the same, &

[4] Eorpenwalde

[5—5] and one Felix of Burgundy, was first Bishop there, who sate seuenteene yeares, and was placed therein by Honorius the Pope,

[6] finally it

[7] of curraunt money as I reade

the bell us'd to hang on an oak but that's gone now.

further off vpon a greene: their bell alſo when I heard a ſermon there preached in the greene, hanged in an oke for want of a ſteeple. But now I vnderſtand that the oke likewiſe is gone. There is neuertheleſſe a litle chappellet hard by on that common, but nothing capable of the multitude of Aſhlie towne that ſhould come to the ſame in ſuch wiſe, if they did repaire thither as they ought.]

The little chapel on Ashley common is too small for the parishioners.

*Peterborow.*

Peterborow, ſometimes a notable monaſterie, hath Northampton and Rutland ſhires [vnder hir iuriſdiction],

was founded by Henry VIII.,

a dioceſſe erected alſo by king Henrie the eight. It neuer paid firſt fruits to the pope [1]before[1] queene Maries daies [2](if it were then deliuered) wherof I doubt,[2] becauſe it was[3] not recorded in his[4] ancient regiſter of [5]tenths and fruits,[5] [although peraduenture the collectors left it not vngathered, I wot not for what purpoſe; it

and yields £450 a year, less 1*d.*

yeeldeth now foure hundred and fiftie pounds, one penie abated. I haue ſeene and had an ancient iarror of the lands of this monaſterie, which agreeth verie well with the hiſtorie of *Hugo le Blanc* monke of that houſe.

I've seen an old deed of gift to the old Monastery by King Wulfhere, &c.

In the charter alſo of donation annexed to the ſame, I ſaw one of Wulfhere king of Mercia, ſigned with his owne, & the marks of Sigher king of Suſſex, Sebbie of Eſſex, with the additions of their names: the reſt of the witneſſes alſo inſued in this order:

*Ethelred* brother to *Wulfehere,*
*Kindburg* and *Kindſwith* ſiſters to *Wulfhere,*
*Deuſdedit* archbiſhop,
*Ithamar* biſhop of Rocheſter.
*Wina* biſhop of London,
*Iarnman* biſhop of Mearc,
*Wilfride* and *Eoppa* preeſts,
*Saxulfe* the abbat.

Then all the earles and eldermen of England in order; and after all theſe, the name of pope Agatho,

[1]—[1] but in [2]—[2] if ought were then demaunded
[3] was a sie [4] the [5]—[5] hys first fruites and tenthes

who confirmed the inſtrument at the ſute of Wilfride archbiſhop of Yorke, in a councell holden at Rome 680, of a hundred & fiue and twentie biſhops, wherein alſo theſe churches were appropriated to the ſaid monaſterie, to wit, Breding, Reping, Cedenac, Swineſheued, Luſgerd, Edelminglond, and Barchaing: whereby we haue in part an euident teſtimonie how long the practiſe of appropriation of benefices hath beene vſed to the hinderance of the goſpell, and maintenance of idle moonks, an humane inuention grounded vpon hypocriſie.]

Churches appropriated to the Monastery of Peterborough in old time,

to keep idle monks.

Briſtow hath Dorſetſhire ſometime belonging to Saliſburie, a ſee [alſo] latelie erected by king Henrie the eight, who tooke no ſmall care for the church of Chriſt, and therefore eaſed a number of ancient ſees of [1] ſome part of their huge and ouer-large [1] circuits, and beſtowed [2] thoſe portions deducted,[2] vpon ſuch other [erections] as he had appointed for the better regiment and feeding of the flocke: [the value thereof is three hundred foure ſcore and three pounds, eight ſhillings, and foure pence (as I haue beene informed.)]

*Bristow.*

yearly value, £383 8s. 4d.

Lincolne of all other [3] of late times [3] was the greateſt; [4] and albeit [4] that out of it were taken the ſees [5] of Oxford and Peterborow, yet it [6] ſtill reteineth [6] Lincolne, Leiceſter, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham ſhires, and the reſt of Hertford; ſo that it extendeth [7] from the Thames vnto the Humber, and paid vnto the pope [8] fiue thouſand ducats (as appeereth by [9] his note [9]) at euerie alienation. [In my time, and by reaſon of hir diminution it yeeldeth a tribute to whom tribute belongeth, of the valuation of eight hundred ninetie and nine pounds, eight ſhillings, ſeauen pence farthing.] It began [ſince the conqueſt,] [10] about the beginning of William Rufus, by one Remigius, who remooued his ſee [11] from Dorcheſter to

*Lincolne.*

The see stretches from the Thames to the Humber.

Its yearly value is £899 8s. 7¾d.

[10] p. 145]

[1]—[1] theyr ſuperfluous [2]—[2] the same [3]—[3] in times past
[4]—[4] for although [5] Bishoprijckes [6]—[6] reteineth still [7] extended
[8] for the whole [9]—[9] record [11]—[11] to Lincolne from Dorchester

Lincolne[11] [1](not without licence well paid for vnto the king.)[1] And thus much of the[2] biſhopriks which[3] lie within Lhoegres or England, as it was left vnto Locrinus. Now it followeth that [I] proceed with Wales.

*Landaffe.* Landaffe, or the church of Taw[4] hath eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction in[4] Glamorgan, Monmouth, Brechnoch, and Radnor ſhires. And [although it] paid[5] ſeuen hundred ducats[6] at euerie exchange of prelat; [yet is it ſcarſelie worth one hundred fiftie and fiue pounds by the yeare (as I haue heard reported.) Certes it is a poore biſhoprike, & (as I haue heard) the late incumbent thereof being called for not long ſince by the lord preſident in open court made anſwer: "The daffe is here, but the land is gone." What he meant by it I can not well tell; but I hope, that in the ſeed time and the free planting of the goſpell, the meate of the labourer ſhall not be diminiſhed and withdrawen.]

A poor bishopric, as its last Bishop said.

*S. Dauids.* S. Dauids hath Penbroke and Caermardine ſhires, whoſe liuerie or firſt fruits to the ſee of Rome was one thouſand and fiue hundred ducats, at the hardeſt (as I thinke.) [For if record be of anie ſufficient credit, it is little aboue the value of foure hundred fiftie and ſeauen pounds, one ſhilling, and ten pence farthing, in our time, and ſo it paieth vnto hir maieſties coffers; but in time paſt I thinke it was farre better. The preſent biſhop miſliketh verie much of the cold ſituation of his cathedrall church; and therfore he would gladlie pull it downe, and ſet it in a warmer place: but it would firſt be learned what ſuertie he would put in to ſee it well performed: of the reſt I ſpeake not.]

Its Bishop doesn't like the cold situation of his Cathedral, and wants to remove it.

*Bangor.* Bangor is in north-Wales, and hath Caernarvon, Angleſeie, and Merioneth ſhires vnder hir iuriſdiction. It paid[7] to Rome *126 ducats*[8]: [*which is verie much.*

[1] as Math. Westminster doth report [2] such [3] as [4]—[4] contayneth
[5] paid to Rome [6] as I reade [7] also
[8] or florence, as their bowkes doe yet declare

For of all the biſhoprikes in England it is now the leaſt for reuenues, and not woorth aboue one hundred and one and thirtie pounds, and ſixteene pence to hir maieſties coffers at euerie alienation (as appeereth by the tenths, which amount to much leſſe than thoſe o ſome good benefice) for it yeeldeth not yeerelie aboue thirteene pounds, three ſhillings, and ſeauen pence halfe penie, as by that court is manifeſt.] Bangor is the poorest Bishopric of all.

S. Aſaphes hath Preſtholme and part of Denbigh and Flintſhires [vnder hir iuriſdiction in cauſes eccleſiaſticall,] which being laid togither doo amount to little more than one good countie, and therefore [1] in reſpect of circuit the leaſt [1] that is to be found in [2] Wales, neuertheleſſe [3] it paid to Rome 470 ducates [4] at euerie alienation.[4] [In my time the firſt fruits of this biſhoprike came vnto 187 pounds eleuen ſhillings ſix pence, wherby it ſeemeth to be ſomewhat better than Landaffe or Bangor laſt remembred. There is one Howell a gentleman of Flintſhire in the compaſſe of this iuriſdiction, who is bound to giue an harpe of ſiluer yearelie to the beſt harper in Wales: but did anie biſhop thinke you deſerue that in the popiſh time? Howell or Aphowell in Engliſh is all one (as I haue heard) and ſignifie ſo much as Hugo or Hugh.] [5] Hitherto of the prouince [of] Canturburie, for ſo much therof as [now] lieth [6] within the compaſſe of [6] this Iland. Now it reſteth that I proceed with the [7] curtailed archbiſhoprike of Yorke: I ſaie curtailed, becauſe all Scotland is cut from his iuriſdiction and obedience.[7] *S. Asaphes.* Its Firstfruits are £187 11s. 6d. Mr Howell of Flintshire is bound to give a silver harp yearly to the best harper in Wales. Now for the Archbishopric of York.

The ſee of Yorke [8] was reſtored [8] about the yeare of Grace 625, [9] which after the comming of the Saxons laie deſolate and neglected, howbeit at the ſaid time [9] Juſtus [archbiſhop] of Canturburie [10] ordeined Paulinus *Yorke.*

1—1 iustly supposed to be ye lest Bishoprijcke
2 within
3 yet
4—4 except my memory doth fayle
5 And
6 in
7—7 other of Yorke in such order as I may.
8—8 beganne
9—9 under
10 who

The Archbishopric of York.

[1] to be [1] firſt biſhop there, in the time of Eadwijn [2] king of Northumberland.[2] [This Paulinus ſate ſix yeares yer he was driuen from thence, & after whoſe expulſion that ſeat was void long time, wherby Lindeſſarne grew into credit, and ſo remained vntill the daies of

Wilfrid appointed to it,

Oſwie of Northumberland, who ſent Wilfred the prieſt ouer into France, there to be conſecrated archbiſhop of Yorke: but whileſt he taried ouer long in thoſe parts,

but Chad held it three years first.

Oſwie, impatient of delaie, preferred Ceadda or Chad to that roome, who held it three yeares, which being expired, Wilfred recouered his roome, and held it as he

Cut into two, York and Durham.

might, vntill it was ſeuered in two, to wit, Yorke, Hagulſtade, or Lindeſſarne, where Eata was placed, at which time alſo Egfride was made biſhop of Lincolne or Lindſie in that part of Mercia which he had goten from Woolfhere.] Of it ſelfe it hath [now] iuriſdiction ouer Yorkeſhire, Notinghamſhire [(whoſe ſhire towne—I meane the new part thereof with the

Edward I. built the new town of Nottingham.

bridge—was builded by king Edward the firſt ſurnamed the elder before the conqueſt)] and the reſt of Lancaſterſhire [onelie] not ſubiect to the ſee of Cheſter; and when the pope bare authoritie in this realme, it paid vnto his ſee 1000 ducates, beſide [3] 5000 for the pall of the new elect, which was more than he could well ſpare [of late,] conſidering the [curtailing &] diminution of his ſee, [4] thorough [4] the erection of a new metropolitane in Scotland,[5] [but in my time it

The Firstfruits of York are £1609 19s. 2d. God save the Queen!

yeeldeth 1609 pounds nineteene ſhillings two pence to hir maieſtie, whom God long preſerue vnto vs to his glorie, hir comfort, and our welfares.]

*Chester.*

Cheſter [vpon Dee, otherwiſe called Weſtcheſter,] hath [vnder hir iuriſdiction in cauſes eccleſiaſticall,] Cheſterſhire, Darbiſhire, the moſt part of Lancaſterſhire [(to wit] vnto the Ribell) Richmond and a part

[1]—[1] the [2] of king Northumberland [3] beside also
[4]—[4] by meanes of [5] as I haue shewed else where

of Flint & Denbigh ſhires in Wales. [1] It was made a biſhoprike by king *H.* 8. *anno regni* 33. *Iulij* 16, and ſo hath continued ſince that time, being valued 420 pounds by the yeare beſide od twentie pence (a ſtreict reckoning) as the record declareth.[1]

Bishopric of Chester founded by Henry VIII.

Durham hath the countie of Durham [2] and Northumberland [with the Dales onelie vnder hir iuriſdiction, and] hereof [3] the biſhops [4] haue ſometimes beene [4] earles palantines, & ruled the roſt vnder the name of the biſhoprike [and ſucceſſion of S. Cuthbert. It was] a ſee (in mine opinion) more profitable [of late vnto hir maieſties coffers by 221 pounds eighteene ſhillings ten pence farthing,] and [yet] of leſſe countenance than hir [5] prouinciall, [neuertheles the ſunneſhine thereof (as I heare) is now ſomewhat eclipſed, and not likelie to recouer the light, for this is not a time wherein the church may looke to increaſe in hir eſtate. I heare alſo that ſome other flitches haue forgone the like collops, but let ſuch maters be ſcanned by men of more diſcretion. *Capgraue* ſaith how that the firſt biſhop of this ſee was called biſhop of Lindſeie (or Lincolne) & that Ceadda laie in Liechfield of the Percians in a manſion houſe neere the church. But this is more worthie to be remembred, that Cuthred of the Northumbers, and Alfred of the Weſtſaxons, beſtowed all the land betweene the Theſe & the Tine now ca''ed the biſhoprike, vpon S. Cuthbert, beſide whatſoeuer belonged to the ſee of Hagulſtade. Edgar of Scotland alſo in the time of the Baſtard gaue Coldingham and Berwike with all their appurtenances to that houſe; but whether theſe donations be extant or no as ye., I cannot tell. Yet I thinke not but that *Leland* had a ſight of them, from

*Durham. [or Lindesfarne*

£221 18s. 10½d.

Capgrave says its first Bishop was calld Bishop of Lindsey or Lincoln.

Donations to it

(from Leland).

[1—1] In the old popish tyme there was no Bishoprijck called by that name (although the Byshop of Leechfielde had sometime his Sie pitched in that place, and therefore of some was called Bishop of Chester) sith king Henry the eight was the first, that erected any there. [2] onely [3] whereof [4] beene sometimes [5] his

whome I had this ground.] But whatſoeuer [1]this
Bishopric of Durham. biſhoprike be now, in [1] externall [& outward] appar-
ance, ſure it is that it paid [in old time] [2] 9000 ducates [3]
at euerie alienation [4] [to Rome], as the record [5] expreſſeth.
Aidan a Scot [or Iriſhman] was the firſt biſhop of this
ſee, who held himſelfe (as did [6] manie of his ſucceſ-
ſors) [at Colcheſter and] in Lindeſfarne Ile, till one
came that remooued it to Durham. [And now iudge
[7 p. 146] [7] you whether the allegation of *Capgraue* be of anie
accompt or not.]

*Caerleill.* Caerleill [was] erected 1132 by Henrie the firſt,
and [8] hereof one [8] Ethelwoolfe confeſſor to Oſmond
biſhop of Sarum was made [9] the firſt [9] biſhop, hauing [10]
Cumberland & Weſtmerland [aſſigned to his ſhare;
of] [11] the deaneries and number [of] [12] pariſh churches [12]
conteined in the ſame as yet I haue no knowledge,
more than of manie [13] other. Howbeit hereof [14] I am
Its present valuation is £531 14s. 11½d. ſure, that [notwithſtanding the preſent valuation be
riſen to 531 pounds foureteene ſhillings eleuen pence
halfe penie,] the pope receiued out of it [15] [but]
1000 florens, [16] and [16] might haue ſpared much more, as
an aduerſarie thereto confeſſed ſometime euen be-
fore the pope himſelfe, ſuppoſing no leſſe than [17] to haue
gained by his tale, [and ſo peraduenture ſhould haue
doone, if his platforme had taken place. But as wiſe
men oft eſpie the practiſes of flatteries, ſo the pope
ſaw to what end this profitable ſpeach was vttered.
Carlisle was sackt by the Danes, and replanted with Southerners by William Rufus. As touching Caerleill it ſelfe it was ſometime ſacked
by the Danes, and eftſoones repared by William Rufus,
& planted with a colonie of ſoutherne men. I ſup-
poſe that in old time it was called Cairdoill. For in
an ancient booke which I haue ſeene, and yet haue,
intituled, *Liber formularum literarum curiæ Romanæ,*

[1]—[1] it be for [2] to Rome [3] or Florenes [4] chaunge
[5] yet expresseth [6] also manie [8]—[8] whereof
[9]—[9] original [10] hath [11] as for [12]—[12] parishes [13] of the other
[14] of this [15] at euery chaunge of Byshop [16] albeit that it [17] but

*octo capitulorum, epiſcopatus Cardocenſis.* And thus much generallie of the names and numbers of our biſhoprikes of England, whoſe tenths in old time yearelie amounting vnto 21111 pounds, twelue ſhillings one penie halfe penie farthing, of currant monie in thoſe daies, doo euidentlie declare, what ſtore of coine was tranſported out of the land vnto the papall vſes, in that behalfe onelie.

The tenths of the English Bishoprics, £21,111 12s. 1¾d., show what the Pope got out of England.

Certes I take this not to be one quarter of his gaines gotten by England in thoſe daies, for ſuch commodities were raiſed by his courts holden here, ſo plentifullie gat he by his perquiſits, as elections, procurations, appeales, preuentions, pluralities, tot quots, trialities, tollerations, legitimations, bulles, ſeales, preeſts, concubines, eating of fleſh and white meats, diſpenſations for mariages, & times of celebration, Peter pence, and ſuch like faculties, that not ſo little as 1200000 pounds went yearelie from hence to Rome. And therefore no maruell though he ſeeke much in theſe daies to reduce vs to his obedience. But what are the tenths of England (you will ſaie) in compariſon of all thoſe of Europe. For notwithſtanding that manie good biſhoprikes, latelie erected, be left out of his old bookes of record, which I alſo haue ſeene, yet I find neuertheles that the whole ſum of them amounted to not aboue 61521 pounds as monie went 200 yeare before my time, of which portion poore ſaint Peter did neuer heare, of ſo much as one graie grote. Marke therfore, I praie you, whether England were not fullie anſwerable to a third part of the reſt of his tenths ouer all Europe; and therevpon tell me whether our Iland was one of the beſt paire of bellowes or not, that blue the fire in his kitchen, wherewith to make his pot ſeeth, beſide all other commodities.]

But he got more by his perquisites:

surely more than £120,000 a year went to Rome.

England was the best pair of bellows that blew the Pope's kitchen fire, and made his pot boil.

Beſide all theſe, we haue another biſhoprike yet in England [1] almoſt ſlipped out of my remembrance, be- *Man.*

[1]—[1] but

cauſe it is[1] verie obſcure, [2] for that[2] the biſhop thereof hath not wherewith to mainteine his countenance ſufficientlie, and that is the ſee of Mona or Man, ſomtime named *Epiſcopatus Sodorenſis*, whereof one Wimundus was ordeined the firſt biſhop, and John the ſecond, in the [3] troubleſome time[3] of king Stephan. The gift of this prelacie reſteth in the earles of Darbie, who nominate[4] ſuch a one from time to time therto as to them dooth ſeeme conuenient. Howbeit, if that ſee [did know and] might reape hir owne commodities, [and diſcerne them from other mens poſſeſſions (for it is ſuppoſed that the mother hath deuoured the daughter),] I doubt not but the ſtate of hir biſhop would quicklie be amended. [5] Hauing therefore called this later ſee after this maner vnto mind, I ſuppoſe that I haue ſufficientlie diſcharged my dutie concerning the ſtate[5] of our biſhoprike[s],[6] and maner how the eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction of the church of England is diuided among the ſhires and counties of this realme. Whoſe biſhops, as they haue beene heretofore of [leſſe learning, and yet of] greater port & dooings in the common-wealth, than at this preſent, ſo are they now for the moſt part the beſt learned that are to be found in anie countrie of Europe, ſith neither high parentage, nor great riches (as in other countries) but onelie learning and vertue [commended ſomewhat by freendſhip] doo bring them to this honour.

The Bishopric of Sodor and Man.

The gift of it lies in the Earls of Derby.

I've thus done my duty in giving an account of our Bishoprics.

Our present Bishops are, for the most part, the learnedest in Europe.

I might here haue ſpoken [more at large] of diuerſe other biſhopriks, ſometime in this part of the Iland, as of that of Caerlheon [tofore ouerthrowen by Edelfred in the behalfe of Auguſtine the moonke (as *Malmeſburie* ſaith)] where Dubritius gouerned, which was afterward tranſlated to S. Dauids, and taken for an archbiſhoprike: ſecondlie of the biſhoprike of Leirceſter [called *Legerenſis*,] whoſe fourth

Other old Bishoprics.

[2]—[2] because [3]—[3] reign [4] nominateth
[5]—[5] And thus much [6] bishoprijcks

biſhop[1] (Unwon) went to Rome with Offa king of Mercia: thirdlie of Ramſbirie or Wiltun, and of Gloceſter (of which you ſhall read in *Matth. Weſtm.* 489) where the biſhop was called Eldad: alſo of Hagulſtade, one of the[2] members whereinto the ſee of Yorke was diuided after the expulſion of Wilfrid. For (as I read) when Egfrid the king had driuen him awaie, he diuided his ſee into [3]two parts,[3] making Boſa ouer the Deiranes that held his ſee at Hagulſtade [or Lindfarne: and] Eatta ouer the Bernicians, who ſate at Yorke: and [thereto placing] Edhedus ouer Lindſeie [(as is afore noted)] whoſe ſucceſſors were Ethelwine, Edgar, and Kinibert, notwithſtanding that one Sexulfus was ouer Lindſeie[4] before Edhedus, who was biſhop of the Mercians and middle England, till he was baniſhed from Lindſeie,[5] and came into thoſe[6] quarters to ſeeke his refuge and ſuccour.

*Glocester a verie ancient bishoprike.*

Old bishoprics of Lindisfarne and Lindsey.

I could likewiſe intreat of the biſhops of Whiteherne, or *Ad Candidam Caſam,* [an houſe, with the countrie wherein it ſtood, belonging to the prouince of Northumberland, but] now a parcell of Scotland; [7]alſo of the erection of the late ſee at Weſtminſter by Henrie the eight. But as the one, ſo the other, is ceaſed; and the lands of this later, either ſo diuided or exchanged for worſe tenures, that except a man ſhould ſee it with his eies, & point out with his finger where euerie parcell of them is beſtowed, but a few men would beleeue what is become of the ſame. I might likewiſe, and with like eaſe alſo, haue added the ſucceſſors of the biſhops of euerie ſee to this diſcourſe of their cathedrall churches and places of abode, but it would haue extended this treatiſe to an vnprofitable length. Neuertheleſſe I will remember the fame of

I could treat of the former see of Whiteherne in Northumberland, and of Westminster, founded by Henry VIII.,

but it 'd make my book too long.

[1] bishop called [2] the three [3]—[3] three partes
[4] Lindfarre [5] Lindisse [6] these
[7]—[7] and of diuers chaunges and alterations hapning in these sies from time to time, but sith my purpose is to touch only the estate of thinges present it may suffice to haue sayde thus much of them though altogither beside mine intended purpose.

I'll only mention London, my native city, and the etymology of Whiteherne.

London my natiue citie, after I haue added one word more of the houſe called *Ad Candidam Caſam*, in Engliſh Whiteherne, which taketh denomination of the white ſtone wherwith it was builded, and was ſeene far off as ſtanding vpon an hill to ſuch as did behold it.[7]

[7 See note p. 65.]

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[1 p. 147] [2 These additions end at top of p. 70.]

Archbishops and Bishops of London,

[1[2] The names and ſucceſſions of ſo manie archbiſhops and biſhops *of London, as are extant, and to* be had, from the faith *firſt receiued.*

## *Archbiſhops.*

Theon.
Eluanus.
Cadocus.
Ouinus.
Conanus.
Palladius.
Stephanus.
Iltutus.
Reſtitutus, who liued 350 of grace.
Tadwinus *aliàs* Theodwinus, ſome doo write him Tacwinus & Tatwinus.
Tidredus *aliàs* Theodred.
Hilarius.
Faſtidius liued Anno Dom. 430.
Vodinus, ſlaine by the Saxons.
Theonus.

## *The ſee void manie yeares.*

till Augustine remov'd his see to Canterbury.

Auguſtine the moonke, ſent ouer by Gregorie the great, till he remooued his ſee to Canturburie, to the intent he might the ſooner flee, if perſecution ſhould be raiſed by the infidels, or heare from, or ſend more ſpeedilie vnto Rome, without anie great feare of the interception of his letters.

*Biſhops.*

Melitus.

*The ſee void for a ſeaſon.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wina. | Cernulphus. | Archbishops of Canterbury: |
| Erkenwaldus. | Suiduiphus. | |
| Waldherus. | Eadſtanus. | |
| Ingaldus. | Wulffinus. | |
| Egulphus. | Ethelwaldus. | |
| Wigotus. | Elſtanus. | |
| Eadbricus. | Brithelmus. | Anglo-Saxon |
| Edgarus. | Dunſtanus. | |
| Kiniwalchus. | Tidricus. | |
| Eadbaldus. | Alwijnus. | |
| Eadbertus. | Elſwoldus. | |
| Oſwinus. | Robertus a Norman. | and Norman. |
| Ethelnothus. | Wilhelmus a Norman. | |
| Cedbertus. | Hugo a Norman. | |

I read alſo of a biſhop of London called *Elſward*, or *Aulward*, who was abbat at Eoueſham, and biſhop of London at one time, and buried at length in Ramſeie; howbeit, in what order of ſucceſſion he liued, I can not tell, more than of diuerſe other aboue remembred, but in this order doo I find them.

*The ſee void twelue yeares.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 Mauricius. | 8 Wilhelmus de ſancta Maria. | Later Archbishops of Canterbury. |
| 2 Richardus Beaumis. | 9 Euſtathius Falconberg. | |
| 3 Gilbertus vniuerſalis: a notable man for three things, auarice, riches, and learning. | 10 Rogerus Niger. | |
| | 11 Fulco Baſcet | |
| | 12 Henricus Wingham. | |
| 4 Robertus de Sigillo. | Richardus Talbot electus. | |
| 5 Richardus Beaumis. | 15 Richard. Grauesend. | |
| 6 Gilbertus Folioth. | 16 Radulfus Gandacenſis. | |
| 7 Richardus. | 17 Gilbertus Segraue. | |

Archbishops of Canterbury.

18 Richardus de Newport.
19 Stephanus Grauesend.
20 Richard. Bintworth.
Baldoc, 21 Radulfus Baldoc, who made the tables hanging in the vesterie of
(2) Bonner, Paules.
(2) Ridley, 22 Michael.
23 Simon.
24 Robertus.
25 Thomas.
(2) Grindall, 26 Richardus.
(2) Sandys. 27 Thomas Sauagius.
28 Wilhelmus.
29 Wilhelm. Warham.
30 Wilhelmus Barnes.
31 Cuthbertus Tunstall.
32 Iohannes Stokesleie.
33 Richardus fitz Iames.
34 Edmundus Boner, remoued, imprisoned.
35 Nicholas Ridleie remooued and burned.
Edm. Boner, restored, remooued, & imprisoned.
36 Edmundus Grindall.
37 Edwinus Sandes.
38 Iohannes Elmer.

Now for the Deans of St Paul's, and my old Master at Westminster School, Alexander Nowel, now living, in 1586. (He died in 1602.)

Hauing gotten and set downe thus much of the bishops, I will deliuer in like sort the names of the deanes, vntill I come to the time of mine old master now liuing in this present yeare 1586, who is none of the least ornaments that haue beene in that seat.

## *Deanes.*

1 Wulmannus, who made a distribution of the psalmes conteined in the whole psalter, and apointed the same dailie to be read amongst the prebendaries.
2 Radulfus de Diceto, whose noble historie is yet extant in their librarie.
3 Alardus Bucham.
4 Robertus Watford.
5 Martinus Pattesshull
6 Hugo de Marinis.
7 Radulfus Langfort.
8 Galfridus de Berie.
9 Wilhelmus Stamman.
10 Henricus Cornell.
11 Walterus de Salerne.
12 Robertus Barton.
13 Petrus de Newport.
14 Richardus Talbot.
15 Galfredus de Fering.
16 Iohannes Chishull
17 Herueus de Boreham.
18 Thomas Eglesthorpe.

19 Rogerus de Lalleie.
20 Wilhelmus[1] de Montfort.
21 Radulfus de Baldoc poſtea epiſcopus.
22 Alanus de Cantilup, poſtea cardinalis.
Ionan. Sandulfe electus.
Richardus de Newport electus.
23 Magiſter Vitalis.
24 Iohannes Eueriſdon.
25 Wilhelmus Brewer,
26 Richardus Kilmingdon.
27 Thomas Trullocke.
28 Iohannes Appulbie.
29 Thomas Euer.
30 Thomas Stow.
31 Thomas More.
32 Reginaldus Kenton.
33 Thomas Liſieux *aliàs* Leſeux.
34 Leonardus de Bath.
35 Wilhelmus Saie.
36 Rogerus Ratcliffe.
37 Thom. Winterburne.
38 Wilhelmus Wolſeie.
39 Robert Sherebroke.
40 Iohannes Collet, founder of Paules ſchoole. — John Colet.
Richardus Paceus. — Richard Pace.
Richardus Sampſon.
Iohannes Incent.
Wilhelmus Maius reſignauit.
Iohannes Fakenham *aliàs* Howman reſignauit.
Henricus Colus, remooued, impriſoned.
Wilhelmus Maius, reſtored.
Alexander Nouellus. — Alexander Nowel.

And thus much of the archbiſhops, biſhops, and deanes of that honorable ſee. I call it honorable, becauſe it hath had a ſucceſſion for the moſt part of learned and wiſe men, albeit that otherwiſe it be the moſt troubleſome ſeat in England, not onelie for that it is neere vnto checke, but alſo the prelats thereof are much troubled with ſutors, and no leſſe ſubiect to the reproches of the common ſort, whoſe mouthes are alwaies wide open vnto reprehenſion, and eies readie to eſpie anie thing that they may reprooue and carpe at. I would haue doone ſo much for euerie ſee in England, if I had not had conſideration of the greatneſſe of the volume, and ſmall benefit riſing by the ſame, vnto the commoditie of the readers: neuertheleſſe I haue re-

The see of Canterbury is the most troublesome in England.

The common sort are always ready to carp at Prelates.

[1] *orig.* Wilhelmns

ſerued them vnto the publication of my great chronologie, if (while I liue) it happen to come abrode.[1]]

[1 Insertion began on p. 66.]

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## [2]Of Vniuerſities.

### Chap. 3.

[2 p. 148] (An interesting chapter. Harrison was at both universities.)

[*Manie vniuerſities somtime in England.*]

[THere haue beene heretofore, and at ſundrie times, diuerſe famous vniuerſities in this Iland, and thoſe euen in my daies not altogither forgotten, as one at Bangor, erected by Lucius, and afterward conuerted into a monaſterie, not by Congellus (as ſome write) but by Pelagius the monke. The ſecond at Carlheon vpon Uſke, neere to the place where the riuer dooth fall into the Seuerne, founded by king Arthur. The third at Theodford, wherein were 600 ſtudents, in the time of one Rond ſometime king of that region. The fourth at Stanford, ſuppreſſed by Auguſtine the monke, and likewiſe other in other places, as Saliſburie, Eridon or Criclade, Lachlade, Reading, and Northampton; albeit that the two laſt rehearſed were not authoriſed, but onelie aroſe to that name by the departure of the ſtudents from Oxford, in time of ciuill diſſention, vnto the ſaid townes, where alſo they continued but for a little ſeaſon. When that of Saliſburie began, I can not tell; but that it flouriſhed moſt vnder Henrie the third, and Edward the firſt, I find good teſtimonie by the writers, as alſo by the diſcord which fell 1278, betweene the chancellor for the ſcholers there on the one part, and William the archdeacon on the other, whereof you ſhall ſee more in the chronologie here following.] [3]In my time there are three noble vniuerſities in England, to wit, one at Oxford, the ſecond at

Bangor,

Caerleon,

Thetford,

Stamford,

Salisbury, &c.

Salisbury flourisht under Henry III. and Edward I.

[*Three vniuerſities in England.*]

3—3 There are within the realme of England two noble and famous Uniuersities, wherein are

Cambridge, and the third in London; of which, the firſt two are the moſt famous, I meane Cambridge and Oxford, for that in them the vſe of the toongs, philoſophie, and the liberall ſciences, beſides the profound ſtudies of the ciuil law, phyſicke, and theologie, a e dailie taught and had: whereas in the later, the laws of the realme are onlie read and learned, by ſuch as giue their minds vnto the knowledge of the ſame. In the firſt there are[3] not onelie diuerſe goodlie houſes builded foure ſquare for the moſt part of hard freeſtone [or bric e], with great numbers of lodgings and chambers in the ſame for ſtudents, after a ſumptuous ſort,[1] through the exceeding liberalitie of kings, queenes, biſhops, noblemen and ladies of the land: but alſo large liuings and great reuenues beſtowed vpon them (the like whereof is not to be ſeene in anie other region, as *Peter Martyr* did oft affirme) to the maintenance onelie of ſuch conuenient numbers of poore mens ſonnes as the ſeuerall ſtipends beſtowed vpon the ſaid houſes are able to ſupport.

At 1. Oxford, 2. Cambridge, 3. London

In Oxford are goodly stone houses,

endowd with great revenues,

for the support of poor men's sons.

[When theſe two ſchooles ſhould be firſt builded, & who were their originall founders, as yet it is vncerteine: neuertheleſſe, as there is great likelihood that Cambridge was begun by one Cantaber a Spaniard (as I haue noted in my chronologie) ſo Alfred is ſaid to be the firſt beginner of the vniuerſitie at Oxford, albeit that I cannot warrant the ſame to be ſo yong, ſith I find by good authoritie, that John of Beuerleie ſtudied in the vniuerſitie hall at Oxford, which was long before Alfred was either borne or gotten. Some are of the opinion that *Cantabrigia* was not ſo called of Cantaber, but Cair Grant, of the finiſher of the worke, or at the leaſtwiſe of the riuer that runneth by the ſame, and afterward by the Saxons 'Grantceſter.' An other ſort affirme that the riuer is better written Canta than Granta, &c: but whie then is not the towne called *Canta, Cantium,* or *Canto-*

[*When the vniuersities were builded vncerteine.*]

Cambridge was probably begun by Cantaber, a Spaniard,

and was not calld after Grant.

[1] maner

Cantaber came from Biscay to England, and founded the University of Cambridge.

*dunum*, according to the ſame: All this is ſaid onlie (as I thinke) to deface the memorie of Cantaber, who comming from the Brigants, or out of Biſcaie, called the ſaid towne after his owne and the name of the region from whence he came. Neither hath it beene a rare thing for the Spaniards heretofore to come firſt into Ireland, and from thenſe ouer into England, ſith the chronologie ſhall declare that it hath beene often ſeene, and that out of Britaine, they haue gotten ouer alſo into Scithia, and contrariwiſe: coaſting ſtill through Yorkeſhire, which of them alſo was called *Brigantium*, as by good teſtimonie appeareth.]

[*Oxford fiftie miles from London.*]

stands most pleasantly, ringd with woods on hills, and waterd with rivers in the vales.

Of theſe two, that of Oxford (which lieth weſt and by north from London) ſtandeth moſt pleaſantlie,[1] being inuironed in maner round about with[2] woods on the hilles aloft, and goodlie riuers in the [3]bottoms and vallies[3] beneath, whoſe courſes would breed no ſmall commoditie to that citie [and countrie about,] if ſuch impediments were remooued as greatlie annoie the ſame, [and hinder the cariage which might be made thither alſo from London.]

[*Cambridge six and fortie miles from London.*]

stands well, but is too near the fens, which poison the air.

But it's well suppli'd with fish,

though wood is very scarce, and is brought from Essex, with charcoal.

Gall and sea-coal are burnt too.

That of Cambridge is diſtant from London about fortie and ſix miles north and by eaſt, and ſtandeth verie well, ſauing that it is ſomewhat neere[4] vnto the fens, whereby the wholeſomeneſſe of the aire there is not a litle corrupted. It is excellentlie well ſerued with all kinds of prouiſion, but eſpeciallie of freſhwater fiſh and wildfoule, by reaſon of [the riuer that paſſeth thereby; and thereto] the Ile of Elie, which is ſo neere at hand. Onlie wood is [5]the cheefe want[5] to ſuch as ſtudie there, wherefore this kind of prouiſion is brought them either from Eſſex, and other places thereabouts, as is alſo their cole; or otherwiſe the neceſſitie thereof is ſupplied with gall [(a baſtard kind of *Mirtus* as I take it)] and ſeacole, whereof they haue great plentie led thither by the Grant. Moreouer it

[1] pleasauntly of both [2] pleasaunt [3]—[3] medowes
[4] somewhat *low* and neere [5]—[5] one of the cheefe wants

hath not ſuch ſtore of medow ground as may ſuffice for the ordinarie expenſes of the towne and vniuerſitie, wherefore [1]the inhabitants[1] are inforced in like ſort to prouide their haie from other villages about, which miniſter the ſame vnto them in verie great aboundance. Cambridge hasn't enough meadows.

Oxford is ſuppoſed to conteine in longitude eighteene degrees and eight and twentie minuts, and in latitude one and fiftie degrees and fiftie minuts; whereas that of Cambridge ſtanding more northerlie, hath twentie degrees and twentie minuts in longitude, and therevnto fiftie and two degrees and fifteene minuts in latitude, as by exact ſupputation is eaſie to be found. [*Longitude & latitude of both.*]

The colleges of Oxford, for curious workemanſhip and priuat commodities, are much more ſtatelie, magnificent, & commodious than thoſe of Cambridge: and therevnto the ſtreets of the towne for the moſt part more large and comelie. But for vniformitie of building, orderlie compaction, and [politike] regiment, the towne of Cambridge, [as the newer workmanſhip,] exceedeth that of Oxford (which otherwiſe is, and hath beene, the greater of the two) by manie a fold [(as I geſſe)] although I know diuerſe that are of the contrarie opinion. [This alſo is certeine, that whatſoeuer the difference be in building of the towne ſtreets, the townesmen of both are glad when they may match and annoie the ſtudents, by incroching vpon their liberties, and keepe them bare by extreame ſale of their wares, whereby manie of them become rich for a time, but afterward fall againe into pouertie, bicauſe that goods euill gotten doo ſeldome long indure.] The Oxford colleges and streets are better than the Cambridge, tho' *for* uniformity and close-lyingness, [*Cambridge burned not long since.*] Cambridge exceeds the bigger Oxford. The Townsfolk of both places like to annoy the Students, and charge 'em high prices. But ill-gotten goods don't last.

Caſtels alſo they haue both, and in my iudgement is hard to be ſaid, whether of them would be the ſtronger, if ech[2] were accordinglie repared: howbeit that of Cambridge is the higher, both for maner of building and ſituation of ground, ſith Oxford caſtell [3]ſtandeth low and is not ſo apparant [4]to our[4] ſight. [[5]That Cambridge Castle is higher than Oxford Castle. [3 p. 149]

[1—1] they [2] both [4—4] in [5] Addition ends on p. 75.]

Cambridge Castle built by Gurguntius; Oxford Castle by Robert de Oilie, whose wife began the Abbey of Oseney.

[of Cambridge was builded (as they ſaie) by Gurguintus, ſometime king of Britaine, but the other by the lord Robert de Oilie, a noble man which came in with the conqueror, whoſe wife Editha, a woman giuen to no leſſe ſuperſtition than credulitie, began alſo the abbeie of Oſeneie neere vnto the ſame, vpon a fond (but yet a rare) occaſion, which we will heere remember, though it be beſide my purpoſe, to the end that the reader may ſee how readie the ſimple people of that time were to be abuſed by the practiſe of the cleargie. It happened on a time as this ladie walked about the fields, neere vnto the aforeſaid caſtell, to recreate hir ſelfe with certeine of hir maidens, that a number of pies ſat chattering vpon the elmes, which had beene planted in the hedgerowes, and in fine ſo troubled hir with their noiſe, that ſhe wiſhed them all further off, or elſe hir ſelfe at home againe, and this happened diuerſe times. In the end being wearie of hir walke, ſhe demanded of hir chapleine the cauſe wherfore theſe pies did ſo moleſt & vexe hir. "Oh madam" (ſaith he) the willeſt pie of all; "theſe are no pies, but ſoules in purgatorie that craue releefe." "And is it ſo in deed?" quoth ſhe. "Now *De pardieux*, if old Robert will giue me leaue, I will doo what I can to bring theſe ſoules to reſt." Herevpon ſhe conſulted, craued, wept, and became ſo importunate with hir huſband, that he ioined with hir, and they both began that ſynagog 1120, which afterward prooued to be a notable den. In that church alſo lieth this ladie buried with hir image, hauing an heart in hir hand couched vpon the ſame, in the habit of a voweſſe, and yet to be ſeene, except the weather haue worne out the memoriall. But to proceed with my purpoſe.

Some magpies annoyd her with their chattering.

Her chaplain ſaid they were ſouls in Purgatory.

She entreated her husband; and they both began Oseney Abbey, in 1120 A.D.

In each of theſe vniuerſities alſo is likewiſe a church dedicated to the virgin Marie, wherein once in the yeare, to wit, in Julie, the ſcholers are holden, and in which ſuch as haue beene called to anie degree

Oxford and Cambridge both have a St Mary's Church, where

[in the yeare precedent, doo there receiue the accompliſhment of the *ſame*, in ſolemne and ſumptuous maner. In Oxford this ſolemnitie is called an Act, but in Cambridge they vſe the French word Commenſement; and ſuch reſort is made yearelie vnto the ſame from all parts of the land, by the freends of thoſe which doo proceed, that all the towne is hardlie able to receiue and lodge thoſe geſts. When, and by whome, the churches aforeſaid were builded, I haue elſewhere made relation. That of Oxford alſo was repared in the time of Edward the fourth, and Henrie the ſeuenth, when doctor Fitz James, a great helper in that worke, was warden of Merton college; but yer long after it was finiſhed, one tempeſt in a night ſo defaced the ſame, that it left few pinacles ſtanding about the church and ſteeple, which ſince that time haue neuer beene repared. There were ſometime foure and twentie pariſh churches in the towne and ſuburbes, but now there are ſcarſelie ſixteene. There haue beene alſo 1200 burgeſſes, of which 400 dwelled in the ſuburbes, and ſo manie ſtudents were there in the time of Henrie the third, that he allowed them twentie miles compaſſe about the towne, for their prouiſion of vittels.[1]]

scholars take their degrees, at an 'Act' in Oxford, at 'Commencement' in Cambridge.

Many folk come to witness it.

Oxford once had 24 parish churches.

Now it has hardly 16.

[1 Insertion began on p. 73.]

The common ſchooles of Cambridge alſo are farre more beautifull than thoſe of Oxford, onelie the diuinitie ſchoole at Oxford excepted, which for fine and excellent workemanſhip, commeth next the moold of the kings chappell in Cambridge, than the which two with the chappell that king Henrie the ſeauenth did build at Weſtminſter, there are not (in mine opinion) made of lime & ſtone three more notable piles within the compaſſe of Europe.

The Cambridge schools are far finer than those of Oxford, except the Divinity school.

Than King's Chapel, Cambridge, and Henry VII.'s at Westminster, none in the world are finer.

In all other things there is ſo great equalitie betweene theſe two vniuerſities, as no man can imagin how to ſet downe any greater; ſo that they ſeeme to be the bodie of one well ordered common wealth,

onlie diuided by diſtance of place, and not in freendlie conſent [and orders]. In ſpeaking therefore of the one, I can not but deſcribe the other; and in commendation of the firſt, I can not but extoll the latter; and ſo much the rather, for that they are both ſo deere vnto me, as that I can not readilie tell vnto whether of them I owe the moſt good will. Would to God my knowledge were ſuch, as that neither of them might haue cauſe to be aſhamed of their pupill; or my power ſo great, that I might woorthilie requite them both for thoſe manifold kindneſſes that I haue receiued of them. But to leaue theſe things, and proceed with other more conuenient for my purpoſe. The manner to liue in theſe vniuerſities, is not as in ſome other of forren countries we ſee dailie to happen, where the ſtudents are inforced for want of ſuch houſes, to dwell in common innes, and tauerns, without all order or diſcipline. But in theſe our colleges we liue in ſuch exact order, and vnder ſo preciſe rules of gouèrnement, [as] that the famous learned man *Eraſmus* of *Roterodame* being here among vs 50 yeres paſſed, did not let to compare the trades in[1] liuing of ſtudents in[2] theſe two places, euen with the verie rules and orders of the ancient moonks: affirming moreouer in flat words, our orders to be ſuch as not onlie came neere vnto, but rather far exceeded all the monaſtical inſtitutions that euer were deuiſed.

Both Oxford and Cambridge are dear to me,

their pupil.

English University life is not like the foreign,

without discipline.

Our Colleges are under such strict rule that Erasmus

declar'd no old monks could be stricter.

In moſt of our colleges there are alſo great numbers of ſtudents, of which manie are found by the reuenues of the houſes, and other by the purueiances and helpe of their rich freends; whereby in ſome one college you ſhall haue two hundred ſcholers, in others an hundred and fiftie, in diuerſe a hundred and fortie, and in [3]the reſt[3] leſſe numbers; as the capacitie of the ſaid houſes is able to receiue: ſo that at this preſent, of one ſort and other, there are about three

Students are kept by the Colleges, or their rich friends.

Some Colleges have 200 scholars, some less.

[1] of [2] of [3—3] diuers

thouſand ſtudents nouriſhed in them both (as by a late ſurueie it manifeſtlie appeared.) [They were erected by their founders at the firſt, onelie for poore mens ſons, whoſe parents were not able to bring them vp vnto learning: but now they haue the leaſt benefit of them, by reaſon the rich doo ſo incroch vpon them. And ſo farre hath this inconuenience ſpread it ſelfe, that it is in my time an hard matter for a poore mans child to come by a felowſhip (though he be neuer ſo good a ſcholer, & woorthie of that roome.) Such packing alſo is vſed at elections, that not he which beſt deſerueth, but he that hath moſt friends, though he be the woorſt ſcholer, is alwaies ſureſt to ſpeed; which will turne in the end to the ouerthrow of learning. That ſome gentlemen alſo, whoſe friends haue beene in times paſt benefactors to certeine of thoſe houſes, doo intrude into the diſpoſition of their eſtates, without all reſpect of order or eſtatutes deuiſed by the founders, onelie thereby to place whome they thinke good (and not without ſome hope of gaine), the caſe is too too euident: and their attempt would ſoone take place, if their ſuperiors did not prouide to bridle their indeuors. In ſome grammar ſchooles likewiſe, which ſend ſcholers to theſe vniuerſities, it is lamentable to ſee what briberie is vſed; for yer the ſcholer can be preferred, ſuch bribage is made, that poore mens children are commonlie ſhut out, and the richer ſort receiued (who in time paſt thought it diſhonor to liue as it were vpon almes) and yet being placed, moſt of them ſtudie little other than hiſtories, tables, dice, and trifles, as men that make not the liuing by their ſtudie the end of their purpoſes, which is a lamentable hearing. Beſide this, being for the moſt part either gentlemen, or rich mens ſonnes, they oft bring the vniuerſities into much ſlander. For, ſtanding vpon their reputation and libertie, they ruffle and roiſt it out, exceeding in apparell, and ban[1]ting riotous companie

There are now 3000 students in Oxford and Cambridge.

But unluckily poor men's sons are being scroug'd out by the rich.

It's a hard job now for a poor man's son to get a fellowship.

The elections are packt. Learning 'll be upset by this.

In Grammar Schools too, Bribery prevails,

so that poor men's children don't get sent to the Universities. Rich ones get the scholarships, and then read stories, gamble, and disgrace the universities.

[1] p. 150]

Rich men's sons riot; and excuse it by saying they're 'gentlemen'!

(which draweth them from their bookes vnto an other trade.) And for excuſe, when they are charged with breach of all good order, thinke it ſufficient to ſaie, that they be gentlemen, which greeueth manie not a litle. But to proceed with the reſt.]

*Readers in priuat houses.*

College tutors teach their students.

Euerie one of theſe colleges haue in like maner their profeſſors or readers of the toongs and ſeuerall ſciences, as they call them, which dailie trade vp the youth there abiding priuatlie in their halles, to the end they may be able afterward (when their turne commeth about, [which is after twelue termes]) to ſhew themſelues abroad, by going from thence into the common ſchooles and publike diſputations (as it were [1] *In aream* [1]) there to trie their ſkilles, and declare how they haue profited ſince their comming thither.

*Publike readers mainteined by the prince.*

*Studie of the quadriuials and perspectiues neglected.*

Moreouer, in the publike ſchooles of both the vniuerſities, there are found at the princes charge (and that verie largelie) fiue *profeſſors* and readers, that is to ſaie, of diuinitie, of the ciuill law, phyſicke, the Hebrue, and the Greeke toongs. And for the other lectures,[2] as of philoſophie, logike, rhetorike, and the quadriuials, although the latter (I meane arethmetike, muſike, geometrie, and aſtronomie, and with them all ſkill in the perſpectiues,[3] are now ſmallie regarded in

Each university pays its Professors.

either of them) the vniuerſities themſelues doo allow competent ſtipends to ſuch as reade the ſame, whereby they are ſufficientlie prouided for, touching the maintenance of their eſtates, and no leſſe incoraged to be diligent in their functions.

The Professors have sole control over the Exercises for Degrees, &c.

Theſe profeſſors in like ſort haue all the rule of diſputations and other ſchoole exerciſes, which are dailie vſed in common ſchooles ſeuerallie aſſigned to ech of them, and ſuch of their hearers, as by their ſkill ſhewed in the ſaid diſputations, are thought to haue atteined [to] anie conuenient ripeneſſe of knowleledge, according to the cuſtome of other vniuerſities, although

[1]—[1] into the playne battaile [2] publicke lectures [3] perfectiues

not in like order, are permitted ſolemnlie to take their deſerued degrees of ſchoole in the ſame ſcience and facultie wherein they haue ſpent their trauell. From that time forward alſo, they vſe ſuch difference in apparell as becommeth their callings, tendeth vnto grauitie, and maketh them knowne to be called to ſome countenance. Graduates wear a distinctive dress.

The firſt degree,[1] is that of the generall ſophiſters, from whence, when they haue learned more ſufficientlie the rules of logike, rhetorike, and obteined thereto competent ſkill in philoſophie, and in the mathematicals, they aſcend higher vnto the eſtate of batchelers of art, [after foure yeares of their entrance into their ſophiſtrie.] From thence alſo giuing their minds to more perfect knowledge in ſome or all the other liberall ſciences, & the toongs, they riſe at the laſt [(to wit, after other three or foure yeeres)] to be called maſters of art, ech of them being at that time reputed for a doctor in his facultie, if he profeſſe but one of the ſaid ſciences (beſide philoſophie) or for his generall ſkill, if he be exerciſed in them all. After this they are permitted to chooſe what other of the higher ſtudies them liketh to follow, whether it be diuinitie, law, or phyſike; ſo that being once maſters of art, the next degree, if they follow phyſike, is the doctorſhip belonging to that profeſſion; and likewiſe in the ſtudie of the law, if they bend their minds to the knowledge of the ſame. But if they meane to go forward with diuinitie, this is the order vſed in that profeſſion. Firſt, after they haue neceſſarilie proceeded maſters of art, they preach one ſermon to the people in Engliſh, and another to the vniuerſitie in Latine. They anſwer all commers alſo in their owne perſons vnto two ſeuerall queſtions of diuinitie in the open ſchooles, at one time, for the ſpace of two hours; and afterward replie twiſe againſt ſome other man vpon a

University Degrees.
*Sophisters.*
*Batchelers of art.*
*Masters of art.*
M.-Aes then take to Divinity, Law, or Physic.
The course for Divinity.

[1] degree of all

like number, and on two ſeuerall dates in the ſame place: which being doone with commendation, he receiueth the fourth degree, that is, batchleler of diuinitie, but not before he hath beene maſter of art by the ſpace of ſeaueh yeeres, according to their ſtatutes.

*Batchelet of diuinitie.*

*Doctor.*

The next and laſt degree of all, is the doctorſhip, after other three yeares, for the which he muſt once againe performe all ſuch exerciſes and acts as are afore remembred; and then is he reputed able to gouerne and teach others, & likewiſe taken for a doctor. [I haue read that John of Beuerleie was the firſt doctor that euer was in Oxford, as Beda was in Cambridge. But I ſuppoſe herein that the word 'doctor' is not ſo ſtrictlie to be taken in this report as it is now vſed, ſith euerie teacher is in Latine called by that name, as alſo ſuch in the primitiue church as kept ſchooles of catechiſts, wherein they were trained vp in the rudiments and principles of religion, either before they were admitted vnto baptiſme, or anie office in the church.]

8 years after B.D.

John of Beverley the first Oxford D.D.; Bede the first Cambridge one.

Thus we ſee, that from our entrance into the vniuerſitie vnto the laſt degree receiued, is commonlie eighteene or [peraduenture] twentie yeeres, in which time if a ſtudent hath not obteined ſufficient learning, thereby to ſerue his owne turne, and benefit his common wealth, let him neuer looke, by tarieng longer, to come by anie more. [For after this time & 40 yeeres of age, the moſt part of ſtudents doo commonlie giue ouer their woonted diligence, & liue like drone bees on the fat of colleges, withholding better wits from the poſſeſſion of their places, & yet dooing litle good in their own vocation & calling. I could rehearſe a number (if I liſted) of this ſort, aſwell in the one vniuerſitie as the other. But this ſhall ſuffice in ſted of a larger report, that long continuance in thoſe places is either a ſigne of lacke of friends, or of learning, or of

From entry as a student, to D.D., takes 18 or 20 years.

After 40, students turn into Drone Bees,

live on the fat of the Colleges, and keep better wits from their places.

good and vpright life, as biſhop Fox ſometime noted, who thought it ſacrilege for a man to tarrie anie longer at Oxford than he had a deſire to profit.] [*This Fox builded Corpus Christi college in Oxford.*]

A man may (if he will) begin his ſtudie with the law, or phyſike [(of which this giueth wealth, the other honor)] ſo ſoone as he commeth to the vniuerſitie, if his knowledge in the toongs and ripeneſſe of iudgement ſerue therefore: which if he doo, then his firſt degree is bacheler of law, or phyſicke, and for the ſame he muſt performe ſuch acts in his owne ſcience, as the bachelers or doctors of diuinitie, doo for their parts, the onelie ſermons except, which belong[1] not to his calling. [2] Finallie, this will I ſaie, that the profeſſors of either of thoſe faculties come to ſuch perfection in both vniuerſities, as the beſt ſtudents beyond the ſea doo in their owne or elſe where. One thing onlie I miſlike in them, and that is their vſuall going into Italie, from whenſe verie few without ſpeciall grace doo returne good men, whatſoeuer they pretend of conference or practiſe, chiefelie the phyſicians, who, vnder pretenſe of ſeeking of forreine ſimples, doo oftentimes learne the framing of ſuch compoſitions as were better vnknowen than practiſed, as I haue heard oft alledged, and therefore it is moſt true that doctor *Turner* ſaid; Italie is not to be ſeene without a guide, that is, without ſpeciall grace giuen from God, bicauſe of the licentious and corrupt behauiour of the people.[2]

A competent Student may begin with law or physic,

and take an L.L.B. or M.B. at once.

Our Professors are as good

as the best Continental ones, but they should not go to Italy like they do, [p. 162, col. 2, Cp. Ascham]

and get corrupted.

[*So much also may be inferred of lawiers.*]

Dr Turner.

There is moreouer in euerie houſe a maiſter [or prouoſt,] who hath vnder him a preſident, & certeine cenſors or deanes, appointed to looke to the behaiour and maners of the ſtudents there, whom they puniſh verie ſeuerelie if they make anie default, according to the quantitie and qualitie of their treſpaſſes. [And theſe are the vſuall names of gouernours in Cam-

In every College, a Master, a President, and Censors or Deans, look after the students.

[1] belongeth

[2]—[2] but as these are not matters of such importance as may deserue any further tractation, I so will leaue them & go in hande with the rest.

bridge. Howbeit in Oxford the heads of houſes are [1 p. 151] [1] now and then called preſidents in reſpect of ſuch biſhops as are their viſitors & founders. In ech of theſe alſo they haue one or moe threſurers whom they call *Burſarios* or Burſers beſide other officers, whoſe charge is to ſee vnto the welfare and maintenance of theſe houſes.] Ouer each vniuerſitie alſo there is a ſeuerall chancelor, whoſe offices are perpetuall, howbeit their ſubſtitutes, whom we call vicechancelors, are changed euerie yeare, as are alſo the proctors, taſkers, maiſters of the ſtreates and other officers, for the better maintenance of their policie and eſtate.

Every College has one or more Bursars to look to its business.

Each University has a Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Proctors, &c

And thus much at this time of [2] our [two] vniuerſities [in each of which I haue receiued ſuch degree as they haue vouchſafed—rather of their fauour than my deſert—to yeeld and beſtow vpon me, and vnto whoſe ſtudents I wiſh one thing, the execution whereof cannot be preiudiciall to anie that meaneth well, as I am reſolutelie perſuaded, and the caſe now ſtandeth in theſe our daies. When anie benefice therefore becommeth void, it were good that the patrone did ſignifie the vacation therof to the biſhop, and the biſhop the act of the patrone to one of the vniuerſities, with requeſt that the vicechancellor with his aſſiſtents might prouide ſome ſuch able man to ſucceed in the place, as ſhould by their iudgement be meet to take the charge vpon him. Certes if this order were taken, then ſhould the church be prouided of good paſtors, by whome God ſhould be glorified, the vniuerſities better ſtored, the ſimoniacall practiſes of a number of patrons vtterlie aboliſhed, and the people better trained to liue in obedience toward God and their prince, which were an happie eſtate.]

I, William Harrison, have a degree from both Oxford and Cambridge.

I think that the University authorities ought to have the sole power of appointing to Church livings.

This 'd stop Simony, and do folk good.

*London.*

A University for law-students.

To theſe two alſo we may in like ſort ad the third, which is at London (ſeruing onelie for ſuch as ſtudie the lawes of the realme) where there are ſundrie

[2] of both

famous houſes, of which three are called by the name of Ins of the court, the reſt of the chancerie, and all builded before time for the furtherance and commoditie of ſuch as applie their minds [1] to our [1] common lawes. Out of theſe alſo come [manie] ſcholers of great fame, whereof the moſt part haue heretofore beene brought vp in one of the aforeſaid vniuerſities, and prooue ſuch commonlie as in proceſſe of time, riſe vp (onelie through their profound ſkill) to great honor in the common-wealth of England. They haue alſo degrees of learning among themſelues, and rules of diſcipline, vnder which they liue moſt ciuilie in their houſes, albeit that the yoonger ſort of them abroad in the ſtreats are ſcarſe able to be bridled by anie good order at all. Certes this errour was woont alſo greatlie to reigne in Cambridge and Oxford, [betweene [2] the ſtudents and the burgeſſes:] but as it is well left in theſe two places, ſo in forreine counteies it cannot yet be ſuppreſſed. Beſides theſe vniuerſities, alſo there are great number of Grammer ſchooles through out the realme, and thoſe verie liberallie indued, for the better reliefe of poore ſcholers, ſo that there are not manie corporat townes now vnder the queenes dominion,[3] that hain [4] not one Gramar ſchoole at the leaſt, with a ſufficient liuing for a maiſter and vſher appointed to the ſame.

London University has 3 Inns of Court, and others of Chancery,

where the students are under diſcipline, tho' in the ſtreets they can't be kept in order.

[*Grammar ſchooles.*]

in almoſt all corporate towns.

There are in like maner diuerſe collegiat churches as Windſor, Winceſter, Eaton, Weſtminſter [(in which I was ſometime an vnprofitable Grammarian vnder the reuerend father maſter Nowell, now deane of Paules)] and in [5] thoſe a great number of poore ſcholers, dailie mainteened by the liberalitie of the founders, with meat, bookes, and apparell, from whence after they haue beene well entered in the knowledge of the Latine and Greeke toongs, and rules of verſifieng [(the triall whereof

*Windsor.*
*Winchester.*
*Eaton.*
*Westminster.*
(I was at Westminster.

Poor ſcholars are kept and educated there.

[1]—[1] unto the [2] *orig.* detweene [3] *orig.* domiuion
[4] hath [5] the latter three of

Yearly examinations are held, and the scholars sent up to colleges in the Universities.

is made by certeine appoſers yearelie appointed to examine them)] they are ſent to certeine eſpeciall houſes in each vniuerſitie, where they are receiued the[1] trained vp, in the points of higher knowledge in their priuat hals, till they be adiudged meet to ſhew their faces in the ſchooles, as I haue ſaid alreadie. And thus much haue I thought good to note of our vniuerſities, and likewiſe of colleges in the ſame, whoſe names I will alſo ſet downe here, with thoſe[2] of their founders, to the end the zeale which they bare vnto learning may appeare, and their remembrance neuer periſh from among the wiſe and learned.

I'll now give a table of the Colleges in Cambridge and Oxford, with their Founders.

[1] and [2] also

[*No blank in the original.*]

## Of the colleges in Cambridge [with *their founders.*]

| *Yeares of the foundations.* | *Colleges.* | | *Founders.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1546 | 1 Trinitie college. | [by] | King Henrie 8. |
| 1441 | 2 The kings college. | | K. Henrie 6. Edward 4. Henrie 7. and Henrie 8. |
| 1511 | 3 S. Iohns. | | L. Margaret, grandmother to Henrie 8. |
| 1505 | 4 Chriſtes college, | | K. Henrie 6. and the ladie Margaret aforeſaid. |
| 1446 | 5 The queenes college. | | Ladie Margaret, wife to king Henrie[1] 6. |
| 1496 | 6 Ieſus college. | | Iohn Alcocke, biſhop of Elie. |
| 1342 | 7 Bennet college. | | The brethren of a popiſh guild called *Corporis Christi.* |
| 1343 | 8 Pembroke hall. | | Maria de Valentia, counteſſe of Pembroke. |
| 1256 | 9 Peter college. | | Hugh Balſham, biſhop of Elie. |
| 1348 | 10 Gundeuill and | | Edmund Gundeuill, parſon of Terrington, and Iohn |
| 1557 | Caius college. | | Caius d[octor] of phyſicke. |
| 1354 | 11 Trinitie hall. | | William Bateman, biſhop of Norwich. |
| 1326 | 12 Clare hall. | | Richard Badow, chancellor of Cambridge. |
| 1459 | 13 Catharine hall. | | Robert Woodlarke, d[octor] of diuinitie. |
| 1519 | 14 Magdalen college. | | Edw. duke of Buckingham, & Thom. lord Awdlie. |
| [1585 | 15 Emanuell college. | | [Sir Water Mildmaie, &c.] |

[1] *orig.* Hentie

## [1]Of colleges in Oxford.

[1 p. 152]

| *Yeares.* | *Colleges.* | | *Founders.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1539 | 1 Chriſtes church. | | King Henrie 8. | |
| 1459 | 2 Magdalen college. | | William Wainflet,[2] [firſt fellow of Merton college then ſcholer at] Winchester, [and afterward biſhop there.] | [*He founded also a good part of Eaton college, and a free schole at Wainflet where he was borne.*] |
| 1375 | 3 New college. | | William Wickham, b[iſhop] of Winchester. | |
| 1276 | 4 Merton college. | | Walter Merton, b[iſhop] of Rocheſter. | |
| 1437 | 5 All ſoules college. | | Henrie Chicheleie, archbiſhop of Canturburie. | |
| 1516 | 6 Corpus Chriſti college. | | Richard Fox, biſhop of Winchester. | |
| 1430 | 7 Lincolne college. | | Richard Fleming, b[iſhop] of Lincolne. | |
| 1323 | 8 Auriell college. | | Adam Browne, almoner to Edward 2. | |
| 1340 | 9 The queenes college. | [by] | R. Eglesfeld, chapleine to Philip queene of England, wife to Edward 3. | |
| 1263 | 10 Balioll college. | | Iohn Balioll, king of Scotland. | |
| 1557 | 11 S. Iohns. | | Sir Thomas White, knight. | |
| 1556 | 12 Trinitie college. | | Sir Thomus Pope, knight. | |
| 1316 | 13 Exceſter college. | | Walter Stapleton, biſhop of Exceſter. | |
| 1513 | 14 Braſen noſe. | | William Smith, biſhop of Lincolne. | |
| 873 | 15 Vniuerſitie college. | | William, archdeacon of Dureſme. | |
| | 16 Gloceſter college. | | [Iohn Gifford, who made it a cell for thirteene moonks.] | |
| | 17 S. Marie college. | | | |
| | 18 Ieſus college now in hand. | | [Hugh ap Rice, doctor of the ciuill law.] | |

[2] B. of

There are alſo in Oxford certeine hoſtels or hals, which may right well be called by the names of colleges, if it were not that there is more libertie in them [1] than is to be ſeen in the other. I[n] mine opinion the liuers [2] in theſe are verie like to thoſe that are of Ins [3] in the chancerie, [their names alſo are theſe ſo farre as I now remember.]

Hoſtels or Halls in Oxford,

which have more liberty than Colleges,

| | |
|---|---|
| Brodegates. | S. Marie hall. |
| Hart hall. | White hall. |
| Magdalen hall. | New In. |
| Alburne hall. | Edmond hall. |
| Poſtminſter hall. | |

[The ſtudents alſo that remaine in them, are called hoſtelers or halliers. Hereof it came of late to paſſe, that the right reuerend father in God, Thomas late archbiſhop of Canturburie, being brought vp in ſuch an houſe at Cambridge, was of the ignorant ſort of Londoners called an 'hoſteler,' ſuppoſing that he had ſerued with ſome inholder in the ſtable, and therfore, in deſpite, diuerſe hanged vp bottles of haie at his gate, when he began to preach the goſpell, wheras in deed he was a gentleman borne of an ancient houſe, & in the end a faithfull witneſſe of Jeſus Chriſt, in whoſe quarrell he refuſed not to ſhed his bloud, and yeeld vp his life, vnto the furie of his aduerſaries.]

and whose students are calld Hostlers or Halliers.

Hence some ignorant Londoners calld Archbishop Cranmer, an Hostler,

and hung trusses of hay at his gate when he began to preach.

Beſides these,[4] there is mention and record of diuerſe other hals or hoſtels, that haue beene there in times paſt, as Beefe hall, Mutton hall, &c: whoſe ruines yet appeere: ſo that if antiquitie be to be iudged by the ſhew of ancient buildings, which is verie plentifull in Oxford to be ſeene, it ſhould be an eaſie matter to conclude that Oxford is the elder vniuerſitie. Therin are alſo manie dwelling houſes of ſtone yet ſtanding, that haue beene hals for ſtudents, of verie antike workemanſhip, beſide the old wals of ſundrie other, whoſe

Old Halls at Oxford Beef Hall, Mutton Hall, &c.

*Erection of colleges in Oxford the ouerthrow of hals*

[1] those [2] Studentes [3] the Innes of [4] which

plots haue beene conuerted into gardens, ſince colleges were erected.

Law-students' Inns in London.

*In London alſo the houſes of ſtudents at* the Common law are theſe.

| | |
|---|---|
| Sergeants In. | Furniuals In. |
| Graies In. | Cliffords In. |
| The Temple. | Clements In. |
| Lincolnes In. | Lions In. |
| Dauids In. | Barnards In. |
| Staple In. | New In. |

There are Greedy Gripers gaping wide for College Lands,

[And thus much in generall of our noble vniuerſities, whoſe lands ſome greedie gripers doo gape wide for, and of late haue (as I heare) propounded ſundrie reaſons, whereby they ſuppoſed to haue preuailed in their purpoſes. But who are thoſe that haue attempted this ſute, other than ſuch as either hate learning, pietie, and wiſedome; or elſe haue ſpent all their owne, and know not otherwiſe than by incroching vpon other men how to mainteine themſelues? When ſuch a motion was made by ſome vnto king Henrie the eight, he could anſwer them in this maner; "Ah ſirha, I perceiue the abbeie lands haue fleſhed you and ſet your teeth on edge, to aſke alſo thoſe colleges. And whereas we had a regard onelie to pull downe ſinne by defacing the monaſteries, you haue a deſire alſo to ouerthrow all goodneſſe by ſubuerſion of colleges. I tell you, ſirs, that I iudge no land in England better beſtowed than that which is giuen to our vniuerſities; for by their maintenance our realme ſhall be well gouerned when we be dead and rotten. As you loue your welfares therfore, follow no more this veine, but content your ſelues with that you haue alreadie, or elſe ſeeke honeſt meanes whereby to increaſe your liuelods, for I loue not learning ſo ill, that I will impaire the reuenues of anie one houſe by a penie, whereby it may be vpholden." In king Edwards daies likewiſe the ſame ſute was once

haters of learning, and spendthrifts.

Henry VIII. told such folk, 'The Abbey-lands have fleshed you; you want the College-lands;

*Now abbeies be gone, our dingthrifts prie after church and college possessions.*

but I'll not take a penny from any one College.'

againe attempted (as I haue heard), but in vaine; for, ſaith the duke of Summerſet among other ſpeeches tending to that end,—who alſo made anſwer there vnto in the kings preſence by his aſſignation;—"If lerning decaie, which of wild men maketh ciuill, of blockiſh and raſh perſons wiſe and godlie counſellors, of obſtinat rebels obedient ſubiects, and of euill men good and godlie chriſtians; what ſhall we looke for elſe but barbariſme and tumult? For when the lands of colleges be gone, it ſhall be hard to ſaie, whoſe ſtaffe ſhall ſtand next the doore; for then I doubt not but the ſtate of biſhops, rich farmers, merchants, and the nobilitie, ſhall be aſſailed, by ſuch as liue to ſpend all, and thinke that what ſo euer another man hath is more meet for them, and to be at their commandement, than for the proper owner that hath ſweat and laboured for it." In queene Maries daies the weather was too warme for anie ſuch courſe to be taken in hand; but in the time of our [1] gratious queene Elizabeth, I heare that it was after a ſort in talke the third time, but without ſucceſſe as mooued alſo out of ſeaſon; and ſo I hope it ſhall continue for euer. For what comfort ſhould it be for anie good man to ſee his countrie brought into the eſtate of the old Gothes & Vandals, who made lawes againſt learning, and would not ſuffer anie ſkilfull man to come into their councell houſe; by meanes whereof thoſe people became ſauage, tyrants, and mercileſſe helhounds, till they reſtored learning againe, and thereby fell to ciuilitie.]

Later, the Duke of Somerset refus'd to seize the College lands.

If they went,

then all private property 'd go too.

In Queen Mary's day, the weather was too warm for the Gripers.

[1 p. 153]

I hope it always will be so.

Who wants Englishmen turnd into Hellhounds?

# [1]Of the partition of England into *ſhires and counties.*[1]

## Chap. 4.[2]

[3]IN reding of ancient writers, as *Cæſar, Tacitus,* and others, we find mention of ſundrie regions to haue beene ſometime in this Iland, as [4]the *Nouantæ, Selgouæ, Dannonij, Gadeni, Oradeni, Epdij, Cerones, Carnonacæ, Careni, Cornabij, Caledonij, Decantæ, Logi, Mertæ, Vacomagi, Venicontes, Texali* or *polij, Denani, Elgoni, Brigantes pariſi, Ordouici* alias *Ordoluci, Cornauij, Coritaui, Catieuchlani, Simeni, Trinouantes, Demetæ, Cangi, Silures, Dobuni, Atterbatij, Cantij, Regni, Belgæ, Durotriges, Dumnonij, Giruij, Murotriges, Seueriani, Iceni, Tegenes, Caſij, Cænimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, &c:*[4] and Kentiſhmen, and ſuch like. But ſith the ſeuerall places where moſt of them laie, are not [yet verie] perfectlie knowne vnto the learned of theſe daies, I doo not meane to pronounce my iudgement[5] vpon ſuch doubtfull caſes, leaſt that in ſo dooing I ſhould but increaſe coniectures, and, leading peraduenture the reader from the more probable, intangle [6]his mind[6] in the end with ſuch as are of leſſe value, and [things] nothing ſo likelie to be true, as thoſe which other men haue [remembred and] ſet downe before me. [Neither will I ſpeake oughts of the Romane partitions, & limits of their legions, whoſe number and place of abode, except of the Victorian and Auguſtane, is to me vtterlie vnknowne.]

Names of former tribes settld in England.

I don't mean to guess at their localities,

or speak of the Roman divisions of our country.

[1]—[1] Of the deuision of Englande, as it is now generally named, into Shyres.

[2] This chapter in the 1577 ed. precedes that on the Church and Bishops, and follows that on Rivers falling into the sea between the Humber and the Thames.—F.

[3] (Side heading) Trinobantes, Ordolukes, Tegenes, Silures, Brigantes, Canks, Canges.

[4]—[4] As of the Trinobantes, Ordolukes, Tegenes, Silures, Icenes, Brigantes Canges.

[5] judgement also

[6]—[6] him

*Alfred brought England into shires, which the Britons diuided by cantreds, and the [first] Saxons by families.*

It ſhall ſuffice therfore to begin with ſuch a ground as from whence ſome better certeintie of things may be deriued, and that is, with the eſtate of our Iland in the time of Alfred, who firſt diuided England into ſhires, which before his daies,[1] and ſince the comming of the Saxons, was limited out by families and hidelands; as [2]the Britons did the ſame in their time,[2] by hundreds of townes, which then were called cantreds; as old [3]records doo[3] witneſſe.

Alfred made

Into how manie ſhires the ſaid Alfred did firſt make this partition of the Iſland, it is not yet found out; howbeit, if my coniecture be anie thing at all, I ſuppoſe that he left not vnder eight and thirtie, ſith we find by no good author, that aboue fifteene haue beene added by anie of his ſucceſſours, ſince the time of his deceaſe. This prince therefore hauing made the generall partition of his kingdome into ſhires, or ſhares, he diuided againe the ſame into lathes, as lathes into hundreds, and hundreds into tithings, or denaries, as diuers haue written; and maiſter[4] *Lambert*, following their authorities, hath alſo giuen out, ſaieng almoſt after this maner in his deſcription of Kent; "The Danes (ſaith he) both before, & in the time "of king Alfred, had flocked by the ſea coaſts of this "Iland in great numbers, ſometimes waſting and "ſpoiling with ſword and fire, whereſoeuer they might "arriue, and ſomtime taking great booties with them "to their ſhips, without dooing anie further hurt or "damage to the countrie. This inconuenience con- "tinuing for manie yeeres togither, cauſed our huſ- "bandmen to abandon their tillage, and gaue occaſion "and hardineſſe[5] to euill diſpoſed perſons, to fall to the "like pillage, as practiſing to follow the Danes in theſe "their thefts and robberies. And the better to cloake "their miſcheefe withall, they feigned themſelues to

not less than 38 shires.

*Shire and share all one.*

1. Shires;
2. Lathes;
3. Hundreds;
4. Tithings.

Lambarde's account of the Danish invasions, from his 'Perambulation of Kent.'

*Englishmen noisome to their owne countrie.*

[1] tyme [2—2] Wales hath also been [3—3] recorde doth
[4] M. [5] hardness

"be Daniſh pirats, and would ſometime come a land
"in one port, and ſometime in another, driuing dailie
"great ſpoiles (as the Danes had doone) vnto their
"ſhips before them. The good king Alfred therefore
Lambarde's account of Alfred's "(who had maruellouſlie trauelled in repelling[1] the
"barbarous Danes), eſpieng this outrage, and think-
"ing it no leſſe the part of a politike prince, to root out
"the noiſome ſubiect, than to hold out the forren ad-
purpose in "uerſarie: by the aduiſe of his nobilitie, and the
"example of Moſes[2] (who followed the counſell of
"Iethro his father in law to the like effect), diuided
dividing England into Shires, "the whole realme into certeine parts or ſections,
"which (of the Saxon word *Schyran*, ſignifieng to cut)
"he termed ſhires, or as we yet ſpeake, ſhares, or por-
"tions, [3]of which ſome one hath fortie miles in length
"(as Eſſex) and almoſt ſo manie broad, Hereford
"foure & twentie in length, and twentie in breadth,
"and Warwike ſix and thirtie in length, &c: and ſome
"of them alſo conteine ten, twelue, thirteene, ſixteene,
"twentie, or thirtie hundreds, more or leſſe, as ſome
"hundreds doo ſixteene, twentie, thirtie, fortie, fiftie
"or ſixtie townes, out of which the king was alwaies
having over each, one or both of "to receiue an hundred able men to ſerue him in the
"warres, or a hundred men able to be pledges; and
*Earle and alderman.* "ouer each of the portions he appointed either [3]an earle
"or alderman, or both, to whome he committed the
"gouernement of the ſame. Theſe ſhires alſo he brake
The Shires were split into 1. Lathes; 2. Hundreds; 3. Tithings. "into leſſer parts, whereof ſome were called 'lathes', of
"the word *Gelathian*, which is to aſſemble togither;
"other, 'hundreds', for that they enioied[4] iuriſdiction
"ouer an hundred pledges; and other 'tithings', bicauſe
"there were in each of them to the number of ten[5]
"perſons, whereof euerie one from time to time was
"ſuertie for others good abearing. He prouided alſo
"that euerie man ſhould procure himſelfe to be re-

[1] repulsing [2] Exod. 18, 13.—F. [3]—[3] and appointed ouer euery such one shire
[4] coined [5] 6. Coke, 77. Bullen's case.—F.

"ceiued into ſome tithing, to the end, that if anie "were found of ſo ſmal and baſe a credit, that no "man would become pledge or ſuertie for him, he "ſhould foorthwith be committed to priſon, leaſt other- "wiſe he might happen to doo more harme abroad." Hitherto maſter[1] *Lambert*. By whoſe words we may gather verie much of the ſtate of this Iland in the time of Alfred, whoſe inſtitution continued after a ſort vntill the comming of the Normans, who changed the gouernement of the realme in ſuch wiſe (by bringing in of new officers and offices, after the maner of their countries), that verie little of the old regiment remained more than the bare[2] names of ſome officers (except peraduenture in Kent), ſo that in theſe daies it is hard to ſet downe anie great certeintie of things as they ſtood in Alfreds time, more than is remembred and touched at this preſent.

If a man couldn't get a surety,

he was put in prison.

The Normans chang'd Alfred's plans.

Some, as it were roming or rouing at the name Lath, [doo ſaie that it is deriued of a barne, which is called in old Engliſh a 'lath', as they coniecture. From which ſpeech, in like ſort, ſome deriue the word Laiſtow, as if it ſhould be trulie written Lathſtow, a place wherein to laie vp or laie on things, of whatſoeuer condition. But hereof as yet I cannot abſolutelie be ſatiſfied, although peraduenture ſome likelihood in their iudgements may ſeeme to be therein. Other, vpon ſome further conſideration,] affirme that they were certeine circuits in euerie countie or ſhire conteining an appointed number of townes, whoſe inhabitants alwaies aſſembled to know and vnderſtand of matters touching their portions, in to ſome[3] one appointed place or other within their limits, eſpeciallie whileſt the cauſes were ſuch as required not the aid or aſſiſtance of the whole countie. Of theſe lathes alſo (as they ſaie) ſome ſhires had more, ſome leſſe, as they were of greatneſſe. And M. *Lambert* ſeemeth to

*What a lath is.*

I'm not sure.

[3 p. 154]

*Leetes.*

[1] M. [2] bares

Our present Leets are a shadow of Alfred's Laths.

be of the opinion, that the leets of our time (wherein theſe pledges be yet called *Franci plegij*, of the word Free burgh), doo yeeld ſome ſhadow of that politike inſtitution of Alfred. But ſith my ſkill is ſo ſmall in theſe caſes that I dare not iudge anie thing at all as of mine owne knowledge, I will not ſet downe anie thing more than I read, [leaſt I ſhould roue at random in our obſcure antiquities;] and reading no more of lathes, my next talke ſhall be of hundreds.

*Hundred or wapentake.* the same.

The hundred and the wapentake is all one, [as I read in ſome,] and by this diuiſion not a name appertinent to a ſet number of townes (for then all hundreds[1] ſhould be of equall quantitie) but a limited iuriſdiction, within the compaſſe whereof were an hundred perſons called pledges [(as I ſaid)] or ten denaries, or tithings of men, of which ech one was bound for others good abering, and laudable behauiour in the common-wealth of the realme. The chiefe man likewiſe of euerie denarie or tithing was in thoſe daies called a tithing man, in Latine *Decurio*, but now in moſt places a borſholder [or burgholder], as in Kent; where euerie tithing is moreouer named a [burgh or] burrow, although that in the Weſt countrie he be ſtill called a tithing man, and his circuit a tithing, as [I] haue heard at large. I read furthermore (and it is partlie afore noted) that the ſaid Alfred cauſed ech man of free condition (for the better maintenance of his peace) to be aſcribed into ſome hundred by placing himſelfe in one denarie or other, where he might alwais haue ſuch as ſhould ſweare or ſaie vpon their certeine knowledge for his honeſt behauior and ciuill conuerſation if it ſhould happen at anie time, that his credit ſhould come in queſtion. In like ſort I gather out of *Leland* and other, that if anie ſmall matter did fall out worthie to be diſcuſſed, the tithing man or borſholder (now officers, at the commandement of the [high] conſtable

*Denarie or tithing.*

*Tithing man in Latine Decurio.*

*Borsholder.*

*Burrow.*

Alfred made every free man belong to a tithing of some hundred.

[1] hundrede.

[of which euerie hundred hath one at the leaſt]) ſhould decide the ſame in their leetes, whereas the great[1] cauſes were referred to the hundreds, the greater to the lathes, and the greateſt of all to the ſhire daies, where the earles or aldermen did ſet themſelues, & make finall ends of the ſame, according vnto iuſtice. For this purpoſe likewiſe in euerie hundred were twelue men choſen of good age and wiſedome, and thoſe ſworne to giue their ſentences without reſpect of perſon, and in this manner (as they gather) were things handeled in thoſe daies. [Which waie the word wapentake came in vſe, as yet I cannot tell; howbeit the ſignification of the ſame declareth (as I conceiue) that at the chiefe towne the ſoldiers which were to ſerue in that hundred did meet, fetch their weapons, & go togither from thence to the field, or place of ſeruice by an ordinarie cuſtome, then generallie knowen amongſt them. It is ſuppoſed alſo that the word Rape commeth a *Rapiendo*, as it were of catching and ſnatching, bicauſe the tenants of the hundred or wapentakes met vpon one or ſundrie daies & made quicke diſpatch of their lords harueſt at once and in great haſt. But whether it be a true imagination or not as yet I am vncerteine, and therefore it lieth not in me to determine anie thing thereof: wherefore it ſhall ſuffice to haue touched them in this maner.]

Small diſputes settld in the Leets, great in the Hundreds, *greater in* the Lathes, greatest in the Shire-courts.

*Twelue men.*

'Wapentake so calld

from ſoldiers taking their weapons;

'Rape' ſaid to come from the Latin 'Rapiendo.'

But I'm not sure.

In my time there are found to be in England fourtie ſhires, and likewiſe thirteene in Wales, and theſe latter erected of late yeares by king Henrie the eight, who made the Britons or Welſhmen equall in all reſpects vnto the Engliſh, and brought to paſſe that both nations ſhould indifferentlie be gouerned by one law, which in times paſt were ordred by diuerſe, and thoſe far diſcrepant and diſagreing one from another: as by the ſeuerall view of the ſame is yet eaſie to be diſcerned. The names of the ſhires in

*Fortie shires in England thirteene in Wales.*

[1] greatest

Names of the Shires in England.

England are theſe, whereof the firſt ten lie betweene the Britiſh ſea and the Thames, [as *Polydor* alſo dooth ſet them downe.]

10 Southern,

- Kent.
- Suſſex.
- Surreie.
- Hampſhire.
- Barkeſhire.
- Wilſhire.
- Dorſetſhire.
- Summerſet.
- Deuon.
- Cornewall.

There are moreouer on the northſide of the Thames, and betweene the ſame and the riuer Trent, which paſſeth through the middeſt of England (as *Polydor* ſaith) ſixteene other ſhires, whereof ſix lie toward the eaſt, the reſt toward the weſt, more into the middeſt[1] of the countrie.

16 Midland,

- Eſſex [ſomtime all forreſt ſaue one hundred.]
- Middleſex.
- Hartfordſhire.
- Suffolke.
- Norffolke.
- Cambrigeſhire [in which are 12. hundreds.]
- Bedford.
- Huntington [wher in are foure hundreds.]
- Buckingham
- Oxford.
- Northampton.
- Rutland.
- Leirceſterſhire.
- Notinghamſhire.
- Warwike.
- Lincolne.

We haue ſix alſo that haue their place weſtward towards Wales, whoſe names inſue.

6 Western,

- Gloceſter.
- Hereford.
- Worceſter.
- Shropſhire.
- Stafford.
- Cheſterſhire.

And theſe are the thirtie two ſhires which lie by ſouth of the Trent. Beyond the ſame riuer we haue in like ſort other eight, as

[1] *orig.* mddest

Darbie.
Yorke.
Lancaſter.
Cumberland.
Weſtmerland.
Richemond, [wherein are fiue wapentaxes, & when it is accompted as parcell of Yorkeſhire (out of which it is taken) then is it reputed for the whole Riding.]
Durham.
Northumberland.

8 Northern shires.

So that in the portion ſometime called Lhoegres, there are now fortie ſhires. In Wales furthermore are thirteene, whereof ſeuen are in Southwales: Welsh shires.

Cardigan, or Cereticon.
Penmoroke, or Penbrooke.
Caermardine, [wherein are 9 hundreds or commots.]
Glamorgan.
Monmouth.
Breckenocke.
Radnor.

7 in South Wales.

In Northwales likewiſe are ſix, that is to ſaie

Angleſeie.
Carnaruon.
Merioneth.
Denbigh.
Flint.
Montgomerie.

6 in North Wales.

Which being added to thoſe of England, yeeld fiftie and three ſhires or counties, ſo that vnder the queenes Maieſtie are ſo manie counties, whereby it is eaſilie diſcerned, that hir power farre exceedeth that of Offa, who of old time was highlie honored for that he had ſo much of Britaine vnder his ſubiection as afterward conteined thirtie nine ſhires, when the diuiſion was made, whereof I ſpake before. In all, 53 shires under Queen Elizabeth.

This is moreouer to be noted in our diuiſion of ſhires, that they be not alwaies counted or laid togither in one parcell, whereof I haue great maruell. But ſith the occaſion hath growen (as I take it) either by priuilege or ſome like occaſion, it is better briefelie *Od parcels of shires.*

to ſet downe how ſome of theſe parts lie, than to ſpend the time in ſeeking a iuſt cauſe of this their od [1 p. 155] [1] diuiſion. Firſt therefore I note that in the part of

In Buckinghamshire is a bit of Hertfordshire.

Buckinghamſhire betweene Amondeſham, & Beconſfield, there is a peece of Hartfordſhire to be found, inuironed round about with the countie of Buckingham, and yet this patch is not aboue three miles in length, and two in breadth, at the verie moſt. In

In Berkshire, a bit of Wiltshire.

Barkeſhire alſo, betweene Ruſcombe and Okingham is a peece of Wilſhire, one mile in breadth and foure miles in length, whereof one ſide lieth on the Loden

In Northamptonshire, a bit of Oxfordshire.

riuer. In the borders of Northamptonſhire directlie ouer againſt Luffeld a towne in Buckinghamſhire, I find a parcell of Oxfordſhire not paſſing two miles in compaſſe.

In Oxfordshire, 2 bits of Glo'stershire,

With Oxfordſhire diuerſe doo participate, in ſo much that a peece of Gloceſterſhire, lieth halfe in Warwikeſhire & halfe in Oxfordſhire, not verie far from Horneton. Such another patch is there, of Gloceſterſhire not far from long Compton, but lieng in Oxford

and one of Wo'stershire.

countie: & a [2] peece of Worceſterſhire, directlie betweene it & Gloceſterſhire. Gloceſter hath the third peece vpon the north ſide of the Winruſh neere Falbrocke, as Barkeſhire hath one parcell alſo vpon the ſelfe ſide of the ſame water, in the verie edge of Gloceſterſhire: likewiſe an other in Oxfordſhire, not verie farre from Burford: and the third ouer againſt Lachlade, which is parted from the main countie of Barkeſhire, by a little ſtrake of Oxfordſhire. Who would

In Berkshire, 2 bits of Wiltshire.

thinke that two fragments of Wilſhire were to be ſeene in Barkeſhire vpon the Loden, and the riuer that falleth into it: whereof and the like, ſith there are verie manie, I thinke good to giue this briefe admonition. For although I haue not preſentlie gone thorough with them all, yet theſe may ſuffice to giue notice of this thing, wherof moſt readers (as I perſuade my ſelfe) are ignorant.

[2] also

But to proceed with our purpoſe. Ouer ech of theſe ſhires in time of neceſſitie is a ſeuerall lieutenant choſen vnder the prince, who being a noble man of calling, hath almoſt regall authoritie ouer the ſame for the time being in manie caſes which doo concerne his office: otherwiſe it is gouerned by a ſhiriffe [(a word deriued of Schire and Greue, and pronounced as Shire and Reue) whoſe office is to gather vp and bring his accounts into the excheker, of the profits of his countie receiued, whereof he is or may be called *Quæſtor comitatus* or *Prouinciæ*. This officer] is[1] reſident and dwelling ſomewhere within the ſame countie, [2]and called alſo[2] a vicount, [*Quaſi vicarius comitis* or *Procomes*,] in reſpect of the earle (or as they called him in time paſt the alderman) that beareth his name of the countie, although it be ſeldome ſeene in England, that the earle hath anie great ſtore of poſſeſſions, or oughts to doo in the ſhire[3] whereof he taketh his name, more than is allowed to him, through his perſonall reſiance, if he happen to dwell and be reſident in the ſame.

County-officers: *Lieutenants.* *Sheriffes.* The Sheriff lives in his shire, and is calld a Viscount.

In the election alſo of theſe magiſtrates, diuerſe able perſons aſwell for wealth as wiſedome are named by the commons, at a time and place appointed for their choiſe, whoſe names being deliuered to the prince, he foorthwith pricketh ſome ſuch one of them, as he pleaſeth to aſſigne vnto that office, to whome he committeth the charge of the countie, and who herevpon is ſhiriffe of that ſhire for one whole yeare, or vntill a new be choſen. The ſhiriffe alſo hath his vnder ſhiriffe, that ruleth & holdeth the ſhire courts and law daies vnder him, vpon ſufficient caution vnto the high ſhiriffe for his true execution of iuſtice, [preſeruation from impeachment,] and yeelding of accompt when he ſhall be therevnto called. There are likewiſe vnder him certeine bailiffes, whoſe office is to ſerue and returne ſuch writs and proceſſes as are directed vnto them from

Out of a list namd by the Commons, the Sovereign pricks the Sheriffs. *Undershiriffes.* who hold the shire-courts and law-days. *Bailiffes.*

[1] who is [2—2] whom they call [3] County

Duties of County-Bailiffs.

the high ſhiriffe: to make ſeiſure of the goods and cattels, and arreſt the bodies, of ſuch as doo offend, preſentiug either their perſons vnto him, or at the leaſtwiſe taking ſufficient bond, or other aſſurance of them for their dutifull[1] appearance at an appointed time, when the ſhiriffe by order of law ought to preſent them to the iudges according to his charge. In euerie hundred alſo are one or more high conſtables according to the quantitie[2] thereof,[2] who receiuing [the] writs and iniunctions from the high ſhiriffe vnder his ſeale, [or from anie other officers of the prince, either for the prouiſion of vittels or for other cauſes, or priuat purueiance of cates for the maintenance of the roiall familie] doo forthwith charge the petie conſtables of euerie towne within their limits, with the execution of the ſame.

*High constables.*

Their duties.

*Petie constables.*

Shire law-days.

In each countie likewiſe are ſundrie law daies holden at their appointed ſeaſons, of which ſome retaine the old Saxon name, and are called Motelagh, [of the word motes and law.] They haue alſo an other called the ſhiriffes turne, which they hold twiſe in their times, in euerie hundred, [according to the old order appointed by king Edgar (as king Edward reduced the folkmote ordeined by king Arthur to be held yearelie on the firſt of Maie, vntill the firſt of euerie moneth)] and in theſe two latter ſuch ſmall matters as oft ariſe amongſt the inferior ſort of people, are heard and well determined. They haue finallie their quarter ſeſſions, wherein they are aſſiſted by the iuſtices and gentlemen of the countrie, & twiſe in the yeare gaile deliuerie, at which time the iudges ride about in their circuits, into euerie ſeuerall countie (where the nobilitie and gentlemen with the iuſtices there reſiant aſſociat them) & miniſter the lawes of the realme, with great ſolemnitie & iuſtice. Howbeit, in dooing of theſe things, they reteine ſtill the old order of the land in vſe before the conqueſt. For they commit the full examination of all cauſes there to

*Motelagh.*

*Shiriffes turne.*

A court in which poor folks' small matters are heard, Quarter-Sessions.

*Gaile deliuerie or great assises.*

when the Judges go circuit, and the gentry and justices accompany them.

[1] due [2] of the same

be heard, to the conſideration of twelue ſober, graue, and wiſe men, choſen out of the ſame countie: [and foure of them of neceſſitie out of the hundred where the action lieth, or the defendant inhabiteth] (which number they call an inqueſt) & of theſe inqueſts there are more or leſſe impanneled at euerie aſſiſe, as the number of caſes there to be handled dooth craue and require, albeit that ſome one inqueſt hath often diuerſe [matters] to conſider of. And when they haue (to their vttermoſt power) conſulted and debated of ſuch things as they are charged withall, they returne againe to the place of iuſtice, with their verdict in writing, according wherevnto the iudge dooth pronounce his ſentence, be it for life or death, or anie other matter what ſoeuer is brought before him. [It is alſo verie often ſeene, that ſuch as are nominated to be of theſe inqueſts, doo, after their charge receiued, ſeldome or neuer eat or drinke, vntill they haue agreed vpon their verdict, and yeelded it vp vnto the iudge of whome they receiued the charge; by meanes whereof ſometimes it commeth to paſſe that diuerſe of the inqueſt haue beene welneere famiſhed, or at leaſt taken ſuch a ſickeneſſe thereby, as they haue hardlie auoided. And this commeth by practiſe, when the one ſide feareth the ſequele, and therefore conueieth ſome one or more into the iurie, that will in his behalfe neuer yeeld vnto the reſt, but of ſet purpoſe put them to this trouble.

All causes are tried by a jury of 12, of whom 4 must be of the defendant's hundred.

These juries are calld *Inquests.*

When the inquests end their inquiry,

they give their verdict in writing, and the Judge pronounces sentence.

The jurors mayn't eat or drink till they've given their verdict,

and some get nearly starvd, or ill,

when one or more partisans have been put in the inquest.

Certes it is a common practiſe (if the vnder ſhiriffe be not the better man) for the craftier or ſtronger ſide to procure and packe ſuch a queſt, as he himſelfe ſhall like of, whereby he is ſure of the iſſue before the charge be giuen: and beſide this, if the matter doo iuſtlie proceed againſt him, it is a world to ſee now and then how the honeſt yeomen that haue *Bona fide* diſcharged their conſciences ſhall be ſued of an atteinct, & bound to appeere at the Starre chamber, with what rigor they ſhall be caried from place to [1]place, countie to countie, [*Atteinct.*]

[1] p. 156]

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Great abuses in the Inquest or Jury system.

yea and ſometime in carts, which hath and dooth cauſe a great number of them to abſteine from the aſſiſes, & yeeld to paie their iſſues, rather than they would for their good meaning be thus diſturbed & dealt withall.

Rich men bribe the Bailiffs to let them off, and make poor men serve on juries.

Sometimes alſo they bribe the bailiffes to be kept at home, whervpon poore men, not hauing in their purſſes wherewith to beare their coſtes, are impanelled vpon iuries, who verie often haue neither reaſon nor iudgement to performe the charge they come for.

And now there's so much to do, for the lawyers have so increast,

Neither was this kind of ſeruice at anie time halfe ſo painefull as at this preſent: for vntill of late yeares (that the number of lawiers and atturneies hath ſo exceedinglie increaſed, that ſome ſhifts muſt needs be found and matters ſought out, whereby they may be ſet on worke) a man ſhould not haue heard at one aſſiſe of more than two or three *Niſi priùs*,

that 100 Nisi Prius cases, and 1 or 2 attaints, often have to be heard.

but verie ſeldome of an atteinct, wheras now an hundred & more of the firſt and one or two of the later are verie often perceiued, and ſome of them for a cauſe ariſing of ſix pence or tweluepence. Which declareth that men are growen to be farre more contentious than they haue beene in time paſt, and readier to reuenge their quarels of ſmall importance, whereof the lawiers complaine not. But to my purpoſe, from whence I haue now digreſſed.]

Coroners,

and their duties.

Beſide theſe officers afore mentioned, there are ſundrie other in euerie countie, as crowners, whoſe dutie is to inquire of ſuch as come to their death by violence, to attach & preſent the plees of the crowne, to make inquirie of treaſure found, &c.

*Justices of peax & quorum.*

Gentlemen having above £20 a year.

There are diuerſe alſo of the beſt learned of the law, beſide ſundrie gentlemen, where the number of lawiers will[1] not ſuffice (and whoſe reuenues doo amount to aboue twentie pounds by the yeare) appointed by eſpeciall commiſſion from the prince, to looke vnto the good gouernement of hir ſubiects, in the counties where they dwell. And of theſe the leaſt ſkilfull in the law

[1] doe

are of the peace, the other both of the peace and *quorum*, otherwiſe called of Oier and Determiner, ſo that the firſt haue authoritie onelie to heare, the other to heare and determine ſuch matters as are brought vnto their preſence. Theſe alſo doo direct their warrants to the keepers of the gailes within[1] their limitations, for the ſafe keeping of ſuch offendors as they ſhall iudge worthie to [commit vnto their cuſtodie there to] be kept vnder ward, vntill the great aſſiſes, to the end their cauſes may be further examined before the reſidue of the countie, & theſe officers were firſt deuiſed about[2] the eighteene yeare of Edward the third, as I haue beene informed.

The most skilful are of the Quorum.

Justices of the Peace can only hear causes: those of the Quorum can determine them too.

Justices first appointed about 1344 A.D.

They meeting[3] alſo & togither with the ſhiriffes, doo hold their [aforeſaid] ſeſſions at foure times in the yeare, whereof they are called quarter ſeſſions, and herein they inquire of [ſundrie treſpaſſes, and] the common annoiances of the kings liege people, and [4]diuerſe other things,[4] determining vpon them as iuſtice dooth require. There are alſo a third kind of ſeſſions holden by the high conſtables and bailiffes afore mentioned, called petie ſeſſions, wherein the weights and meaſures are peruſed by the clarke of the market for the countie, who ſitteth with them. At theſe meetings alſo vittellers, and in like ſort ſeruants labourers, roges, and runnagates, are often reformed for their exceſſes, although the burning of vagabounds through their eare[5] be referred to the quarter ſeſſions or higher courts of aſſiſe, where they are [6]iudged either[6] to death, if they be taken the third time, & haue not ſince their ſecond apprehenſion applied themſelues to labour, [or elſe to be ſet perpetuallie to worke in an houſe erected in euerie ſhire for that purpoſe, of which puniſhment they ſtand in greateſt feare.

The Justices and Sheriffs hold *Quarter sessions.*

High Constables and Bailiffs hold *Petie sessions.* to punish victuallers, labourers, rogues, &c.

Vagabonds can only be burnt through the ear (under 14 Eliz. cap. 5), put to death, or sent to the Work-house (under 18 Eliz. cap. 3, A.D. 1575-6); which they dread, by higher courts.

I might here deliuer a diſcourſe of ſundrie rare

[1] which in [2] in [3] meete
[4]—[4] sundrie other trespasses [5] eares [6]—[6] adjudged also

Courts Baron.

Some of the customs of Courts Baron are beastly,—first devis'd by bad women in contempt of their tenants,—but now turnd into money rents.

[cuſtomes and courts, ſurnamed barons, yet mainteined and holden in England: but forſomuch as ſome of the firſt are beaſtlie, and therefore by the lords of the ſoiles now liuing conuerted into monie, being for the moſt part deuiſed in the beginning either by malicious or licentious women, in meere contempt and ſlauiſh abuſe of their tenants, vnder pretenſe of ſome puniſhment due for their exceſſes, I paſſe ouer to bring them vnto light, as alſo the remembrance of ſundrie courts baron likewiſe holden in ſtrange maner; yet none more abſurd and far from law than are kept yearlie at Kings hill in Rochford, and therfore may well be called a lawleſſe court, as moſt are that were deuiſed vpon ſuch occaſions. This court is kept vpon wedneſdaie inſuing after Michaelmaſſe daie after midnight, ſo that it is begun and ended before the riſing of the ſunne. When the tenants alſo are altogither in an alehouſe, the ſteward ſecretlie ſtealeth from them with a lanterne vnder his cloke, and goeth to the Kings hill, where ſitting on a molehill he calleth them with a verie ſoft voice, writing their appeerance vpon a peece of paper with a cole, hauing none other light than that which is incloſed in the lanterne: ſo ſoone as the tenants alſo doo miſſe the ſteward, they runne to the hill with all their might, and there anſwer all at once, "Here here," wherby they eſcape their amercements: which they ſhould not doo if he could haue called ouer his bill of names before they had miſſed him in the alehouſe. And this is the verie forme of the court deuiſed at the firſt (as the voice goeth) vpon a rebellion made by the tenants of the honour of Raibie againſt their lord, in perpetuall memorie of their diſobedience ſhewed. I could beſide this ſpeake alſo of ſome other, but ſith one hath taken vpon him to collect a number of them into a particular treatiſe, I thinke it ſufficient for me to haue ſaid ſo much of both.]

No custom is more absurd than that of King's Hill in Rochford, Essex.

The tenants being in an alehouse, the Steward holds his court on King's hill;

and if the tenants can't rush up to him when he calls their names they get fin'd. (See Blount's Tenures, p. 260, ed. 1874.)

This is because the Raleigh tenants once rebelld against their lord. (See Camden's Description of Essex.)

And thus much haue I thought good to ſet downe

generallie of the ſaid counties and their maner of gouernance, although not in ſo perfect order as the cauſe requireth, bicauſe that of all the reſt there is nothing wherewith I am leſſe acquainted than with our temporall regiment, which (to ſaie truth) ſmallie concerneth my calling. [What elſe is to be added after the ſeuerall ſhires of England with their ancient limits (as they agreed with the diuiſion of the land in the time of *Ptolomie* and the Romans) and commodities yet extant, I reſerue vnto that excellent treatiſe of my freend *W. Cambden*, who hath trauelled therein verie farre, & whoſe worke written in Latine ſhall in ſhort time (I hope) be publiſhed, to the no ſmall benefit of ſuch as will read and peruſe the ſame.]

For other county particulars, see

my friend Camden's forthcoming 'Britannia.' (publ. 1586.)

## Of degrees of people in the commonwealth of England.

### Chap. 5.[1]

WE in England diuide our people commonlie into foure ſorts, as gentlemen,[2] citizens or burgeſſes, yeomen, and[3] artificers, or laborers. Of gentlemen the firſt and cheefe (next the king) be the prince, dukes, marqueſſes, earls,

Four sorts:
1. Gentlemen.
2. Citizens.
3. Yeomen.
4. Artificers or Labourers.

[1] In the 1577 ed. this chapter is the 4th of the Third Book.—F

[2] See "*The English Courtier, and the Cuntrey-gentleman:* A pleasaunt and learned Disputation betweene them both: very profitable and necessarie to be read of all Nobilitie and Gentlemen. Wherein is discoursed, what order of lyfe best beseemeth a Gentleman, (aswell for education as the course of his whole life) to make him a person fytte for the publique seruice of his Prince and Countrey," 1586; and "*The Court and Country*, or A briefe Discourse Dialogue-wise set downe betweene a Courtier and a Country-man. Contayning the manner and condition of their liues, with many Delectable and Pithy Sayings worthy observation. Also, necessary Notes for a Courtier. Written by N. B. Gent. [Nicholas Breton], 1618." Both reprinted in Mr W. C. Hazlitt's Roxburghe Library: '*Ined. Tracts*,' 1868.—F. [3] for 'and', ed. 1586 reads wrongly 'which are.'—F.

Lords and Noblemen,

Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen.

viſcounts, and barons: and theſe are called [1]gentlemen of the greater ſort, or (as our common vſage of ſpeech is) lords and noblemen: and next vnto them be knights, eſquiers, and laſt of all they that are ſimplie called gentlemen; ſo that in effect our gentlemen are diuided into their conditions, whereof in this chapiter I will make particular rehearſall.[1]

*Prince.*

[2 p. 157] The title belongs only to the King's eldest son, the Prince of Wales.

[2] The title of prince dooth peculiarlie belong [with vs] to the kings eldeſt ſonne, who is called prince of Wales, and is the heire apparant to the crowne; as in France the kings eldeſt ſonne hath the title of Dolphine, and is named peculiarlie *Monſieur*. So that the prince is ſo termed of the Latine word [3]*Princeps*, ſith he is (as I may call him) the cheefe or principall next the king.[3]

His younger sons are only gentlemen till they're created nobles; they are calld Lord Henry, Lord Edward, &c.

The kings yoonger ſonnes be but gentlemen by birth (till they haue receiued creation [or donation from their father] of higher eſtate, [as] to be either viſconts, earles, or dukes) and called after their names, as lord Henrie, or lord Edward, with the addition of the word Grace, properlie aſſigned to the king and prince, and [now alſo] by cuſtome conueied to dukes, [archbiſhops, and (as ſome ſaie) to] marqueſſes and their wiues.

*Duke.*

formerly a name of military office,

but now only of honour.

The title of duke commeth alſo of the Latine word *Dux, à ducendo*, bicauſe of his valor and power ouer the armie: in times paſt a name of office due to the [emperour, conſull, or] cheefe gouernour of the whole armie in the [Romane] warres: but now a name of honor, [although periſhed in England, whoſe ground will not long beare one duke at once; but if there were manie as in time paſt, or as there be now earles, I doo not thinke but that they would floriſh and proſper well inough.]

*Marquesse.*] In old time he onelie was called marqueſſe, *Qui*

1—1 the Nobilitie, they are also named Lordes and noble men, and next to them be Knightes and Esquires, and simple gentlemen.

3—3 quia est principalis post Regem.

*habuit terram limitaneam,* a marching prouince vpon thē enimies countries, [and thereby bound to keepe and defend the frontiers.] But that alſo is changed in common vſe, and reputed for a name of great honor next [vnto] the duke, euen ouer counties, and ſometimes ſmall cities, as the prince is pleaſed to beſtow it.

A Marquess formerly had a frontier province, which he defended.

The name of earle likewiſe was among the Romans a name of office, who had *Comites ſacri palatij, comites ærarij, comites ſtabuli,* [*comites patrimonij, largitionum, ſcholarum, commerciorum,*] and ſuch like. [1] But at the firſt they were called *Comites,* which were ioined in commiſſion with the proconſull, legate, or iudges for counſell and aids ſake in each of thoſe ſeuerall charges. As *Cicero epiſtola ad Quintum fratrem* remembreth, where he ſaith; *Atque inter hos quos tibi comites, & adiutores negotiorum publicorum dedit ipſa reſpublica duntaxat finibus his præſtabis, quos ante præſcripſi, &c.* After this I read alſo that euerie preſident in his charge was called *Comes,* but our Engliſh Saxons vſed the word Hertoch and earle for *Comes,* and indifferentlie as I geſſe, ſith the name of duke was not in vſe before the conqueſt. *Goropius* ſaith, that *Comes* and Graue is all one, to wit [1] the viſcont, called either *Procomes,* or *Vicecomes:* and [2] in time paſt gouerned in the countie vnder the earle, but [3] now without anie ſuch ſeruice or office, it [4] is alſo [4] become a name of dignitie next after the earle, and in degree before the baron. [His releefe alſo by the great charter is one hundred pounds, as that of a baronie a hundred marks, and of a knight fiue at the moſt for euerie fee.]

*Earle.*

The Roman 'Comites.'

Our English Saxons us'd Hertoch or Earl for 'Comes.'

*Viscont.*

does not now rule a county under its Earl.

The baron [whoſe degree anſwered to the dignitie of a ſenator in Rome,] is ſuch a free lord as hath a lord-

*Baron.*

[1]—[1] howbeit it appeareth that with us it hath the next place to ye Marquise, and he that beareth it is called peradventure Comes à comitiua, quia dignus est ducere comitiuam in bello. Or else because he is Comes Ducis a companion of the Duke in the warres. And he hath his follower

[2] who in [3] and [4]—[4] also is

Of the Baron, held knights or freeholders, doing warre-service.

ſhip or baronie, whereof he beareth his name, & [1] hath diuerſe knights or freeholders holding of him, who with him did [1] ſerue the king in his [2] wars, and held their tenures [3] in *Baronia,* [4] that is, for performance of [4] such ſeruice. Theſe *Bracton* (a learned writer of the lawes of England in king Henrie the thirds time) tearmeth *Barones, quaſi robur belli.* The word *Baro* [indeed] is older than that it may eaſilie be found from whence it came: for euen in the oldeſt hiſtories both of the Germans and Frenchmen, [written ſince the conqueſt,] we read of barons, and thoſe are at this daie called among the Germans *Liberi vel Ingenui,* [or Freihers in the Germane toong] as ſome men doo coniecture, [or (as one ſaith) the citizens and burgeſſes of good townes and cities were called *Barones.* Neuertheleſſe by diligent inquiſition it is imagined, if not abſolutelie found, that the word *Baro* and *Filius* in the old Scithian or Germane language are all one; ſo that the kings children are properlie called *Barones,* from whome alſo it was firſt tranſlated to their kindred, and then to the nobilitie and officers of greateſt honour indifferentlie. That *Baro* and *Filius* ſignifieth one thing, it yet remaineth to be ſeene, although with ſome corruption: for to this daie, euen the common ſort doo call their male children 'barnes' here in England, eſpeciallie in the north countrie, where that word is yet accuſtomablie in vſe. And it is alſo growne into a prouerbe in the ſouth, when anie man ſuſteineth a great hinderance, to ſaie, "I am beggered, and all my barnes." In the Hebrue toong (as ſome affirme) it ſignifieth *Filij ſolis:* and what are the nobilitie in euerie kingdome but *Filij* or *ſerui regum?* But this is farre fetched, wherefore I conclude, that from henſefoorth the originall of the word *Baro* ſhall not be anie more to ſeeke: and the firſt time that euer I red thereof in anie Engliſh hiſtorie, is in the

The derivation of 'Baron.'

Most likely Baro = Filius.

The King's sons were the first Barons.

The common sort call their children 'barnes,' usually in the North, sometimes in the South.

[1]—[1] holding of him diuers knightes & free holders: who were wont to
[2] the [3] landes [4]—[4] for doing

reigne of Canutus, who called his nobilitie and head officers to a councell holden at Cirnecester, by that name, 1030, as I haue else-where remembred. Howbeit the word *Baro* dooth not alwaies signifie or is attributed to a noble man by birth or creation, for now and then it is a title giuen vnto one or other with his office, as the cheefe or high tribune of the excheker is of custome called lord cheefe baron, who is as it were the great or principall receiuer of accounts next vnto the lord treasuror, as they are vnder him are called *Tribuni ærarij, & rationales.* Hervnto I may ad so much of the word lord, which is an addition going not seldome and in like sort with sundrie offices, and to continue so long as he or they doo execute the same, and no longer.]

'Baro' first us'd A.D. 1030.

Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

'Lord' is a title held only during office.

Vnto this place I also referre our bishops, who are accounted honourable, [called lords, and hold the same roome in the parlement house with the barons, albeit for honour sake the right hand of the prince is giuen vnto them,] and whose countenances in time past were [1] much more glorious than at this present it is, bicause those lustie prelats sought after earthlie estimation and authoritie with farre more diligence than after the lost sheepe of Christ, [2] of which [2] they had small regard, as men being otherwise occupied and void of leisure to attend vpon [3] the same. Howbeit in these daies their estate remaineth [4] no lesse reuerend than [4] before, and the more vertuous they are that be of this calling, the better are they esteemed with high and low. [They reteine also the ancient name (lord) still, although it be not a little [5] impugned by such as loue either to heare of change of all things, or can abide no superiours. For notwithstanding it be true, that in respect of function, the office of the eldership is equallie distributed betweene the bishop and the minister, yet for ciuill gouernements sake, the first haue more authoritie giuen

*Bishops.*

are calld Lords, and sit in the House of Lords.

The more vertuous they are, the better are they esteemd.

(A cut at Dissenters.)

[1. *Sam.* b15. 1. *Reg.* a7.]

[1] was [2—2] whereof [3] unto [4—4] still honourable as [5] *orig.* littie

A defence of Bishops and Uniformity

against the Calvinists, &c.

You can't make a perfect Church.

[1 p. 158]

The Clergy are now lovd for their hard work,

except by some hungry-belli'd patrons,

who always ask

vnto them by kings and princes, to the end that the reſt maie thereby be with more eaſe reteined within a limited compaſſe of vniformitie, than otherwiſe they would be, if ech one were ſuffered to walke in his owne courſe. This alſo is more to be maruelled at, that verie manie call for an alteration of their eſtate, crieng to haue the word lord aboliſhed, their ciuill authoritie taken from them, and the preſent condition of the church in other things reformed; whereas to ſaie trulie, few of them doo agree vpon forme of diſcipline and gouernement of the church ſuccedent: wherein they reſemble the Capuans, of whome *Liuie* dooth ſpeake, in the ſlaughter of their ſenat. Neither is it poſſible to frame a whole monarchie after the patterne of one [1] towne or citie, or to ſtirre vp ſuch an exquiſite face of the church as we imagine or deſire, ſith our corruption is ſuch that it will neuer yeeld tō ſo great perfection: for that which is not able to be perfōrmed in a priuat houſe, will much leſſe be brought to paſſe in a common-wealth and kingdome, before ſuch a prince be found as *Xenophon* deſcribeth, or ſuch an orator as *Tullie* hath deuiſed. But whither am I digreſſed from my diſcourſe of biſhops, whoſe eſtates doo daily decaie, & ſuffer ſome diminution?] Herein neuertheleſſe [2] their caſe is growne to be much better than before, for whereas in times paſt the cleargie men were feared bicauſe of their authoritie and ſeuere gouernment vnder the prince, now are they beloued generallie [3] for their painefull diligence [dailie] ſhewed in their [functions and] callings, [4]except peraduenture of ſome hungrie wombes, that couet to plucke & ſnatch at the looſe ends of their beſt commodities; with whom it is (as the report goeth) a common guiſe, when a man is to be preferred to an eccleſiaſticall liuing, what part

[2] therefore

[3] (except peraduenture of a few hungrie wolves that couet to pluck and snatch at their lose endes)

[4]—[4] and vertuous conversation

thereof he will firſt forgo and part with to their vſe.[4] Finallie, how it ſtandeth with the reſt of the clergie [for their places of eſtate,] I neither can tell, nor greatlie care to know. Neuertheleſſe, with what degrees of honour and worſhip they haue beene matched in times paſt, *Iohannes Bohemus* in his *De omnium gentium moribus*, and others doo expreſſe; [and this alſo found beſide their reports, that in time paſt, euerie biſhop, abbat, and pelting prior were placed before the earles and barons in moſt ſtatutes, charters, and records made by the prince, as maie alſo appeare in the great charter, and ſundrie yeares of Henrie the third, wherein no duke was heard of.] But as a number of [1] their odious [1] compariſons and ambitious titles are now decaied and worthilie ſhroonke in the wetting, ſo giuing ouer in theſe daies to mainteine ſuch pompous vanitie, they [doo] thinke it ſufficient for them to preach the word, & hold their liuings to their fees [(ſo long as they ſhall be able)] from the hands of ſuch as indeuour [for their owne preferrement] to [fleece and] diminiſh [2] the ſame.[2] This furthermore will I adde generallie in commendation of the cleargie of England, that they are for their knowlege [3] reputed in France, Portingale, Spaine, Germanie and Polonia, to be the moſt learned diuines, [although they like not anie thing at all of their religion:] and thereto [they are in deed] ſo ſkilfull in the two principall toongs, that it is accounted a maime in anie one of them, not to be exactlie ſeene in the Greeke and Hebrue, much more then to be vtterlie ignorant or nothing conuerſant in them. As for the Latine toong it is not wanting in anie [of the miniſterie], eſpeciallie in ſuch as haue beene made within this twelue or fourteene yeares, whereas before there was ſmall choiſe, and manie cures were left vnſerued, bicauſe they had none at all. [And to ſaie truth, our aduerſaries were the onelie cauſers hereof. For whileſt they made no

what the man they present 'll give up to them.

[*De Asia, cap.* 12.]

In old times Bishops and Abbots took precedence of Earls and Barons.

But now the Clergy are content to preach God's word, and fight for their livings against plunderers.

Our clergy are held by foreigners as the most learned divines.

Almost all know Greek and Hebrew,

[*No Greeke, no grace.*]

and every one knows Latin: at least, those appointed since 1563 or 1565.

1—1 these 2—2 them 3 learning

[*Bene con, bene can, bene le.*] (This in my copy, but not in Brit. Mus. copy, of 1586 ed.)

Ignorance of the clergy in Mary's and Hen. VIII.'s days.

further accompt of their prieſthood, than to conſtrue, ſing, read their ſeruice and their porteſſe, it came to paſſe that vpon examination had, few made in queene Maries daies, and the later end of king Henrie, were able to doo [1] anie more, and verie hardlie ſo much, ſo void were they of further ſkill, and ſo vnapt to ſerue at all.]

*Duke,* [*marquesse, earle, viscont.*]

Dukes, marqueſſes, earles, viſconts, and barons, either be created of the prince, or come to that honor by being the eldeſt ſonnes or higheſt in ſucceſſion to their parents. For the eldeſt ſonne of a duke during his fathers life is an erle, the eldeſt ſonne of an erle is a baron, or ſometimes a viſcont, according as the creation is. The creation I call the original donation and condition of the honour giuen by the prince for [2] good ſeruice doone by the firſt anceſtor, with ſome aduancement, which, with the title of that honour, is alwaies giuen to him and his heires males onelie. The reſt of the ſonnes of the nobilitie by the rigor of the law be but eſquiers: yet in common ſpeech all dukes and marqueſſes ſonnes, and earles eldeſt ſonnes be called lords, the which name commonlie dooth agree to none of lower degree than barons, yet by law and vſe theſe be not eſteemed barons.

Younger sons of nobles are only 'esquires,' yet all but Viscounts' and Barons' sons are by courtesy calld 'lords.'

[*Barons.*]

The baronie or degree of lords dooth anſwer to the degree of ſenators of Rome [(as I ſaid)] and the title of nobilitie (as we vſe to call it in England) to the Romane *Patricij*. Alſo in England no man is [commonlie] created baron, except he maie diſpend of yearelie reuenues [a thouſand pounds, or] ſo much as maie fullie mainteine & beare out his countenance and port. But viſconts, erles, marqueſſes, and dukes exceed them according to the proportion of their degree & honour. But though by chance he or his ſonne haue leſſe, yet he keepeth this degree: but if the decaie be exceſſiue and not able to mainteine the honour, as

English ones must have £1000 a year.

Baron is the lowest rank of nobles.

[1] *orig.* (my copy, but not Brit. Mus. one) to to doo [2] for the

*Senatores Romani* were [1] *amoti à ſenatu* [1]: ſo ſometimes they are not admitted to the vpper houſe in the parlement although they keepe the name of lord ſtill, which can not be taken from them vpon anie ſuch occaſion. [The moſt of theſe names haue deſcended from the French inuention, in whoſe hiſtories we ſhall read of them eight hundred yeares paſſed.

This alſo is worthie the remembrance, that Otto the firſt emperour of that name, indeuouring to repare the decaied eſtate of Italie vnto ſome part of hir priſtinate magnificence, did after the French example giue *Dignitates & prædia* to ſuch knights and ſouldiers as had ſerued him in the warres, whom he alſo adorned with the names of dukes, marqueſſes, earles, valuaſors or capteins, and valuaſines. [*Of the second degree of gentlemen.*]

His *Prædia* in like maner were tributes, tolles, portage, bankage, ſtackage, coinage, profits by ſaltpits, milles, water-courſes (and whatſoeuer emoluments grew by them) & ſuch like. But at that preſent I read not that the word *Baro* was brought into thoſe parts. And as for the valuaſors, it was a denomination applied vnto all degrees of honor vnder the firſt three (which are properlie named the kings capteins) ſo that they are called *Maiores, minores, & minimi valuaſores.* This alſo is to be noted, that the word capteine hath two relations, either as the poſſeſſor therof hath it from the prince, or from ſome duke, marqueſſe, or earle, for each had capteins vnder them. If from the prince, then are they called *Maiores valuaſores*, if from anie of his three peeres, then were they *Minores valuaſores:* but if anie of theſe *Valuaſors* doo ſubſtitute a deputie, thoſe are called *Minimi valuaſores*, and their deputies alſo *Valuaſini*, without regard vnto which degree the valuaſor dooth apperteine: but the word *Valuaſor* is now growne out of vſe, wherefore it ſufficeth to haue ſaid thus much of that function.] [*Prædia.*] There are 3 kinds of Valvasors or under-vassals: greater, less, and least. [*Valuasores.*] The deputies of the least are Valvasines. 'Valvasor' is gone out of use.

[1—1] moti Senatu

*Knights are made, not born.*

Knights be not borne, neither is anie man a knight by ſucceſſion, no, not the king or prince: but they are made either before the battell, to incourage them the more to aduenture & trie their manhood: or after [the battell ended,] as an aduancement for their courage and proweſſe alreadie ſhewed [(& then are they called *Milites*;)] or out of the warres for ſome great ſeruice doone, or for the ſingular vertues which doo appeare in them, [and then are they named *Equites aurati*, as common cuſtome intendeth.] They are made either by the king himſelfe, or by his commiſſion and roiall authoritie giuen for the ſame purpoſe: or by his lieutenant in the warres. This order ſeemeth to anſwer in part to that which the Romans called *Equitum Romanorum*. For as *Equites Romani* were choſen *Ex cenſu*, that is, according to their ſubſtance and riches; ſo be knights in England moſt commonlie according to their yearelie reuenues or [1] aboundance of [1] riches, wherewith to mainteine their [2] eſtates. Yet all [3] that had *Equeſtrem cenſum*, were not choſen to be knights, [and] no more be all made knights in England that may ſpend a knights lands, but they onelie whome the prince will honour. [Sometime diuerſe ancient gentlemen, burgeſſes, and lawiers, are called vnto knighthood by the prince, and neuertheleſſe refuſe to take that ſtate vpon them, for which they are of cuſtome puniſhed by a fine, that redoundeth vnto his cofers, and, to ſaie truth, is oftentimes more profitable vnto him than otherwiſe their ſeruice ſhould be, if they did yeeld vnto knighthood. And this alſo is a cauſe, wherfore there be manie in England able to diſpend a knights liuing, which neuer come vnto that countenance, and by their owne conſents.] The number of the knights in Rome was [alſo] vncerteine: and ſo is it of knights [likewiſe] with vs, as at the pleaſure of the prince. [And whereas the *Equites*

*[Milites.]*

*Equites aurati.*

[3 p. 159]

*Some gentlemen, tho' calld, refuse to be Knights, and pay a fine for it.*

[1—1] substance and [2] the

*Romani* had *Equum publicum* of cuſtome beſtowed vpon them, the knights of England haue not ſo, but beare their owne charges in that alſo, as in other kind of furniture, as armorie meet for their defenſe and ſeruice. This neuertheleſſe is certeine, that who ſo may diſpend 40 pounds by the yeare of free land, either at the coronation of the king, or mariage of his daughter, or time of his dubbing, may be inforced vnto the taking of that degree, or otherwiſe paie the reuenues of his land for one yeare, which is onelie fortie pounds by an old proportion, and ſo for a time be acquited of that title.] We name[1] him knight in Engliſh that the French calleth *Cheualier*, and the Latins *Equitem*, or *Equeſtris ordinis virum*. And when any man is made a knight, he kneeling downe is ſtriken of the king[2] or his ſubſtitute with his ſword naked vpon the [backe or] ſhoulder, the prince, &c: ſaieng, *Soyes cheualier au nom de Dieu*. And when he riſeth vp the king[3] ſaith *Aduances bon cheualier*. This is the maner of dubbing knights at this preſent, and the tearme (dubbing) is the old tearme for that purpoſe and not creation, [howbeit in our time the word (making) is moſt in vſe among the common ſort.]

English Knights pay for their own horses and armour.

Any freeholder worth £40 a year in land may be forc't to become a Knight or pay £40.

The manner of dubbing a Knight.

At the coronation of a king or queene there be [other] knights made with longer and more curious ceremonies, called "knights of the bath." But how ſoeuer one be dubbed or made knight, his wife is by and by called madame or ladie, ſo well as the barons wife; he himſelfe hauing added to his name in common appellation this ſyllable Sir, which is the title whereby we call our knights[4] in England. [His wife alſo of courteſie ſo long as ſhe liueth is called my ladie, although ſhe happen to marie with a gentleman or man of meane calling, albeit that by the common law ſhe hath no ſuch prerogatiue. If hir firſt huſband alſo be of better birth than hir ſecond, though this later

*Knights of the bath.*

A Knight's wife is calld 'Madam or Lady,' and he 'Sir.'

She keeps her title, by courtesy, tho' she marries a commoner.

[1] We call [2] the Prince [3] the Prince [4] knights here

likewiſe be a knight, yet in that ine pretendeth a priuilege to looſe no honor through courteſie yeelded to hir ſex, ſhe will be named after the moſt honorable or worſhipfull of both, which is not ſeene elſewhere.]

*Knights of the garter.*

The other order of knighthood in England, and the moſt honorable is that of the garter, inſtituted by

Edward III.

king Edward the third, who—after he had gained manie notable victories, taken king John of France, and king James of Scotland (and kept them both priſoners in the Tower of London at one time) expelled king Henrie of Caſtile the baſtard out of his realme, and reſtored *Don Petro* vnto it (by the helpe of the prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine his eldeſt ſonne called the Blacke prince) he—then inuented this ſocietie of honour, and made a choiſe out of his owne realme and dominions, and throughout all chriſtendome of the beſt, moſt excellent and renowmed perſons in all vertues and honour, and adorned them with that[1] title to be knights of his order, giuing them a garter garniſhed with gold and pretious ſtones, to weare dailie on the left leg onlie: alſo a kirtle, gowne, cloke, chaperon, collar, and other ſolemne and magnificent apparell, both of ſtuffe and faſhion exquiſite & heroicall to weare at high feaſts, [&] as to ſo high and princelie an order apperteineth. Of this companie alſo he and his ſucceſſors, kings and queenes of England, be the ſouereignes, and the reſt by certeine ſtatutes and lawes amongſt themſelues be taken as brethren and fellowes in that order, to the number of ſix and twentie, as I find in a certeine treatiſe written of the ſame, an example whereof I haue here inſerted word for word, as it was deliuered vnto me, beginning after this maner.

invented this Society, and chose for it the best Knights of all Christendom.

The King or Queen is head of the Order,

and it has 26 brethren.

*[Round table.]*

I might at this preſent make a long tractation of the round table, and eſtate[2] of the knights thereof, erected ſometimes by Arthur the great monarch of

[1] yt [2] order

this Iland; and therevnto intreat of the number of his knights, and ceremonies belonging to the order, but I thinke in ſo dooing that I ſhould rather ſet downe the latter inuentions of other men, than a true deſcription of ſuch ancient actions as were performed in deed. I could furthermore with more facilitie deſcribe the roialtie of Charles the great & his twelue peeres, with their ſolemne rites and vſages: but vnto this alſo I haue no great deuotion, conſidering the truth hereof is now ſo ſtained with errours and fables inſerted into the ſame by the lewd religious ſort, that except a man ſhould profeſſe to lie with them for companie, there is little ſound knowledge to be gathered hereof worthie the remembrance. In like maner diuerſe aſwell ſubiects as princes haue attempted to reſtore againe a round table in this land [(as for example Roger lord Mortimer at Killingworth)] but ſuch were the exceſſiue charges apperteining therevnto (as they did make allowance) and ſo great moleſtation daïlie inſued therevpon, beſide the breeding of ſundrie quarrels among the knights, and ſuch as reſorted hitherto from forreine countries (as it was firſt vſed) that in fine they gaue it ouer, and ſuffered their whole inuentions to periſh and decaie, till[1] Edward the third deuiſed an other order not ſo much peſtered with multitude of knights as the round table, but much more honorable for princelie port and countenance, as ſhall appeare hereafter.

I won't describe from fancy the making of King Arthur's Knights,

or the royalty of Charles the Great and his Twelve Peers,

as I should have to lie with 'the lewd religious sort.'

The later Round Table of [*Roger Mortimer.*]

which led to such nuisances

that it had to be given up.

The order of the garter therefore was deuiſed in the time of king Edward the third, and (as ſome write) vpon this occaſion. The queenes maieſtie then liuing, being departed from his preſence the next waie toward hir lodging, he following ſoone after happened to find hir garter, which ſlacked by chance and ſo fell from hir leg, [vneſpied in the throng by ſuch as attended vpon hir.] His groomes & gentlemen [alſo] paſſed by it,[2] diſ-

[*The occasion of the deuise*] of Edward III.'s Order of the Garter.

[1] untill [2] it, as

daining to ſtoope and take vp ſuch a trifle: but he knowing the owner, commanded one of them to ſtaie and reach[1] it vp [to him.] "Why, and like your grace (ſaieth a gentleman), it is but ſome womans garter that hath fallen from hir as ſhe followed the queenes maieſtie." "What ſoeuer it be (quoth the king) take it vp and giue it me." So when he had receiued the garter, he ſaid to ſuch as ſtood about him: "You my maiſters doo make ſmall account of this blue garter here (and therewith held it out), but if God lend me life for a few moneths, I will make the proudeſt of you all to reuerence the like." And euen vpon this ſlender occaſion he gaue himſelfe to the deuiſing of this order. Certes I haue not read of anie thing, that hauing had ſo ſimple a begining hath growne in the end to ſo great honour and eſtimation. But to proceed. After he had ſtudied awhile about the performance of his deuiſe, and had ſet downe ſuch orders as he himſelfe[3] inuented concerning the ſame, he proclamed a roiall feaſt to be holden at Windſore, whither all his nobilitie reſorted with their ladies, where he publiſhed his inſtitution, and[4] foorthwith inueſted an appointed number into the afore-ſaid fellowſhip, whoſe names inſue, himſelfe being the ſouereigne and principall of that companie. Next vnto himſelfe alſo he placed

Edward III.'s founding the Order of the Garter.

*Peraduenture[2] but a blue ribben*

He held a royal feast at Windsor.

[1 p. 160]

The first Knights of the Garter

| | |
|---|---|
| Edward prince of Wales. | Sir Iohn Liſle. |
| Henrie duke of Lancaſter. | Sir Bartholomew Burwaſh. |
| N. earle of Warw. | N. ſonne of ſir[6] Iohn Beauchamp. |
| N. capt. de Bouche. | Sir N. de Mahun. |
| N. earle of Stafford. | S[ir] Hugh Courtneie. |
| N. earle of Sarum. | S[ir] Thomas Holland. |
| N. lord[5] Mortimer. | S[ir] Iohn Graie. |

[1] take [2] Peraduenture it was [3] himselfe had
[5] L. [6] S.

| | |
|---|---|
| S[ir] Rich. Fitzſimon. | S[ir] Otho Holland. |
| S[ir] Miles Stapleton. | S[ir] Henrie Eme. |
| S[ir] Thomas Wale. | Sir Sanchet Dambricourt. |
| S[ir] Hugh Wrotesley. | Sir Walter Pannell *alias* Paganell. |
| S[ir] Neale Lording. | |
| S[ir] Iohn Chandos. | |
| S[ir] Iames Dawdleie. | |

The first Knights of the Garter.

What order of election, and what eſtatutes were preſcribed vnto the elected at this firſt inſtitution, as yet I can not exactlie vnderſtand; neither can I learne what euerie prince afterward added therevnto before the ſix and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight, and third of king Edward the ſixt: wherefore of neceſſitie I muſt reſort vnto the eſtate of the ſaid order as it is at this preſent, which I will ſet downe ſo brieflie as I may. When anie man therefore is to be elected (vpon a roome found void for his admiſſion) into this fellowſhip, the king directeth his letters vnto him, notwithſtanding that he before hand be [1]nominated to[1] the ſame, to this effect. "Right truſtie and welbeloued, we greete you well, aſſerteining you, that in conſideration aſwell of your approoued truth and fidelitie, as alſo of your couragious and valiant acts of knighthood, with other your probable merits knowne by experience in ſundrie parties and behalfes: we, with the companions of the noble order of the Garter, aſſembled at the election holden this daie within our manour of *N.*, haue elected and choſen you amongſt other to be one of the companions of the ſaid Order, as your deſerts doo condignelie require. Wherefore we will that [2]with conuenient diligence vpon the ſight herof, you repaire vnto our preſence, there to receiue ſuch things as to the ſaid order apperteineth. Dated vnder our ſignet at our maner of *N.* &c."[3] Theſe letters [are the exemplification of certeine, which] (as it ſhould ſeeme) were written

[*Election.*]

The present state of the Order of the Garter.

Before admission the King by letter notifies to the Knight Elect that he has been elected into the Order,

and appoints a place for his reception.

[1—1] nominate unto [2] *yt* [3] Grenewich the 24 of April

King Edward VI.'s summons of Apr. 24, 1549, to Lord Cobham's father.

*An.* 3. *Edwardi ſexti* [at Greenewich *Aprilis* 24] vnto the earle of Huntingdon, & the lord George Cobham your lordſhips honorable father, at ſuch time as they were called vnto the aforeſaid companie. I find alſo theſe names ſubſcribed vnto the ſame.

Signers of Edward VI.'s summonses.

| | |
|---|---|
| Edward duke of Summerſet, vncle to the king. | L. Ruſſell lord priuie ſeale. |
| The marq. of Northhampton. | L. S. Iohn l[ord] great maſter. |
| Earle of Arundell L. Chamberleine. | Sir Iohn Gage. |
| Earle of Shreweſburie. | S. Anthonie Wingfield. |
| | Sir William Paget. |

[*Admission*] of a Knight of the Garter.

Being elected, preparation is made for his inſtalling at Windſore (the place appointed alwaies for this purpoſe) whereat it is required that his banner be

In St George's Chapel, Windsor, are set up his Banner, Sword, Helm, Crest,

ſet vp, of[1] two yardes and a quarter in length, and three quarters in bredth, beſides the fringe. Secondlie his ſword, of whatſoeuer length him ſeemeth good. Thirdlie his helme, which from the charnell vpwards ought to be of three inches at the leaſt. Fourthlie the creſt, with mantels to the helme belonging, of ſuch conuenient ſtuffe and bigneſſe, as it ſhall pleaſe him to appoint.

a plate of Arms at the back of his stall in the Chapel

Item a plate of armes at the backe of his ſtall, and creſt with mantels and beaſts ſupportant, to be grauen in [the] mettall.

Lodging-Scutcheons

Item lodging ſcutcheons of his armes, [2]inuironned with a[2] garter, [3]and painted in paper or cloth of buckram, which when he trauelleth by the waie are to be

to be fixt in the inns at which he stays.

fixed in the common Ins where he dooth lodge, as a teſtimonie of his preſence and ſtaies from time to time as he did trauell.[3]

Two Mantles.

Item two mantels, one to[4] remaine in the college

[1] at [2]—[2] in the [3]—[3] be occupyed by the way [4] to the

at Windſore, the other to vſe at his pleaſure, with the ſcutcheon of the armes of S. George in the garter with laces, taſſelets, and knops of blue ſilke and gold belonging to the ſame. One to be left at Windsor; the other us'd by himself.

Item a ſurcote or gowne of red or crimoſine veluet, with a whood of the ſame, lined with white ſarcenet or damaſke. Surcoat of red velvet.

Item a collar of the garter of thirtie ounces of gold Troie weight. Collar of the Garter.

Item a tablet of S. George, richlie garniſhed with precious ſtones or otherwiſe. Tablet of St George.

Item a garter for his (left) leg, hauing the buckle and pendant garniſhed with gold. Garter for the left leg.

Item a booke of the ſtatutes of the ſaid order. Book of Statutes.

Item a ſcutcheon of the armes of S. George in the garter to ſet vpon the mantell. And this furniture is to be prouided againſt his inſtallation. Scutcheon of the arms of St George.

When anie knight is to be inſtalled, he hath with his former letters, a garter ſent vnto him, and when he commeth to be inſtalled, he is brought into the chapter houſe, where incontinentlie his commiſſion is read before the ſouereigne, or his deputie, and the aſſemblie preſent: from hence he is lead by two knights of the ſaid order, accompanied with the other of the nobilitie, and officers toward the chappell, hauing his mantell borne before him, either by a knight of the order, or elſe the king at armes, to whome it ſecondarilie apperteineth to beare it. This mantell ſhall be deliuered vnto him for his habit, after his oth taken before his ſtall, and not before: which doone, he ſhall returne vnto the chapter houſe, where the ſouereigne, or his deputie, ſhall deliuer him his collar, and ſo he ſhall haue the full poſſeſſion of his habit. As for his ſtall, it is not giuen according vnto the calling and countenance of the receiuer, but as the place is that happeneth to be void, ſo that each one called vnto this knighthood (the ſouereigne, and emperours, and kings, and princes [*Installation.*] From the Chapter-House he is led to St George's Chapel, has a [*Mantell.*] deliverd to him, takes the oath, goes back to the Chapter-House, and gets his Collar. [*Stall.*]

Each Knight of the Garter takes his predecessor's stall.

alwaies excepted) ſhall haue the ſame ſeat, which became void by the death of his predeceſſor, howſoeuer it fall out: wherby a knight onlie oftentimes dooth ſit before a duke, without anie murmuring or grudging at his roome, except it pleaſe the ſouereigne, once in his life [onelie] to make a generall alteration of thoſe ſeats, and to ſet each one according to his degree.

The dress of the Knights of the Garter.

Now as touching the apparell of theſe knights, it remaineth ſuch as king Edward, the firſt deuiſer of this order, left it, that is to ſaie, euerie yeare one of the colours, that is to ſay, ſcarlet, ſanguine in grain, blue and white. In like ſort the kings grace hath at his pleaſure the content of cloth for his gowne and whood, lined with white ſatine or damaſke, and multitude of garters with letters of gold.

The King's dress.

The prince hath fiue yardes of cloth for his gowne and whood, and garters with letters of gold at his pleaſure, beſide fiue timber of the fineſt mineuer.

*A timber conteineth fortie skins, [peltes, or felles.]*

A duke hath fiue yardes of woollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, 120 garters with title of gold.

A marques hath fiue yards of woollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, 110 garters of ſilke.

An earle fiue yardes of woollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, and 100 garters of ſilke.

[1 p. 161]

A viſcount fiue yardes of woollen cloth, fiue tim[1]ber of mineuer, 90 garters of ſilke.

A baron fiue yardes of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer greſle, 80 garters of ſilke.

A banneret fiue yards of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer, 70 garters of ſilke.

A knight fiue yards of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer, 60 garters of ſilke.

The Chaplain's dress.

The biſhop of Wincheſter chapleine of the garter, hath eight and twentie timber of mineuer pure, nineteene timber[2] gr[eſle,] three timber and a halfe of

[2] timber of

the beſt, and foure & twentie yards of woollen cloth. The Order of the Garter.

The chancellor of the order fiue yards of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer pure.

The regiſter of the order fiue yardes of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer pure. And this order to be holden generallie among the knights of this companie, which are ſix and twentie in number, and whoſe patrone in time of ſuperſtition was ſuppoſed to be S. George, of whome they were alſo called S. Georges knights, as I haue heard reported. [Would to God they might be called knights of honor, or by ſome other name, for the title of ſaint George argueth a wrong patrone.] The Registrar's dress. St George is a wrong patron for the Order.

Furthermore at his inſtallation he is ſolemnelie ſworne, the maner whereof I haue thought good alſo to annex, in this maner. "You being choſen to be one of the honorable companie of the order of the Garter, ſhall promiſe and ſweare vpon the holie euangelies by you bodilie touched, to be faithfull and true to the kings maieſtie, and to obſerue and keepe all the points of the ſtatutes of the ſaid order, and euerie article in them conteined, the ſame being agreeable and not repugnant to the kings highneſſe other godlie proceedings, ſo far as to you belongeth & apperteineth, as God you helpe, &c." And thus much haue I thought good to note touching the premiſſes. [*Installation.*] The Oath of a Knight of the Garter.

As touching the eſtatutes belonging to this order they are manie, and therefore not to be touched here. Howbeit if anie doubt doo ariſe aboue the interpretation of them, the king, who is the perpetuall ſouereigne of that order, hath to determine and reſolue the ſame. Neither are anie choſen therevnto vnder the degree of a knight, and that is not a gentelman of bloud and of ſound eſtimation. [*Estatutes.*]

And for the better vnderſtanding what is meant by a gentleman of bloud, he is defined to deſcend of three [*Gentleman of bloud.*]

The Order of the Garter

deſcents of nobleneſſe, that is to ſaie, of name and of armes both by father and mother.

[*Degrees of reproch*] that stop men entering the Order.

There are alſo foure degrees of reproch, which may inhibit from the entrance into this order: of which the firſt is hereſie lawfullie prooued, the ſecond high treaſon, the third is flight from the battell, the fourth riot and prodigall exceſſe of expenſes, whereby he is not likelie to hold out, and mainteine the port of knight of this order, according to the dignitie thereof.

[*Apparell.*] The Knights wear the dress of the Order when in St George's Chapel, or on the business of the Order, and on St George's Eve,

Moreouer, touching the wearing of their aforeſaid apparell, it is their cuſtome to weare the ſame, when they enter into the chappell of S. George or be in the chapter houſe of their order, or finallie doo go about anie thing apperteining to that companie. In like ſort they weare alſo their mantels vpon the euen of S. George, and go with the ſouereigne, or his deputie in the ſame in maner of proceſſion from the kings great chamber vnto the chappell, or vnto the college, and likewiſe backe againe vnto the aforſaid place, not putting it from them, vntill ſupper be ended, and the auoid doone. The next daie they reſort vnto the chappell alſo in the like order, & from thence vnto diner, wearing afterward their ſaid apparell vnto euening praier, and likewiſe all the ſupper time, vntill the auoid be finiſhed. In the ſolemnitie likewiſe of theſe feaſts, the thirteene chanons there, and ſix and twentie poore knights haue mantels of the order, whereof thoſe for the chanons are of Murreie with a roundell of the armes of S. George, the other of red, with a ſcutcheon onelie of the ſaid armes.

and St George's Day.

The 13 Canons and 26 poor Knights of St George's Chapel, Windsor, have mantles of the Order.

*Sicke or absent.*

If anie knight of this order be abſent from this ſolemnitie vpon the euen and daie of S. George, and be inforced not to be preſent either through bodilie ſickeneſſe, or his abſence out of the land: he dooth in the church, chappell, or chamber where he is remaining, prouide an honorable ſtall for the kings maieſtie in the right hand of the place with a cloth of eſtat,

and cuſhions, and ſcutchion of the garter, and therein the armes of the order. Alſo his owne ſtall of which ſide ſoeuer it be diſtant from the kings or the emperours in his owne place, appointed ſo nigh as he can, after the maner and ſituation of his ſtall at Windſore, there to remaine, the firſt euening praier on the euen of S. George, or three of the clocke, and likewiſe the next daie during the time of the diuine ſeruice, vntill the morning praier, and the reſt of the ſeruice be ended: and to weare in the meane time his mantell onelie, with the George and the lace, without either whood, collar, or ſurcete.[1] Or if he be ſo ſicke that he doo keepe his bed, he dooth vſe to haue that habit laid vpon him during the times of diuine ſeruice aforeſaid.

The Order of the Garter.
A Knight sick or absent on St George's Day

If he's in bed, his mantle and George are to be laid on him at service-time.

At the ſeruice time alſo vpon the morrow after S. George, two of the chiefe knights (ſauing the deputie of the ſouereigne if he himſelfe be abſent) ſhall offer the kings banner of armes, then other two the ſword with the hilts forwards, which being doone, the firſt two ſhall returne againe, and offer the helme and creſt, hauing at each time two heralds of armes going before, according to the ſtatutes. The lord deputie or lieutenant vnto the kings grace, for the time being, alone and aſſiſted with one of the chiefe lords, dooth deliuer at his offering a peece of gold, and hauing all the king of armes and heralds going before him, he ſo proceedeth to the offering. When he hath thus offered for the prince, he returneth with like ſolemnitie vnto his ſtall, and next of all goeth againe with one herald to offer for himſelfe, whoſe oblation being made, euerie knight according to their ſtals, with an herald before him proceedeth to the offering.

*Offering.*

in St George's Chapel.

The Lord Deputy offers a piece of gold for the King.

What ſolemnitie is vſed at the buriall of anie knight of the Garter, it is but in vaine to declare: wherefore I will ſhew generallie what is doone at the diſgrading

*Buriall.*

[1] surcote

The Order of the Garter.

of one of theſe knights, if through anie grieuous offenſe he be ſeparated from this companie. Whereas otherwiſe the ſigne of the order is neuer taken from him vntill death doo end & finiſh vp his daies. Therfore when anie ſuch thing[1] is doone, promulgation is made therof after this maner inſuing.

*Disgrading* of a Knight for treason.

Be it knowne vnto all men that N. N. knight of the moſt noble order of the Garter, is found giltie of the abhominable and deteſtable crime of high treaſon, for he hath moſt traitorouſlie conſpired againſt our moſt high and mightie prince ſouereigne of the ſaid order, contrarie to all right, his dutie, and the faithfull oth, which he hath ſworne and taken. For which cauſes therefore he hath deſerued to be depoſed from this noble order, and fellowſhip of the Garter. For

'Tis insufferable that a traitor should remain amongst such faithful Knights.

it may not be ſuffered that ſuch a traitor and diſloiall member remaine among the faithfull knights of renowmed[2] ſtomach & bountifull prowes, or that his armes ſhould be mingled with thoſe of noble chiualrie. Wherefore our moſt excellent prince and ſupreme of this [3]moſt honorable[3] order, by the aduiſe and counſell of his collegues, willeth and commandeth that his armes which he before time hath deſerued ſhall be from hencefoorth [be] taken awaie and throwne downe: and he himſelfe cleane cut off from the ſocietie of this renowmed order, and neuer from this daie reputed anie more for a member of the ſame, that all other by his example may hereafter beware how they commit the like treſpaſſe, or fall in[4]to ſuch notorious infamie[5] and rebuke. This notice being giuen, there reſorteth vnto the partie to be diſgraded certeine officers with diuerſe of his late fellowes appointed, which take from him his George, and other inueſtiture, after a ſolemne maner.

[4]p. 162.]

Officers and Knights solemnly take away his George. [Cp. Talbot's tearing the garter off Fastolfe's leg in 1 *Hen. VI.* IV. i. 15.]

And hitherto[6] of this moſt honorable order, hoping that no man will be offended with me, in vttering

[1] is to be [2] noble [3]—[3] noble
[5] shame [6] thus much

thus much. For ſith the noble order of the Toiſon Dor or golden fleeſe, with the ceremonies apperteining vnto the creation and inueſtiture of the ſix and thirtie knights thereof: and likewiſe that of ſaint Michaell and his one and thirtie knights, are diſcourſed vpon at large by the hiſtoriographers of [1] their owne [1] countries, without reprehenſion or checke, [eſpeciallie by *Vincentius Lupan. lib.* 1. *de Mag. Franc. cap. de equitibus ordinis*, where he calleth them *Cheualliers ſans reproche*, and thereto addeth that their chaine is commonlie of two hundred crownes at the leaſt, and honour thereof ſo great, that it is not lawfull for them to ſell, giue, or laie the ſame to morgage (would to God they might once brooke their name, *Saṅs reproche*, but their generall deling in our time with all men, will not ſuffer ſome of the beſt of their owne countries to haue that opinion of them),] I truſt I haue not giuen anie cauſe of diſpleaſure, briefelie to ſet foorth thoſe things that apperteine vnto our renowmed order of the Garter, in whoſe compaſſe is written commonlie, * *Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe*, which is ſo much to ſaie, as, 'Euill come to him that euill thinketh': a verie ſharpe imprecation, and yet ſuch as is not contrarie to the word, which promiſeth like meaſure to the meter, as he dooth mete to others.

As the ceremonies of the Orders of the Golden Fleece,

and St Michael, are given by other writers,

I hope I'm justified in giving those of our Order of the Garter.

* *Some think that this was the answer of the queene, when the king asked what men would thinke of hir, in losing the garter after such a maner.*

There is yet an other order of knights in England called knights Bannerets, who are made in the field with the ceremonie of cutting awaie [2] the point of his penant of armes, and making it as it were a banner, [3] ſo that being before but a bacheler knight, he [3] is now of an higher degree, and allowed to diſplaie his armes in a banner, as barrons doo. Howbeit theſe knights are neuer made but in the warres, the kings ſtandard being vnfolded.

Knights *Bannerets.*

are made only in war-time.

Eſquire (which we call commonlie ſquire) is a French word, and ſo much in Latine as *Scutiger vel*

*Esquire.*

[1] those [2] of [3—3] He being before a Bachelor knight

Who an Esquire is.

*armiger,* and ſuch are all thoſe which beare armes, or armoires, teſtimonies of their race from whence they be deſcended. They were at the firſt coſterels or[1] bearers of the armes of barons, or knights, & thereby being inſtructed in [2] martiall knowledge,[2] had that name for a dignitie giuen to diſtinguiſh them from common ſouldiers [called *Gregarij milites*] when they were togither in the field.

*Gentlemen.*

Gentlemen be thoſe whome their race and bloud, [or at the leaſt their vertues] doo[3] make noble and knowne. The Latines call them *Nobiles & generoſos,* as the French do *Nobles* [or *Gentlehommes*]. The etymologie of the name expoundeth the efficacie of the word: for as *Gens* in Latine betokeneth the race and ſurname: ſo the Romans had *Cornelios, Sergios, Appios,* [*Curios, Papyrios, Scipiones,*] *Fabios, Æmilios, Iulios, Brutos, &c:* of which, who were *Agnati,* and therefore kept the name, were alſo called *Gentiles,* gentlemen of that or that houſe and race.

We think now only of Norman ancestors; nothing of Saxon; much less of British.

[Moreouer] as the king[4] dooth dubbe knights, and createth the barons and higher degrees, ſo gentlemen whoſe anceſtors are not knowen to come in with William duke of Normandie [(for of the Saxon races yet remaining we now make none accompt, much leſſe of the Britiſh iſſue)] doo take their beginning in England, after this maner in our times. Who ſoeuer ſtudieth the lawes of the realme, who ſo[5] abideth[5] in the vniuerſitie [giuing his mind to his booke,] or profeſſeth phyſicke and the liberall ſciences, or beſide his ſeruice in the roome of a capteine in the warres, [or good counſell giuen at home, whereby his commonwealth is benefited,] can liue[6] without manuell labour, and thereto is able and will beare the port, charge, and countenance of a gentleman, he ſhall [for monie haue a cote and armes beſtowed vpon him by heralds (who in the charter of the ſame doo of cuſtome pretend

*Lawiers ſtudents in vniuerſities,*

*Physicians.*

*Capteins.*

Any one who can live without hand work, can be a gentleman, and buy a coat of arms,

[1] or the [2—2] Armes [3] doth [4] King or Queene [5] studieth [6] ydlely and

antiquitie and ſeruice, and manie gaie things) and therevnto being made ſo good cheape] be called maſter, which is the title that men giue to eſquiers and gentlemen, and reputed for a gentleman [euer after.] Which is ſo much the leſſe to be diſalowed of, for[1] that the prince dooth looſe nothing by it, the gentleman being ſo much ſubiect to taxes and publike paiments as is the yeoman or huſbandman, which he likewiſe[2] dooth beare the gladlier for the ſauing of his reputation. Being called [alſo] to the warres [(for with the gouernment of the common-wealth he medleth litle)] what ſoeuer it coſt him, he will both arraie & arme himſelfe accordinglie, and ſhew the more manly courage, and all the tokens of the perſon which he repreſenteth. No man hath hurt by it but himſelfe, who peraduenture will [go in wider buſkens than his legs will beare, or as our prouerbe ſaith,] now and then beare a bigger ſaile than his boat is able to ſuſteine.

and be call'd 'Master,' and reputed a gentleman.

The gentleman, when call'd to the wars, pays for his own outfit.

His title hurts no one but himself.

[Certes the making of new gentlemen bred great ſtrife ſometimes amongſt the Romans, I meane when thoſe which were *Noui homines*, were more allowed of for their vertues newlie ſeene and ſhewed, than the old ſmell of ancient race, latelie defaced by the cowardiſe & euill life of their nephues & defendants could make the other to be. But as enuie hath no affinitie with iuſtice and equitie, ſo it forceth not what language the malicious doo giue out, againſt ſuch as are exalted for their wiſdomes. This neuertheleſſe is generallie to be reprehended in all eſtates of gentilitie, and which in ſhort time will turne to the great ruine of our countrie, and that is, the vſuall ſending of noblemens & meane gentlemens ſonnes into Italie, from whence they bring home nothing but meere atheiſme, infidelitie, vicious conuerſation, & ambitious and proud behauiour, wherby it commeth to paſſe that they returne far worſſe men than they went out. A gentle-

Yet our nobles and gentles do foolishly in sending their sons into Italy, whence they bring home Atheism, Vice, and Pride.

[1] as [2] also

Disgraceful opinions of Italianate Englishmen: 'Keep faith only when you'll not lose by it:

Forgive when you're revengd:

Believe no religion:

A martyr 's a fool:

Never mind God; obey the King.'

These Italianates too keep Pages for sodomy.

man at this preſent is newlie come out of Italie, who went thither an earneſt proteſtant, but comming home he could ſaie after this maner: "Faith & truth is to be kept, where no loſſe or hinderance of a further purpoſe is ſuſteined by holding of the ſame; and forgiueneſſe onelie to be ſhewed when full reuenge is made." Another no leſſe forward than he, at his returne from thence could ad thus much; "He is a foole that maketh accompt of any religion, but more foole that will looſe anie part of his wealth, or will come in trouble for conſtant leaning to anie: but if he yeeld to looſe his life for his poſſeſſion, he is ſtark mad, and worthie to be taken for moſt foole of all the reſt." This gaie bootie gate theſe gentlemen by going into Italie, and hereby a man may ſee what fruit is afterward to be looked for where ſuch bloſſoms doo appeere. "I care not (ſaith a third) what you talke to me of God, ſo as I may haue the prince & the lawes of the realme on my ſide." Such men as this laſt, are eaſilie knowen; for they haue learned in Italie, to go vp and downe alſo in England, with pages at their heeles finelie apparelled; whoſe face and countenance ſhall be ſuch as ſheweth the maſter not to be blind in his choiſe. But leaſt I ſhould offend too much, I paſſe ouer to ſaie anie more of theſe Italionates and their demeanor, which alas is too open and manifeſt to the world, and yet not called into queſtion.]

*Citizens [and burgesses.]*

Citizens and burgeſſes haue next place to gentlemen, who be thoſe that are free within the cities, and are of ſome [likelie] ſubſtance to beare office in the ſame. But theſe citizens or burgeſſes are to ſerue [1] the commonwealth in their cities and boroughs, or in corporat townes where they dwell. And in the common aſſemblie of the realme [2] wherein our lawes are made, for in the counties they beare but little ſwaie (which aſſemblie is [2] called the [high court of] par-

[1] p. 163]

have little power in counties.

2—2 to make lawes

lement) the ancient cities appoint foure, and the boroughs two burgeſſes to haue voices in it, and [1] giue their conſent or diſſent vnto ſuch things as paſſe or ſtaie there in the name of the citie or borow, for which they are appointed. Ancient Cities have 4 M.P.s; Boroughs, 2.

In this place alſo are our merchants to be inſtalled, as amongſt the citizens [(although they often change eſtate with gentlemen, as gentlemen doo with them, by a mutuall conuerſion of the one into the other)] whoſe number is ſo increaſed in theſe our daies, that their onelie maintenance is the cauſe of the exceeding prices of forreine wares, which otherwiſe when euerie [2] nation was permitted to bring in hir owne commodities, were farre better cheape and more plentifullie to be had. [Of the want of our commodities here at home, by their great tranſportation of them into other countries, I ſpeake not, ſith the matter will eaſilie bewraie it ſelfe. Certes] among the Lacedemonians it was found out, that great numbers of merchants were nothing to the furtherance of the ſtate of the commonwealth: wherefore it is to be wiſhed that the [huge] heape of them were ſomewhat reſtreined, [as alſo of our lawiers] ſo ſhould the reſt liue more eaſilie vpon their owne, and few honeſt chapmen be brought to decaie, by breaking of the bankerupt. I doo not denie but that the nauie of the land is in part mainteined by their traffike, and ſo are the high prices of wares [3] kept vp, now they haue gotten the onelie ſale of things, [vpon pretenſe of better furtherance of the common-wealth] into their [owne] hands: whereas in times paſt when the ſtrange bottoms were ſuffered to come in, we had ſugar for foure pence the pound, that now [at the writing of this treatiſe] is [well] worth halfe a crowne, raiſons [4] or corints [4] for a penie that now are holden at ſix pence, and ſometime at eight pence and ten pence the pound: nutmegs at two pence halfe penie the ounce: ginger at a penie an

*Merchants.*

are greatly increast of late.

And yet too many of them, and of lawyers, are but a clog on the commonwealth.

Merchants keep up prices.

In Free-Trade days sugar was 6*d.* a pound.

Now it's 2*s.* 6*d.*:

raisins were 1*d.*; and are now 6*d.* to 10*d.*

[1] and to [2] eache [3] thinges [4] of Corinth

How Merchants have raisd the prices of groceries.

ounce, prunes at halfe penie farding: great raisons three pound for a penie, cinamon at foure pence the ounce, cloues at two pence, and pepper at twelue, and sixteene pence the pound. Whereby we may see the sequele of things not alwaies [but verie seldome] to be such as is pretended in the beginning. The wares that they carrie out of the realme, are for the most part brode clothes and carsies of all colours, likewise cottons, freeses, rugs, tin, wooll, [our best beere, baies, bustian, mockadoes tufted and plaine, rash,] lead, fells, &c: which being shipped at sundrie ports of our coasts, are borne from thence into all quarters of the world, and there either exchanged for other wares or readie monie: to the great gaine and commoditie of our merchants. And whereas in times past their[1] cheefe trade was into Spaine, Portingall, France, Flanders, Danske, Norwaie, Scotland, and Iseland onelie: now[2] in these daies, as men not contented with these[3] iournies, they haue sought out the east and west Indies, and made [now and then suspicious] voiages, not onelie vnto the Canaries, and new Spaine, but likewise into Cathaia, Moscouia, Tartaria, and the regions thereabout, from whence (as they saie[4]) they bring home great commodities. [5][But alas I see not by all their trauell that the prices of things are anie whit abated. Certes this enormitie (for so I doo accompt of it) was sufficientlie prouided for, *An. 9 Edward 3.* by a noble estatute made in that behalfe, but vpon what occasion the generall execution thereof is staied or not called on, in good sooth I cannot tell. This onelie I know, that euerie function and seuerall vocation striueth with other, which of them should haue all the water of commoditie run into hir owne cesterne.]

The wares they export from England.

And not content with their old European trade,

they now go to the Indies,

China, Tartary, &c.

But prices keep up.

And every trade strives to get all profit for itself.

*Yeomen.* Yeomen[6] are those, which by our[7] law[7] are called

[1] our [2] so [3] those [4] pretende
[5] (side note) Not sene in a batement of price of thinges
[6] Our Yeomen [7]—[7] lawyers

*Legales homines,* free men borne Engliſh,[1] and may diſpend of their owne free land in yearelie reuenue, to the ſumme of fortie ſhillings ſterling, [or ſix pounds as monie goeth in our times. Some are of the opinion by *Cap.* 2. *Rich.* 2. *an.* 20. that they are the ſame which the French men call varlets, but as that phraſe is vſed in my time it is farre vnlikelie to be ſo. The truth is that the word is deriued from the Saxon terme Zeoman or Geoman, which ſignifieth (as I haue read) a ſettled or ſtaid man, ſuch I meane as being maried and of ſome yeares, betaketh himſelfe to ſtaie in the place of his abode for the better maintenance of himſelfe and his familie, whereof the ſingle ſort haue no regard, but are likelie to be ſtill fleeting now hither now thither, which argueth want of ſtabilitie in determination and reſolution of iudgement, for the execution of things of anie importance.] This ſort of people haue a certeine preheminence, and more eſtimation than labourers & [the common ſort of] artificers, & [theſe] commonlie liue wealthilie, keepe good houſes, and trauell to get riches. They are alſo for the moſt part farmers to gentlemen [(in old time called *Pagani, & opponuntur militibus,* and therfore *Perſius* calleth himſelfe *Semipaganus*) or at the leaſtwiſe artificers,] & with graſing, frequenting of markets, and keeping of ſeruants (not idle ſeruants as the gentlemen doo,[2] but ſuch as get both their owne and part of their maſters liuing) do come to great welth, in ſomuch that manie of them are able and doo buie the lands of vnthriftie gentlemen, and often ſetting their ſonnes to the ſchooles, to the vniuerſities, and to the Ins of the court; or otherwiſe leauing them ſufficient lands wherevpon they may liue without labour, doo make them[3] by thoſe[4] means to become gentlemen: theſe were they that in times paſt made all France afraid. [And albeit they be not called maſter as gentlemen are, or ſir as to knights apperteineth,

Yeomen are freemen worth £6 a year in land.

Yeoman means

a settl'd or staid man, marri'd,

and not fleeting.

Yeomen live

well, and work.

They're farmers;

and by grazing and work

buy poor gentlemen's lands, educate their sons for professions, or leave them money to become gentlemen.

These men made France afraid.

[1] *orig.* English [2] doth [3] their sayde sonnes [4] that

Yeomen are not calld Master, but John, Thomas, &c. [*Englishmen on foot and Frenchmen on horsse-backe best.*]

but onelie John and Thomas, &c: yet haue they beene found to haue doone verie good ſeruice:] and the kings of England in foughten battels, were woont to remaine among them[1] (who were their footmen) as the French kings did amongſt their horſſemen: the prince thereby ſhewing where his chiefe ſtrength did conſiſt.

[*Capite censi or Proletarij*

The fourth and laſt ſort of people in England are daie labourers, poore buſbandmen, and ſome retailers (which haue no free land) copie holders, and all artificers, as tailers, ſhomakers, carpenters, brickmakers, maſons, &c. As for ſlaues and bondmen we haue none, [naie ſuch is the priuilege of our countrie by the eſpeciall grace of God, and bountie of our princes, that if anie come hither from other realms, ſo ſoone as they ſet foot on land they become ſo free of condition as their maſters, whereby all note of ſeruile bondage is vtterlie remooued from them, wherein we reſemble (not the Germans who had ſlaues alſo, though ſuch as in reſpect of the ſlaues of other countries might well be reputed free, but) the old Indians and the Taprobanes, who ſuppoſed it a great iniurie to nature to make or ſuffer them to be bond, whome ſhe in hir woonted courſe dooth product and bring foorth free.] This[2] [fourth and laſt ſort of people] therefore haue neither voice nor authoritie in the common wealth, but are to be ruled, and not to rule other: yet they are not altogither neglected, for in cities and corporat townes, for default of yeomen, they are faine to make vp their inqueſts of ſuch maner of people. And in villages they are commonlie made churchwardens, ſidemen, aleconners, [now and then] conſtables, and manie times inioie the name[3] of hedboroughes. [Vnto this ſort alſo may our great ſwarmes of idle ſeruing men be referred, of whome there runneth a prouerbe; Yoong ſeruing men, old beggers: bicauſe ſeruice is none heritage.

Day labourers and Artificers.

*No slaues nor bondmen in England.* [Not true as to bondmen.]

Foreign slaves become free so soon as they set foot on English soil.

Labourers have no voice in the Commonwealth, but are to be ruled:

yet sometimes they're put on inquests, and made churchwardens, &c.

[3 p. 164]

Swarms of idle Serving Men.

[1] these yeomen [2] These

Theſe men are profitable to none, for if their condition be well peruſed, they are enimies to their maſters, to their freends, and to themſelues: for by them oftentimes their maſters are incouraged vnto vnlawfull exactions of their tenants, their freends brought vnto pouertie by their rents inhanced, and they themſelues brought to confuſion by their owne prodigalitie and errors, as men that, hauing not wherewith of their owne to mainteine their exceſſes, doo ſearch in high waies, budgets, cofers, males, and ſtables, which way to ſupplie their wants. How diuerſe of them alſo, coueting to beare an high ſaile, doo inſinuate themſelues with yoong gentlemen and noble men newlie come to their lands, the caſe is too much apparant, whereby the good natures of the parties are not onelie a little impaired, but alſo their liuelihoods and reuenues ſo waſted and conſumed, that if at all, yet not in manie yeares, they ſhall be able to recouer themſelues. It were verie good therefore that the ſuperfluous heapes of them were in part diminiſhed. And ſith neceſſitie inforceth to haue ſome, yet let wiſdome moderate their numbers, ſo ſhall their maſters be rid of vnneceſſarie charge, and the common wealth of manie theeues. No nation cheriſheth ſuch ſtore of them as we doo here in England, in hope of which maintenance manie giue themſelues to idleneſſe, that otherwiſe would be brought to labour, and liue in order like ſubiects. Of their whoredomes I will not ſpeake anie thing at all, more than of their ſwearing, yet is it found that ſome of them doo make the firſt a cheefe piller of their building, conſuming not onlie the goods but alſo the health & welfare of manie honeſt gentlemen, citizens, wealthie yeomen, &c: by ſuch vnlawfull dealings. But how farre haue I waded in this point, or how farre may I ſaile in ſuch a large ſea? I will therefore now ſtaie to ſpeake anie more of thoſe kind of men. In returning therefore to my matter,] this furthermore among other

The idle Seruingmen are euil to euery one.

They turn highway robbers too,

and waste young gentlemen's eſtates.

Their number ſhould be leſſend.

England keeps more of them than any other nation does.

These Seruingmen too practise whoredom and swearing.

Our husbandmen and artificers were never better tradesmen than they are now,

things I haue to ſaie of our huſbandmen and artificers, that they were neuer ſo excellent in their trades as at this preſent. But as the workemanſhip of the later ſort was neuer more fine and curious to the eie, ſo was it neuer leſſe ſtrong and ſubſtantiall for continuance and benefit of the buiers. [1] Neither is there anie thing [1] that

though some scamp their work,

hurteth [the common ſort of] our artificers more than haſt, and a barbarous or ſlauiſh deſire [to turne the penie, and] by ridding their worke to make ſpeedie vtterance of their wares: which inforceth them to

and bungle it up.

bungle vp and diſpatch manie things they care not how ſo they be out of their hands, whereby the buier is often ſore defrauded, and findeth to his coſt, that haſt maketh waſt, according to the prouerbe.

How many needless trades have we!

And how many needful things do we pay dear for, that we could get cheaper from abroad!

[Oh how manie trades and handicrafts are now in England, whereof the common wealth hath no need? how manie needfull commodities haue we which are perfected with great coſt, &c: and yet may with farre more eaſe and leſſe coſt be prouided from other countries if we could vſe the meanes. I will not ſpeake of iron, glaſſe, and ſuch like, which ſpoile much wood, and yet are brought from other countries better cheepe than we can make them here at home; I could exemplifie alſo in manie other.] But to leaue theſe things and proceed with our purpoſe, and herein (as occaſion ſerueth) generallie [by waie of concluſion] to ſpeake of the common-wealth of England, I find that it is gouerned and mainteined by three ſorts of perſons.

The Common-wealth is governd by

1. King,

1 The prince, monarch, and head gouernour, which is called the king, or (if the crowne fall to the woman) the queene: in whoſe name and by whoſe authoritie all things are adminiſtred.

2. Gentlemen: Lords and no Lords:

2 The gentlemen, which be diuided into two ſorts,[2] as the baronie or eſtate[3] of lords (which conteineth barons and all aboue that degree) and alſo thoſe that be no lords, as knights, eſquiers, & ſimple gentlemen, [4] as I

[1]—[1] Certes there is nothing [2] parts [3] estates [4]—[4] &c

haue noted alreadie. Out of theſe alſo are the great deputies and high preſidents choſen, of which one ſerueth in Ireland, as another did ſometime in Calis, and the capteine now at Berwike; as one lord preſident dooth gouerne in Wales, and the other the north parts of this land, which later with certeine councellors and iudges were erected by king Henrie the eight. But forſomuch as I haue touched their conditions elſewhere,[1] it ſhall be inough to haue remembred them at this time.

(From the gentlemen are chosen the Deputies and Lords President.

3 The third and laſt ſort is named the yeomanrie, of whom & their ſequele, the labourers and artificers, I haue faid ſomewhat euen now. [Whereto I ad that they be not called maſters and gentlemen, but goodmen, as goodman Smith, goodman Coot, goodman Cornell, goodman Maſcall, goodman Cockſwet, &c: & in matters of law theſe and the like are called thus, Giles Iewd yeoman, Edward Mountford yeoman, Iames Cocke yeoman, Herrie Butcher yeoman, &c: by which addition they are exempt from the vulgar and common ſorts. *Cato* calleth them *Aratores & optimos ciues rei publicæ*, of whom alſo you may read more in the booke of common wealth which ſir *Thomas Smith* ſometime penned of this land.]

3. Yeomen,

who are calld, not 'Master,' but 'Goodman,' Cockswet, &c.

Of gentlemen[1] alſo ſome are by the prince choſen, and called to great offices in the common wealth, of which [ſaid] offices diuerſe concerne the whole realme; ſome be more priuat and peculiar to the kings houſe. And they haue their places and degrees, preſcribed by an act of parlement made *An.* 31 *H*[*enr*]. *octaui*, after this maner inſuing.

Gentlemen are chosen for high offices by the King.

Theſe foure the lord Chancellor, the lord Treaſuror [(who is *Supremus ærarij Anglici quæstor* or *Tribunus ærarius maximus*)] the lord Preſident of the councell, and the lord Priuie ſeale, being perſons of the degree of a baron or aboue, are in the ſame act appointed to ſit in

The Lord Chancellor and 3 other Officials sit above all Dukes, &c. not of the blood royal.

[1] these

the parlement and in all aſſemblies or councell aboue all dukes, not being of the bloud roiall, *Videlicet* the kings brother, vncle, or nephue.

The 6 Lord-officers who're entitled to sit first, each in his own rank.

And theſe ſix, the lord[1] great Chamberleine of England: the lord[2] high Conſtable of England: the lord Marſhall of England: the lord Admirall of England: the lord great maſter or Steward of the kings houſe: and the lord[3] Chamberleine: by that act are to be placed in all aſſemblies of councell, after the lord priuie ſeale, according to their degrees and eſtats: ſo that if he be a baron, then [he is] to ſit aboue all barons: or an earle, aboue all earles.

The King's Secretary sits above all of his own rank.

And ſo likewiſe the kings ſecretarie, being a baron of the parlement, hath place aboue all barons, and if he be a man of higher degree, he ſhall ſit and be placed according therevnto.

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## [The rehearſall of] the temporall nobilitie of England, according to the anciencie of their creations, or firſt calling to their degrees, [as they are to be found at this preſent.]

*No duke in England.* [*Earles.*]

The Marquiſe of Winchester.
The earle of Arundell.
The earle of Oxford.
The earle of Northumberland.
The earle of Shreweſburie.
The earle of Kent.
The earle of Derbie.
The earle of Worceſter.
[1 p. 165] [4]The earle of Rutland.
The earle of Cumberland.
The earle of Suſſex.
The earle of Huntingdon.

[1] L. [2] L. [3] or Kings

The earle of Bath. The Earls of England.
The earle of Warwike.
The earle of Southampton.
The earle of Bedford.
The earle of Penbrooke.
The earle of Hertford.
The earle of Leiceſter.
The earle of Eſſex.
The earle of Lincolne.

The viſcont Montague. [*Visconts.*]
The viſcont Bindon.

The lord of Abergeuennie. [*Barons.*]
The lord Awdeleie.
The lord Zouch.
[1] The lord Barkeleie.
The lord Morleie.
The lord Dacres of the ſouth.
The lord Cobham.
[1] The lord Stafford.
The lord Greie of Wilton.
The lord Scroope.
The lord Dudleie.
The lord Latimer.
The lord Stourton.
The lord Lumleie.
The lord Mountioie.
The lord Ogle.
The lord Darcie of the north.
The lord Mountegle.
The lord Sands.
The lord Vaulx.
The lord Windſore.

[1] The 1577 ed. had besides, 'The Lorde Straunge,' [? of Knokyn, the Earl of Derby's eldest son: *Nicolas*, ii. 614] and 'The Lorde Talbot,' both here cut out. The Baronies of Strange [of Blackmere] and Talbot were mergd in the Earl of Shrewsbury's titles: *Nicolas*, ii. 615.—F.

The Barons of England.

The lord Wentwoorth.
The lord Borough.
The lord Mordaunt.
The lord Cromwell.
The lord Euers.
The lord Wharton.
The lord Rich.
The lord Willowbie.
The lord Sheffeld.
The lord Paget.
The lord Darcie of Chiche[ſter.]
The lord Howard of Effingham.[1]
The lord North.
The lord Chaundos.
The lord of Hunſdon.
The lord ſaint John of Bletſo.
The lord of Buckhirſt.
The lord Delaware.
The lord Burghleie.
The lord Compton.
The lord Cheineie.
The lord Norreis.

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Archbishops and Bishops as they sat in Parliament in 1564.

## Biſhops in their anciencie, as they *ſat in parlement, in the fift of the* Queenes maieſties reigne[2] [that now is.]

[*Cleargie.*]

The archbiſhop of Canturburie.
The archbiſhop of Yorke.
London.
Durham.
Winchester.

The reſt had their places in ſenioritie of conſecration.

[1] Hawarde of Offingham

[2] the reigne

English Bishops A.D. 1564.

| | |
|---|---|
| Chicheſter. | Bath and Welles. |
| Landaffe. | Couentrie and Lichfield. |
| Hereford. | Exceſter.[1] |
| Elie. | Norwich. |
| Worceſter. | Peterborough. |
| Bangor. | Carleill. |
| Lincolne. | Cheſter. |
| Saliſburie. | S. Aſſaph. |
| S. Dauids. | Gloceſter. |
| Rocheſter. | |

[And this for their placing in the parlement houſe. Howbeit, when the archbiſhop of Canturburie ſiteth in his prouinciall aſſemblie, he hath on his right hand the archbiſhop of Yorke, and next vnto him the biſhop of Wincheſter, on the left hand the biſhop of London: but if it fall out that the archbiſhop of Canturburie be not there by the vacation of his ſee, then the archbiſhop of Yorke is to take his place, who admitteth the biſhop of London to his right hand, and the prelat of Wincheſter to his left, the reſt ſitting alwaies as afore, that is to ſaie, as they are elders by conſecration, which I thought good alſo to note out of an ancient preſident.]

In his provincial assembly, the Archbishop of Canterbury has the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Winchester on his right, and the Bishop of London on his left.

## Of the food and diet of *the Engliſh.*[2]

### Chap. 6.[3]

THe ſituation of our region, lieng neere vnto the north, dooth cauſe the heate of our ſtomaches [4]to be of ſomewhat[4] greater

As England is cold, English stomachs want

[1] Exeter

[2] See Andrew Boorde's *Dyetary of Helth*, 1542, E. E. Text Soc. 1870, for a description of how to build houses, and manage them and men's income, and what food folk should eat.

[3] In the 1577 ed. this chapter forms the 1st of the third book.

[4—4] somewhat to increase and become of

more food than Southern folk do.

force: therefore[1] our bodies doo craue [2]a little[2] more ample nouriſhment, than the inhabitants of the hotter regions are accuſtomed withall, whoſe digeſtiue force is not altogither ſo vehement, bicauſe their internall heat is not ſo ſtrong as ours, which is kept in by the coldneſſe of the aire, that from time to time (ſpeciallie in winter) dooth enuiron our bodies.

Our tables have always been better furnisht than those of other nations.

It is no maruell therefore that our tables are oftentimes more plentifuliie garniſhed than thoſe of other nations, and this trade hath continued with vs euen ſince the verie beginning. For before the Romans found out and knew the waie vnto our countrie, our predeceſſors fed largelie vpon fleſh and milke, whereof there was great aboundance in this Ile, bicauſe they applied their cheefe ſtudies vnto paſturage and feeding. After this maner alſo did our Welſh Britons order themſelues in their diet ſo long as they liued of themſelues, but after they became to be vnited and made equall with the Engliſh, they framed their appetites to liue after our maner, ſo that at this daie there is verie little difference betweene vs in our diets.

The late improvement in Scotchmen's diet.

[In Scotland likewiſe they haue given themſelues (of late yeares to ſpeake of) vnto verie ample and large diet, wherein as for ſome reſpect nature dooth make them equall with vs: ſo otherwiſe they far exceed vs in ouer much and diſtemperate gormandize, and ſo ingroſſe their bodies that diuerſe of them doo oft become vnapt to anie other purpoſe than to ſpend their times in large tabling and bellie cheere. Againſt this pampering of their carcaſſes dooth *Hector Boetius* in his deſcription of the countrie verie ſharpelie inueigh in the firſt chapter of that treatiſe. *Henrie Wardlaw* alſo biſhop of S. Andrewes, noting their vehement alteration from competent frugalitie into exceſſiue gluttonie, to be brought out of England with Iames the firſt (who had beene long time priſoner there vnder the

They gormandize so that they're fit for nothing but stuffing. Hector Boece and Bishop Wardlaw rebuke them for it.

[1] wherefore [2—2] somewhat

fourth & fift Henries, [1] and at his returne caried diuerſe Engliſh gentlemen into his countrie with him, whome he verie honorablie preferred there) dooth vehementlie exclame againſt the ſame in open parlement holden at Perth 1433, before the three eſtats, and ſo bringeth his purpoſe to paſſe in the end by force of his learned perſuaſions, that a law was preſentlie made there for the reſtreint of ſuperfluous diet, amongeſt other things baked meats (diſhes neuer before this mans daies ſeene in Scotland) were generallie ſo prouided for by vertue of this act, that it was not lawfull for anie to eat of the ſame vnder the degree of a gentleman, and thoſe onelie but on high and feſtiuall daies; but alas it was ſoone forgotten.]

[1] p. 145]

In 1433, Bishop Wardlaw got a law made that

bak't meats were to be eaten only by gentlemen.

In old time theſe [2] north Britons did giue themſelues vniuerſallie [3] to great abſtinence, and in time of warres their ſouldiers would often feed but once or twiſe at the moſt in two or three daies (eſpeciallie if they held themſelues in ſecret, or could haue no iſſue out of their bogges and mariſes, through the preſence of the enimie) [and] in this diſtreſſe [4] they vſed to [eat a certeine kind of confection, whereof ſo much as a beane would qualifie their hunger aboue common expectation. In woods moreouer they liued with hearbes and rootes, or if theſe ſhifts ſerued not thorough want of ſuch prouiſion at hand, then vſed they] to creepe into the water or [ſaid] mooriſh plots vp vnto the chins, and there remaine a long time, onelie to qualifie the heats of their ſtomachs by violence, which otherwiſe would haue wrought and beene readie to oppreſſe them for hunger and want of ſuſtinance. In thoſe daies likewiſe it was taken for a great offenſe [5] ouer all,[5] to eat either gooſe, hare, or henne, bicauſe of a certeine ſuperſtitious opinion which they had conceiued of thoſe three creatures, howbeit after that the Romans [(I ſaie)] had once found an entrance into this

North Britons in old times liv'd on very little;

when in trouble, on a bit of concentrated food only as big as a bean,

or on herbs and roots,

or a good soak in a marsh.

And they never eat goose, hare, or hen.

[2] the [3] generally [4] penurye also [5—5] amongst them

Iland, it was not long yer[1] open ſhipwracke was made of this religious obſeruation, ſo that in proceſſe of time, ſo well the [north and ſouth] Britons as the Romans, gaue ouer to make[2] ſuch difference in meats, as they had doone before.[3]

From thencefoorth alſo vnto our daies, and euen in this ſeaſon wherein we liue, there is no reſtreint of anie meat, either for religions ſake or publike order [in England,] but it is lawfull for euerie man to feed vpon what ſoeuer he is able to purchaſe, except it be vpon thoſe daies whereon eating of fleſh is eſpeciallie forbidden by the lawes of the realme, which order is taken onelie to the end our numbers of cattell may be the better increaſed, & that aboundance of fiſh which the ſea yeeldeth, more generallie receiued. Beſide this, there is great conſideration had in making of this law for the preſeruation of the nauie, and maintenance of conuenient numbers of ſea faring men, both which would otherwiſe greatlie decaie, if ſome meanes were not found whereby they might be increaſed. But how ſoeuer this caſe ſtandeth, white meats,[4] milke, butter & cheeſe, which were [neuer ſo deere as in my time, and] woont to be accounted of as one of the chiefe ſtaies throughout the Iland, are now reputed as food appertinent onelie to the inferiour ſort, whileſt ſuch as are more wealthie, doo feed vpon the fleſh of all kinds of cattell accuſtomed to be eaten, all ſorts of fiſh taken vpon our coaſts and in our freſh riuers, and ſuch diuerſitie of wild and tame foules as are either bred in our Iland or brought ouer vnto vs from other countries of the maine.

The English eat all they can buy,

(except on non-flesh days;)

but white meat, milk, butter, cheese, tho' very dear, are eaten only by the poor.

The rich folk eat brown meat, fish,

and fowl wild and tame, home-bred and foreign.

In number of diſhes and change of meat, the nobilitie of England [(whoſe cookes are for the moſt part muſicall-headed Frenchmen and ſtrangers)] doo moſt exceed, ſith there is no daie in maner that paſſeth ouer their heads, wherein they haue not onelie beefe,

Noblemen have musical-headed French cooks.

[1] ere [2] make any [3] before time [4] meats as

mutton, veale, lambe, kid, porke, conie, capon, pig, or to manie of theſe as the ſeaſon yeeldeth: but alſo ſome portion of the red or fallow deere, beſide great varietie of fiſh and wild foule, and thereto ſundrie other delicates wherein the ſweet hand of the [ſeafaring] Portingale is not wanting: ſo that for a man to dine with one of them, and to taſt of euerie diſh that ſtandeth before him (which few vſe to doo, [1] but ech one feedeth [1] vpon that [meat] him beſt liketh for the time: [the beginning of euerie diſh notwithſtanding being reſerued vnto the greateſt perſonage that ſitteth at the table, to whome it is drawen vp ſtill by the waiters, as order requireth, and from whome it deſcendeth againe euen to the lower end, whereby each one may taſt thereof)] is rather to yeeld vnto a conſpiracie with a great deale of meat for the ſpeedie ſuppreſſion of naturall health, then [the vſe of a neceſſarie meane] to ſatiſfie himſelfe with a competent repaſt, to ſuſteine his bodie [2] withall. But as this large feeding is not ſeene in their geſts, no more is it in their owne perſons, for ſith they haue dailie much reſort vnto their tables (and manie times vnlooked for), and thereto reteine great numbers of ſeruants, it is verie requiſit [& expedient] for them to be ſomewhat plentifull in this behalfe.

Dinners of the Nobility (see Boorde in *Babees Book*; and Stubs).

Delicacies brought by the Portuguese.

Every *dish* is taken first to the greatest personage at the table.

But Noblemen and their Guests don't stuff.

The chiefe part likewiſe of their dailie prouiſion is brought in before them [(commonlie in ſiluer veſſell if they be of the degree of barons, biſhops, and vpwards)] and placed on their tables, wherof when they haue taken what it pleaſeth them, the reſt is reſerued, and afterward ſent downe to their ſeruing men and waiters, who feed [3] thereon in like ſort with conuenient moderation, their reuerſion alſo being beſtowed vpon the poore, which lie readie at their gates in great numbers to receiue the ſame. This is ſpoken of the principall [4] tables whereat the nobleman, his

Their food is servd in silver vessels.

What they leave, goes to their serving-men,

and the serving-men's leavings go to the poor.

[1]–[1] but to feede [2] lyfe [3] fed [4] chiefe

ladie and gueſtes, are accuſtomed to ſit; beſide which, they haue a certeine ordinarie allowance dailie appointed for their hals, where the chiefe officers and houſehold ſeruants (for all are not permitted [by cuſtome] to wait vpon their maſter) and with them ſuch inferiour gueſtes, doo feed, as are not of calling to aſſociat the noble man himſelfe; (ſo that beſides thoſe afore mentioned, which are called to the principall table, there are commonlie fortie or three ſcore perſons fed in thoſe hals, to the great reliefe of ſuch [poore ſutors and] ſtrangers [alſo] as oft be partakers thereof, [and otherwiſe like to dine hardlie.] As for drinke, it is [vſuallie filled in pots, gobblets, iugs, bols of ſiluer in noble mens houſes, alſo in fine Venice glaſſes of all formes, and for want of theſe elſewhere, in pots of earth of ſundrie colours and moulds, whereof manie are garniſhed with ſiluer,) or at the leaſtwiſe in pewter; all which notwithſtanding are][1] ſeldome ſet on the table; but each one, as neceſſitie vrgeth, calleth for a cup of ſuch drinke as him liſteth to haue:[1] ſo that when he hath taſted of it, he deliuered the cup againe to ſome one of the ſtanders by, who making it cleane [by pouring out the drinke that remaineth,] reſtoreth it to the cupbord[2] from whence he fetched the ſame. By this deuiſe[3] [(a thing brought vp at the firſt by *Mneſteus* of Athens, in conſeruation of the honour of *Oreſtes*, who had not yet made expiation for the death of his adulterous parents *Egiſtus* and *Clitemneſtra*),] much idle tippling is furthermore cut off, for if[4] the full pots ſhould continuallie ſtand [at the elbow or] neere the trencher, diuerſe would alwaies be dealing with them, whereas now they drinke ſeldome,[5] and onelie when neceſſitie vrgeth, and ſo[5] auoid the note of great drinking,[6] or often

Separate allowance for the officers and household of Noblemen, with whom the inferior guests feed,

often 40 or 60 folk.

Drink is serv'd in silver jugs, &c., and in fine Venice glasses or earthen pots, garnisht with silver

Each man calls for a cup, drinks, and hands it to his neighbour, who empties it, and puts the cup on the cupboard.

If full pots stood at every one's elbow, the tippling 'd be great.

[1]—[1] not usually set on the table in pottes or cruses, but each one calleth for a cup of such as he listeth to haue or as necessitie urgeth him

[2] cubborne [3] occasion [4] for whereas [5]—[5] only to [6] drinkers

troubling of the ſeruitours [with filling of their bols.] Neuertheleſſe, in the noble mens hals, this order is not vſed, neither in anie mans houſe commonlie vnder the degree of a knight or eſquire[1] of [2] great reuenues. [It is a world to ſee in theſe our daies, wherin gold and ſiluer moſt aboundeth, how that our *gentilitie* as lothing thoſe mettals (bicauſe of the plentie) do now generallie chooſe rather the Venice glaſſes, both for our wine and beere, than anie of thoſe mettals or ſtone wherein before time we haue beene accuſtomed to drinke; but ſuch is the nature of man generallie, that it moſt coueteth things difficult to be atteined; & ſuch is the eſtimation of this ſtuffe, that manie become rich onelie with their new trade vnto Murana (a towne neere to Venice ſituat on the Adriatike ſea), from whence the verie beſt are dailie to be had, and ſuch as for beautie doo well neere match the chriſtall or the ancient *Murrhina vaſa*, whereof now no man hath knowledge. And as this is ſeene in the gentilitie, ſo in the wealthie communaltie the like deſire of glaſſe is not neglected, whereby the gaine gotten by their purchaſe is yet much more increaſed to the benefit of the merchant. The pooreſt alſo will haue glaſſe if they may; but ſith the Venecian is ſomewhat too deere for them, they content themſelues with ſuch as are made at home of ferne and burned ſtone; but in fine, all go one waie, that is, to ſhards at the laſt, ſo that our great expenſes in glaſſes (beſide that they breed much ſtrife toward ſuch as haue the charge of them) are worſt of all beſtowed in mine opinion, bicauſe their peeces doo turne vnto no profit. If the philoſophers ſtone were once found, and one part hereof mixed with fortie of molten glaſſe, it would induce ſuch a mettallicall toughneſſe therevnto, that a fall ſhould nothing hurt it in ſuch maner; yet it might peraduenture bunch or batter it; neuertheleſſe, that inconuenience were quickelie to be

[2 p. 167]

But it is a wonder to see our Nobles prefer

Venice Glass to silver.

The new trade in this Venice Glass from Murano has enricht many.

Our poorest folk will have glass too, but home-made, of fern and burnt stone.

But all goes to bits at last.

A fortieth of the Philosopher's Stone in it 'ud make it tough, and hammerable. [*Ro. Bacon.*]

[1] Squire

redreſſed by the hammer. But whither am I ſlipped?]

Gentlefolk and Merchants keep much the same table,

The gentlemen and merchants[1] keepe much about one rate, and each of them contenteth himſelfe with

4 to 6 dishes,

foure,[2] fiue, or ſix diſhes, when they haue but ſmall

or 1 to 3 when they're alone,

reſort, or peraduenture with one, or two, or three at the moſt, when they haue no ſtrangers to accompanie

with separate diet for their servants.

them at their tables.[3] And yet their ſeruants haue their ordinarie diet aſſigned, beſide ſuch as is left at their maſters boordes, & not appointed to be brought thither the ſecond time, which [neuertheleſſe] is often ſeene generallie in veniſon, [lambe,] or ſome eſpeciall diſh, whereon the merchant man himſelfe liketh to feed when it is cold, or peraduenture [for ſundrie cauſes incident to the feeder] is better ſo, than if it were warme or hot. To be ſhort, at ſuch time as the merchants doo make their ordinarie or voluntarie feaſts, it is a world to ſee what great prouiſion is made of all maner of delicat meats, from euerie quarter of the countrie, wherein, beſide that they are often comparable herein to the nobilitie of the land, they will ſeldome regard anie thing that the butcher vſuallie killeth, but reiect the ſame as not worthie to come in place. In ſuch caſes alſo geliffes [of all colours, mixed with a varietie in the repreſentation of ſundrie floures, herbs, trees, formes of beaſts, fiſh, foules and fruits, and therevnto marchpaine wrought with no ſmall curioſitie, tarts of diuerſe hewes and ſundrie denominations,] conſerues [of old fruits forren and home-bred,] ſuckets, codinacs, marmilats, marchpaine, [4]ſugerbread,[4] gingerbread, florentines, wild foule, veniſon of all ſorts, and [ſundrie] outlandiſh confections; [altogither ſeaſoned with ſuger (which *Plinie* calleth *Mel ex arundinibus*, a deuiſe not common nor greatlie vſed in old time at the table, but onelie in medicine, although it grew in Arabia, India & Sicilia)] doo generallie beare the ſwaie, beſides[5] infinit deuiſes of our owne, not poſſible for me to

But at their feasts, their food equals that of Nobles.

They have besides, Jellies, Marchpaine, Tarts, Conserves, (Fr. 'Codignat,) Marmalade of Quinces,' Florentines, Sugard confections.

[1] merchant [2] four or [3] owne table [4]—[4] sugred bread [5] with other

remember. [Of the potato and ſuch venerous roots as are brought out of Spaine, Portingale, and the Indies to furniſh vp our bankets, I ſpeake not, wherin our Mures of no leſſe force, and to be had about Croſbie Rauenſwath, doo now begin to haue place.]

Potato.

Mulberry?

But among all theſe, the kind of meat which is obteined with moſt difficultie [and coſt], is commonlie taken for the moſt delicat, and therevpon each gueſt will ſooneſt deſire to feed. And as all eſtats doo exceed herin, I meane for [ſtrangeneſſe and] number of coſtlie diſhes, ſo theſe forget not to vſe the like exceſſe in wine, in ſomuch as there is no kind to be had (neither anie where more ſtore of all ſorts than in England, [although we haue none growing with vs but yearelie to the proportion of 20000 or 30000 tun and vpwards, notwithſtanding the dailie reſtreincts of the ſame brought ouer vnto vs,] wherof at [1] great meetings there is not ſome [2] ſtore to be had.[2] [Neither doo I meane this of ſmall wines onlie, as Claret, White, Red, French, &c: which amount to about fiftie ſix ſorts, according to the number of regions from whence they come: but alſo of the thirtie kinds of Italian, Grecian, Spaniſh, Canarian, &c: whereof Vernage, Cate pument, Raſpis, Muſcadell, Romnie, Baſtard Lire, Oſeie, Caprike, Clareie & Malmeſeie, are not leaſt of all accompted of, bicauſe of their ſtrength and valure. For as I haue ſaid in meat, ſo, the ſtronger the wine is, the more it is deſired; by means wherof in old time, the beſt was called *Theologicum*, bicauſe it was had from the cleargie and religious men, vnto whoſe houſes manie of the laitie would often ſend for bottels filled with the ſame, being ſure that they would neither drinke nor be ſerued of the worſt, or ſuch as was anie waies mingled or brued by the vintener: naie, the merchant would haue thought that his ſoule ſhould haue gone ſtreightwaie to the diuell, if he ſhould haue ſerued them with other

Excess in wine.

Dearest food the most desir'd.

Of home-grown wine, only 25,000 tun a year.

56 kinds of light wine;

30 of strong wine (see *Babees Book* Index).

Wine, the stronger, the more desir'd.

In old time *Theologicum* was the best wine.

The wine-merchant feard he'd go to the devil if he didn't give the

[1] at such [2—2] portion prouided

clerics the best wine.

than the beſt.] Furthermore, when theſe haue had their courſe which nature yeeldeth, ſundrie ſorts of artificiall ſtuffe [as ypocras & wormewood wine] muſt in like maner ſucceed in their turnes, beſide [ſtale] ale and [ſtrong] beere, which neuertheleſſe beare the greateſt brunt in drinking, and are of ſo manie ſorts and ages as it pleaſeth the bruer to make them.

Artificial wines, Ypocras and Wormwood wine.

[*Beere.*]

The beere that is vſed at noble mens tables [in their fixed and ſtanding houſes] is commonlie of a yeare old, or peraduenture of two yeares tunning or more, but this is not generall. It is alſo brued in March, and therefore called March beere; but for the houſehold, it is vſuallie not vnder a moneths age, ech one coueting to haue the ſame ſtale as he may, ſo that it be not ſowre, and his bread new as is poſſible, ſo that it be not hot.

1 or 2 years old.

March beer.

Stale beer, but new bread.

[*Artificer*]s' and husbandmen's food.

The artificer and huſbandman make greateſt accompt of ſuch meat as they may ſooneſt come by, and haue it quicklieſt readie, [except it be in London when the companies of euery trade doo meet on their quarter daies, at which time they be nothing inferiour to the nobilitie.] Their food alſo conſiſteth principallie in beefe, and ſuch meat as the butcher ſelleth, that is to ſaie, mutton, veale, lambe, porke, &c: whereof he[1] findeth great ſtore in the markets adioining, beſide ſouſe, brawne, bacon, fruit, pies of fruit, foules of ſundrie ſorts, cheeſe, butter, egs, &c: as the other wanteth it not at home, by his owne prouiſion, which is at the beſt hand, and commonlie leaſt charge. In *feaſting* alſo, this latter ſort, [I meane the huſbandmen,] doo exceed after their maner: eſpeciallie at bridales, purifications of women, and ſuch[2] od meetings, where it is incredible to tell what meat is conſumed & ſpent, ech one bringing ſuch a diſh, or ſo manie [with him], as his wife & he doo conſult vpon, but alwaies with this conſideration, that the leefer freend ſhall haue the [3]better

London Companies' Feasts on Quarter-Days.

Working-men eat butcher's meat,

souse (pickl'd pork), fruit pies, &c.

Husbandmen's feasting, at Bridales, Purifications, &c.

The Guests bring their own provisions.

([1] the Artificer) [2] such like [3—3] best intertainement

prouiſion.[3] This alſo is commonlie ſeene at theſe bankets, that the good man of the houſe is not charged with any thing ſauing bread, drink, [ſauce,] houſe[1]roome and fire. But the artificers in cities and good townes doo deale far otherwiſe; for albeit that ſome of them doo ſuffer their iawes to go oft before their clawes, and diuerſe of them, by making good cheere, doo hinder themſelues and other men: yet the wiſer ſort can handle the matter well inough in theſe iunkettings, and therfore their frugalitie deſerueth commendation. To conclude, both the artificer and the huſbandman are ſufficientlie liberall, & verie freendlie at their tables; and when they meet, they are ſo merie without malice, and plaine without inward [Italian or French] craft and ſubtiltie, that it would doo a man good to be in companie among them. Herein onelie are the inferiour ſort [ſomewhat] to be blamed, that being thus aſſembled, their talke is now and then ſuch as ſauoureth of ſcurrilitie and ribaldrie, a thing naturallie incident to carters and clownes, who thinke themſelues not to be merie & welcome, if their fooliſh veines in this behalfe be neuer ſo little reſtreined. This is moreouer to be added in theſe meetings,[2] that if they happen to ſtumble vpon a peece of veniſon, and a cup of wine or verie ſtrong beere or ale (which latter they commonlie prouide againſt their appointed daies) they thinke their cheere ſo great, and themſelues to haue fared ſo well, as the lord Maior of London, with whome, when their bellies be full, they will [not] often [ſticke to] make compariſon, [becauſe that of a ſubiect there is no publike officer of anie citie in Europe, that may compare in port and countenance with him during the time of his office.]

The good-man finds only drink and house-room.

[1 p. 163]

The town workmen are more frugal in feasting than the country ones.

Both artificers and husbandmen are such very friendly folk, that it does a man good to be with 'em,

tho' now and then their talk is scurrilous and ribald.

When they get hold of a bit of venison and a cup of wine, they say,

*I haue dined so well as my lord maior.*

with whom no City Officer in Europe can compare.

I might here talke ſomewhat of the great ſilence that is vſed at the tables of the honorable and wiſer ſort, generallie ouer all the realme [(albeit that too

Silence at the tables of the wiser sort.

[2] assembles

much deſerueth no commendation, for it belongeth to geſts neither to be *muti* nor *loquaces*)] likewiſe of the moderate eating and drinking that is dailie ſeene, and finallie of the regard that each one hath to keepe himſelfe from the note of ſurffetting and dronkenneſſe, (for which cauſe ſalt meat, except beefe, bacon, and porke are not anie whit eſteemed, and yet theſe three may not be much powdered;) but as in rehearſall thereof I ſhould commend the noble man, merchant, and frugall artificer, ſo I could not cleare the meaner ſort of huſbandmen, and countrie inhabitants, of verie much babbling (except it be here and there ſome od yeoman[1]) [with whome, he is thought to be the merieſt, that talketh of moſt ribaldrie, or the wiſeſt man that ſpeaketh faſteſt among them], & now and then ſurffetting and dronkenneſſe, which they rather fall into for want of heed taking, than wilfullie following or delighting in thoſe errours of ſet mind and purpoſe. [It may be that diuers of them liuing at home, with hard and pinching diet, ſmall drinke, and ſome of them hauing ſcarſe inough of that, are ſooneſt ouertaken when they come vnto ſuch bankets; howbeit, they take it generallie as no ſmall diſgrace if they happen to be cupſhotten, ſo that it is a greefe vnto them, though now ſans remedie, ſith the thing is doone and paſt. If the freends alſo of the wealthier ſort come to their houſes from farre, they are commonlie ſo welcome till they depart, as vpon the firſt daie of their comming; wheras in good townes and cities, as London, &c: men oftentimes complaine of little roome; and in reward of a fat capon or plentie of beefe and mutton, largelie beſtowed vpon them in the countrie, a cup of wine or beere with a napkin to wipe their lips, and an "You are hartelie welcome" is thought to be great interteinement; and therefore the old countrie clearkes haue framed this ſaieng in that behalfe, I meane vpon the interteinment of towneſmens

No man of position will stuff or get drunk.

But the poorer husbandmen and country folk do babble,

and get drunk now and then.

Their home fare is hard,

so they're soon upset. But they feel drunkenness is a disgrace.

Wealthy countrymen make their friends welcome however long they stay;

but Londoners

[1] man

and Londoners after the daies of their aboad in this maner:

*Primus iucundus, tollerabilis eſtque ſecundus,*
*Tertius eſt vanus, ſed fetet quatriduanus.*]

wish 'em at the devil after 4 days.

The bread through out the land is made of ſuch graine as the ſoile yeeldeth, neuertheleſſe the gentilitie commonlie prouide themſelues ſufficientlie of wheat for their owne tables, whileſt their houſehold and poore neighbours [in ſome ſhires] are inforced to content themſelues with rie, or barleie, yea, and in time of dearth, [manie] with bread made either of beans, peaſon, or otes, or of altogither [and ſome acornes among,] of which ſcourge the pooreſt doo ſooneſt taſt, ſith they are leaſt able to prouide themſelues of better. I will not ſaie that this extremitie is oft ſo well to be ſeene in time of plentie as of dearth, but if I ſhould, I could eaſilie bring my triall. For albeit that there be much more ground eared now almoſt in euerie place, than hath beene of late yeares, yet ſuch a price of corne continueth in each towne and market without any iuſt cauſe [(except it be that landlords doo get licences to carie corne out of the land onelie to keepe vp the peeces[1] for their owne priuate gaines and ruine of the commonwealth)] that the artificer and poore laboring man, is not able to reach vnto it, but is driuen to content himſelfe with horſſecorne, I meane, beanes, peaſon, otes, tares, and lintels: and theerfore it is a true prouerbe, and neuer ſo well verified as now, that 'hunger ſetteth his firſt foot into the horſſe manger.' If the world laſt a while after this rate, wheate and rie will be no graine for poore men to feed on; and ſome catterpillers there are, that can ſaie ſo much alreadie.

[*Bread.*]

The Gentry eat bread of wheat; the poor of rye or barley; and even of beans, oats, and acorns

And this even in times of plenty, as

corn is so dear.

*A famine at hand is first seene in the horsse manger when the poore doo fall to horsse-corne.*

Two-leggd caterpillars.

Of bread made of wheat, we haue ſundrie ſorts, dailie brought to the table, whereof the firſt and moſt excellent is the mainchet,[2] which we commonlie call

4 kinds of wheat-bread:

1. Manchet,

[1] ? prices—F. [2] manchet

*Primarius panis.* Kinds of wheat-bread.

white bread, in Latine *Primarius panis*, wherof *Budeus* alſo ſpeaketh, in his firſt booke *De aſſe;* [and our good workemen deliuer commonlie ſuch proportion, that of the flower of one buſhell with another, they make fortie caſt of manchet, of which euerie lofe weigheth eight ounces into the ouen, and ſix ounces out, as I haue beene informed.] The ſecond is the cheat or wheaton bread, ſo named bicauſe the colour therof reſembleth the graie [or yellowiſh] wheat [being cleane and well dreſſed,] and out of this is the courſeſt of the bran [1] (vſuallie called gurgeons or pollard) taken. The raueled is a kind of cheat bread alſo, but it reteineth more of the groſſe, and leſſe of the pure ſubſtance of the wheat: and this being more ſleightlie wrought vp, is vſed in the halles [2] of the nobilitie, and gentrie onelie, whereas the other [either] is [or ſhould be] baked in cities & good townes of an appointed ſize (according to ſuch price as the corne dooth beare) [and] by a ſtatute prouided [by king John] in that behalfe. [The raueled cheat therfore is generallie ſo made, that out of one buſhell of meale, after two and twentie pounds of bran be ſifted and taken from it (wherevnto they ad the gurgeons that riſe from the manchet), they make thirtie caſt, euerie lofe weighing eighteene ounces into the ouen, and ſixteene ounces out: and beſide this they ſo handle the matter, that to euerie buſhell of meale they ad onelie two and twentie, or three and twentie, pound of water, waſhing alſo (in ſome houſes) there corne before it go to the mill, whereby their manchet bread is more excellent in colour, and pleaſing to the eie, than otherwiſe it would be.] The next ſort is named browne bread, of the colour, of which we haue two ſorts, one baked vp as it cõmeth from the mill, ſo that neither the bran [3] nor the floure are anie whit diminiſhed: this, *Celſus* called *Autopirus panis, lib.* 2. and putteth it in the ſecond place of nouriſhment. The other hath little or

2. [*Cheat bread.*]

3. [*Rauelled bread.*]

*The size of bread is verie ill kept or not at all looked vnto in the countrie townes and markets.*

4. [*Browne bread.*]
*a.* of whole meal, unsifted,

[1] brennes [2] houses [3] brennes

no floure left therein at all, howbeit he calleth[1] it *Panem Cibarium*, and it is not onlie the woorſt and weakeſt of all the other ſorts, but alſo appointed in old time for ſeruants [ſlaues] and the inferiour kind of people [to feed[2] vpon.] Herevnto likewiſe, bicauſe it is drie and brickle in the working (for it will hardlie be made vp handſomelie into loaues), ſome adde a portion of rie meale [in our time], whereby the rough drineſſe or drie roughnes therof is ſomwhat qualified, & then it is named miſcelin,[3] that is, bread made of mingled corne, albeit that diuerſe doo [ſow or] mingle wheat & rie of [ſet] purpoſe at the mill, [or before it come there] and ſell the ſame at the markets vnder the aforeſaid name.

*Panis Cibarius.* *b.* pollard or brown bread,

[2] p. 169]

with a little rye meal, and calld

Miscelin or Meslin.

In champeigne countries, much rie and barleie bread is eaten, but eſpeciallie where wheat is ſcant and geſon. As for the difference that is betweene the ſummer and winter wheat, moſt huſbandmen know it not, ſith they are neither acquainted with ſummer wheat, nor winter barleie: yet here and there I find of both ſorts, [ſpeciallie in the north, and about Kendall, where they call it March wheat, and alſo of ſummer rie], but in ſo ſmall quantities as that I dare not pronounce them to be greatlie[4] common among vs.

*Summer wheat and winter barleie verie rare in England.*

Our drinke, whoſe force and continuance is partlie touched alreadie, is made of barleie, water, and hops, ſodden and mingled togither, by the induſtrie of our bruers, in a certeine exact proportion. But before our barleie doo come vnto their hands, it ſuſteineth great alteration, and is conuerted into malt, the making whereof I will here ſet downe in ſuch order as my ſkill therein may extend vnto (for I am ſcarſe a good malſter), chiefelie for that forreine writers haue attempted to deſcribe the ſame, and the making of our beere, wherein they haue ſhot ſo farre wide, as the quantitie of ground was betweene themſelues & their marke. In the meane time beare with me, gentle reader (I beſeech

*Drinke,* made of barley, water and hops,

the barley being malted.

*Malt.*

[1] *orig.* callech [3] misselen [4] any thing

thee), that lead thee from the deſcription of the plentifull diet of our countrie, vnto the fond report of a ſeruile trade, or rather, from a table delicatelie furniſhed, into a muſtie malthouſe: but ſuch is now thy hap, wherfore I praie thee be contented.

*Making of malt.*[1]

Our malt is made [all the yeare long in ſome great townes, but in gentlemens and yeomens houſes, who commonlie make ſufficient for their owne expenſes onelie, the winter halfe is thought moſt meet for that commoditie: howbeit, the malt that is made when the willow dooth bud, is commonlie worſt of all; neuertheleſſe, each one indeuoureth to make it] of the beſt barleie,

Barley is steept 3 days and 3 nights,

which is ſteeped in a ceſterne, in greater or leſſe quantitie, by the ſpace of three daies and three nights, vntill it be throughlie ſoked. This being doone, the

draind,

water is drained from it by little and little, till it be quite gone. Afterward they take it out, and laieng it vpon the cleane floore on a round heape, it reſteth ſo

left till it's 'Comming' and 'Come'— till it shoots—

vntill it be readie to ſhoote at the root end, which maltſters call *Comming*. When it beginneth therefore to ſhoot in this maner, they ſaie it is come, and then foorthwith they ſpread it abroad, firſt thicke, and afterward thinner and thinner vpon the ſaid floore (as it

then left on the floor for 21 days,

commeth), and there it lieth (with turning euerie daie foure or fiue times) by the ſpace of one and twentie daies at the leaſt, the workeman not ſuffering it in anie wiſe to take anie heat, whereby the bud end ſhould ſpire, that bringeth foorth the blade, and by which ouerſight [or hurt of the ſtuffe it ſelfe] the malt would be ſpoiled, and [2] turne ſmall commoditie to the bruer.[2]

and lastly, gently heated in a kiln till it's dry.

When it hath gone, or beene turned, ſo long vpon the floore, they carrie it to a kill couered with haire cloth, where they giue it gentle heats (after they haue ſpread it there verie thin abroad) till it be drie, & in the meane while they turne it often, that it may be vniformelie dried. For the more it be dried [(yet muſt it be

[1] maultes [2—2] come to small comoditie

doone with ſoft fire)] the [ſweeter and] better the malt is, and the longer it will continue, whereas if it be not dried downe (as they call it), but ſlackelie handled, it will breed a kind of worme, called a wiuell, which groweth in the floure of the corne, and in proceſſe of time will ſo eat out it ſelfe, that nothing ſhall remaine of the graine but euen the [verie] rind or huſke.

If not quite dried, the malt 'll breed Weevils.

The beſt malt is tried by the hardneſſe & colour, for if it [looke freſh with a yellow hew, & thereto] will write like a peece of chalke, after you haue bitten a kirnell in ſunder in the middeſt, then you may aſſure your ſelfe that it is dried downe. In ſome places it is dried [at leiſure] with wood alone, or ſtrawe alone, in other with wood and ſtrawe togither; but of all, the ſtrawe dried is the moſt excellent. For the wood dried malt when it is brued, beſide that [1] the drinke [1] is higher of colour, it dooth hurt and annoie the head of him that is not vſed thereto, bicauſe of the ſmoake. Such alſo as vſe both indifferentlie, doo [barke,] cleaue, and drie their wood [in an ouen, thereby] to remooue all moiſture that ſhuld procure the fume,[2] and this malt is in the ſecond place, & with the ſame likewiſe, that which is made with dried firze, broome, &c: whereas if they alſo be occupied greene, they are in maner ſo preiudiciall to the corne, as [is] the moiſt wood. And thus much of our malts, in bruing whereof ſome [3] grinde the ſame ſomewhat groſelie, and in ſeething well the liquor that ſhall be put vnto it, they adde to euerie nine quarters of mault one of headcorne, which conſiſteth of ſundrie graine, as wheate [and] otes [4] [groond]. [5] But what haue I to doo with this matter, or rather ſo great a quantitie, wherewith I am not acquainted? Neuertheleſſe, ſith I haue taken occaſion to ſpeake of bruing,

When rightly dried, and bitten thro', it'll write like a bit of chalk.

Straw-dried Malt is the best.

*Bruing of beere.*

Some folk add a ninth of corn to it.

[1]—[1] it [2] smoke [3] they [4] Peason, &c.

[5]—[5] They seeth theyr woort also twise, that is once before they mashe or mire it with the mault and once after after, adding furthermore unto this later seething, a certeine number of englishe hops (*for the outlandish are founde nowe to be the woorst*) according to whose quantitie, the continuance of the drinke is determined.

I will exemplifie in ſuch a proportion as I am beſt ſkilled in, bicauſe it is the vſuall rate for mine owne familie, and once in a moneth practiſed by my wife & hir maid ſeruants, who proceed withall after this maner, as ſhe hath oft informed me.[5]

This is how my wife and her maids brew Beer.

*Goes to p. 160 They grind 8 bushels of malt, add ½ bushel of wheat meal, and ½ of oat meal.

*[Hauing therefore groond eight buſhels of good malt vpon our querne, where the toll is ſaued, ſhe addeth vnto it halfe a buſhell of wheat meale, and ſo much of otes ſmall groond, and ſo tempereth or mixeth them with the malt, that you cannot eaſilie diſcerne the one from the other, otherwiſe theſe later would clunter, fall into lumps, and thereby become vnprofitable. The firſt liquor—which is full eightie gallons, according to the proportion of our furnace,—ſhe maketh boiling hot, and then powreth it ſoftlie into the malt, where it reſteth (but without ſtirring) vntill hir ſecond liquor be almoſt readie to boile. This doone, ſhe letteth hir maſh run till the malt be left without liquor, or at the leaſtwiſe the greateſt part of the moiſture, which ſhe perceiueth by the ſtaie and ſoft iſſue thereof; and by this time hir ſecond liquor in the furnace is ready to ſeeth, which is put alſo to the malt, as the firſt woort alſo againe into the furnace, wherevnto ſhe addeth two pounds of the beſt Engliſh hops, and ſo letteth them ſeeth togither by the ſpace of two houres in ſummer, or an houre and an halfe in winter, whereby it getteth an excellent colour, and continuance without impeachment, or anie ſuperfluous tartneſſe. But before ſhe putteth hir firſt woort into the furnace, or mingleth it with the hops, ſhe taketh out a veſſell full, of eight or nine gallons, which ſhe ſhutteth vp cloſe, and ſuffereth no aire to come into it till it become yellow, and this ſhe reſerueth by it ſelfe vnto further vſe, as ſhall appeare herafter, calling it Brackwoort or Charwoort, and as ſhe ſaith, it addeth alſo to the colour of the drinke, whereby it yeeldeth not vnto amber, or fine gold, in hew vnto the eie. By this time alſo hir ſecond woort is let

Pour on it 80 gallons of boiling water, and run that off;

then another 80 gallons; while in 71 or 72 of the first 80, two lbs of hops are boild for 2 hours,

[*Charwoort.*]

the other 8 or 9 of the first 80 gallons being jugd off as

Brackwort or Charwort.

runne; and the firſt being taken out of the furnace, and placed to coole, ſhe returneth the middle woort vnto the furnace, where it is ſtriken ouer, or from whence it is taken againe, when it beginneth to boile, and maſhed the ſecond time, whileſt the third liquor is heat (for there are three liquors) and [1] this laſt put into the furnace, when the ſecond is maſhed againe. When ſhe hath maſhed alſo the laſt liquor (and ſet the ſecond to coole by the firſt), ſhe letteth it runne, and then ſeetheth it againe with a pound and an halfe of new hops, or peraduenture two pounds, as ſhe ſeeth cauſe by the goodneſſe or baſeneſſe of the hops; & when it hath ſodden, in ſummer two houres, & in winter an houre & an halfe, ſhe ſtriketh it alſo, and reſerueth it vnto mixture with the reſt when time dooth ſerue therefore. Finallie, when ſhe ſetteth hir drinke togither, ſhe addeth to hir brackwoort or charwoort halfe an ounce of arras, and halfe a quarterne of an ounce of baiberries finelie powdered, and then putting the ſame into hir woort, with an handfull of wheat flowre, ſhe proceedeth in ſuch vſuall order as common bruing requireth. Some, in ſteed of arras & baies, adde ſo much long pepper onelie, but, in hir opinion and my liking, it is not ſo good as the firſt, and hereof we make three hoggeſheads of good beere, ſuch (I meane) as is meet for poore men as I am, to liue withall, whoſe ſmall maintenance (for what great thing is fortie pounds a yeare, *Computatis computandis*, able to performe?) may indure no deeper cut, the charges whereof groweth in this manner. I value my malt at ten ſhillings, my wood at foure ſhillings (which I buie), my hops at twentie pence, the ſpice at two pence, ſeruants wages two ſhillings ſix pence, with meat and drinke, and the wearing of my veſſell at twentie pence, ſo that for my twentie ſhillings I haue ten ſcore gallons of beere or more, notwithſtanding the loſſe in ſeething, which ſome being loth to forgo, doo not obſerue the time, and therefore ſpeed thereafter in their

Then the second 80 gallons is masht again; and a third 80 is

[1] p. 170]

boild with 1½ or 2 lbs of fresh hops

for 2 hours.

Then all 3 lots are mixt, ¼ oz. of arras, &c., being added to the Brackwort.

This makes us 3 hogsheads of Beer, fit for poor men like me who've only £40 a year;

and my 200 gallons cost me only 20s.

ſucceſſe, and worthilie. The continuance of the drinke is alwaie determined after the quantitie of the hops, ſo that being well hopped it laſteth longer.*] For it feedeth vpon the hop, and [1]holdeth out[1] ſo long as the force of the ſame continueth, which being extinguiſhed, the drinke [muſt be ſpent, or elſe it] dieth, and becommeth of no value.

The better beer is hopt, the longer it lasts.

(* Insertion began on p. 158.)

In this trade alſo our bruers obſerue verie diligentlie the nature of the water, which they dailie occupie; [and foile through which it paſſeth,] for all waters are not of like goodneſſe, [ſith the fatteſt ſtanding water is alwaies the beſt: for although the waters that run by chalke or cledgie ſoiles be good, and next vnto the Thames water which is the moſt excellent, yet the water that ſtandeth in either of theſe is the beſt for vs that dwell in the countrie, as whereon the ſunne lieth longeſt, and fatteſt fiſh is bred. But of all other, the fennie and moriſh is the worſt, and the cleereſt ſpring water next vnto it.] In this buſines therfore[2] the ſkilfull[3] workeman dooth redeeme the iniquitie of that element, by changing of his proportions, which trouble in ale (ſometime our onelie, but now taken with manie[4] for old and ſickmens drinke) is neuer ſeene nor heard of. Howbeit, as the beere well[5] ſodden in the bruing,[5] and ſtale, is cleere and well coloured as muſcadell or malueſeie, [or rather, yellow as the gold noble, as our potknights call it:] ſo our ale, which is not at all or verie little ſodden, and without hops, is more thicke, fulſome, and of no ſuch continuance, which are three notable things to be conſidered in that liquor. But what for that? Certes I know ſome aleknights ſo much addicted therevnto, that they will not ceaſſe from morow vntill euen to viſit the ſame, clenſing houſe after houſe, till they defile themſelues, [and either fall quite vnder the boord, or elſe not daring to ſtirre from their ſtooles, ſit ſtill pinking with their narrow eies as halfe ſleeping, till the fume of their

Brewers look well to the water they use.

Thames water's the best for brewing.

Fen and marsh water the worst, and clear spring water the next worst.

Well brewd

beer's as yellow as a gold Noble.

Ale isn't hopt, is thick, and soon turns; and yet some Ale-knights 'll drink it all day long.

[1]—[1] lasteth [2] wherefore [3] diligent [4] manie only [5]—[5] brued

aduerſarie be digeſted that he may go to it afreſh.] Such ſlights alſo haue the alewiues for the vtterance of this drinke, that they will mixe it with roſen and ſalt: but if you heat a knife red hot, and quench it in the ale ſo neere the bottome of the pot as you can put it, you ſhall ſee the roſen [come foorth] hanging on the knife. As for the force of ſalt, it is well knowne by the effect, for the more the drinker tipleth, the more he may, and ſo dooth he carrie [off] a drie dronken noll[1] to bed with him, except his lucke be the better. But to my purpoſe.

Alewives' tricks: they mix rosin and salt in their ale.

In ſome places of England, there is a kind of drinke made of apples, which they call cider or pomage, but that of peares is named pirrie, [and both are groond and preſſed in preſſes made for the nonce.] Certes theſe two are verie common in [Suſſex,] Kent, Worceſter, and other ſteeds, where theſe ſorts[2] of fruits doo abound, howbeit they are not their onelie drinke at all times, but referred vnto the delicate ſorts of drinke, as metheglin is in Wales, whereof the Welſhmen make no leſſe accompt [and not without cauſe if it be well handled)] than the Greekes did of their Ambroſia or Nectar, which for the pleaſantneſſe thereof, was ſuppoſed to be ſuch as the gods[3] themſelues did [4] delite in.[4] There is a kind of ſwiſh ſwaſh made alſo in Eſſex, and diuerſe other places, with honicombs[5] and water, which the [homelie] countrie wiues, putting ſome pepper and a little other ſpice among, call mead, verie good in mine opinion for ſuch as loue to be looſe bodied [at large, or a little eaſed of the cough,] otherwiſe it differeth ſo much from the true metheglin, as chalke[6] from cheeſe. Trulie it is nothing elſe but the waſhing of the combes, when the honie is wroong out, and one of the beſt things that I know belonging thereto is, that they ſpend but litle labour, and leſſe coſt, in making of the ſame, and therefore no great loſſe if it were neuer occupied.

*Cider.*

*Perrie.*

*Metheglin.*

A kind of swish-swash calld

*Mead.*

no more like Metheglin than chalk is like cheese.

[*Hydromel.*]

[1] soule [2] kindes [3] goddesse [4—4] use [5] Hony [6] chalke doth

So much for our folks' diet: but I've promist my friend to add more.

Hitherto of the diet of my countrimen, & ſomewhat more at large peraduenture than manie men will like of, wherefore I thinke good now to finiſh this tract-ation,[1] and ſo will I, when I haue added a few other things incident vnto that which goeth before, whereby the whole proceſſe of the ſame ſhall fullie be deliuered, & my promiſe to my freend in this behalfe performed.

*Lesse time spent in eating than heretofore.* Formerly 4 meals a day: 1. breakfast, 2. dinner, 3. beverages or nuntions, 4. late suppers;

Heretofore there hath beene much more time ſpent in eating and drinking than commonlie is in theſe daies, for whereas of old we had breakefaſts in the forenoone, beuerages, or nuntions after dinner, and thereto reare ſuppers generallie when it was time to go to reſt (a toie brought [2]into England[2] by hardie[3] *Canutus* [and a cuſtome whereof *Athenæus* alſo ſpeaketh *lib.* 1, albeit *Hippocrates* ſpeake but of twiſe at the moſt *lib.* 2. *De rat vict. in feb. ac.*]) Now theſe od repaſts—thanked be God—are verie well left, and ech one in maner (except here and there ſome yoong hungrie ſtomach[4] that cannot faſt till dinner time) contenteth himſelfe with dinner & ſupper onelie. The Normans miſliking the gormandiſe of *Canutus*, ordeined after their arriuall, that no table ſhould be couered aboue once in the daie, which *Huntingdon* imputeth to their auarice: but in the end, either waxing wearie of their owne frugalitie, or ſuffering the cockle of old cuſtome to ouergrow the good corne of their new conſtitution, they fell to ſuch libertie, that in often feeding they ſurmounted *Canutus* ſurnamed the hardie. For whereas he couered his table but three or foure times in the daie, theſe[5] ſpred their clothes fiue or ſix times, and in ſuch wiſe as I before rehearſed. They brought in alſo the cuſtome of long and ſtatelie ſitting at meat, [6]whereby their feaſts reſembled thoſe ancient pontificall bankets whereof *Macrobius* ſpeaketh *lib.* 3. *cap.* 13. and *Plin. lib.* 10. *cap.* 10. and which for ſumptuouſneſſe of fare, long ſitting,

now only 2, dinner and supper.

*Canutus a glutton, but the Normans at the last exceeded him in that vice.* Had 5 or 6 meals a day, and sat long at them.

[1] chapter [2—2] in [3] hard [4] stomacke [5] they [6—6] which is not yet left

and curiositie shewed in the same, exceeded all other mens feasting; which fondnesse is not yet left with vs, notwithstanding that it proueth verie beneficiall for the physicians, who most abound, where most excesse and misgouernement of our bodies doo appeere,[6] [1] although it be a great expense of time, and worthie [of] reprehension. For the nobilitie, gentlemen, and merchantmen, especiallie at great meetings, doo sit commonlie till two or three of the clocke at afternoone, so that with manie is an hard matter, to rise from the table to go to euening praier, and returne from thence to come time inough to supper. For my part, I am persuaded that the purpose of the Normans at the first was to reduce the ancient Roman order [or Danish custome] in feeding once in the daie, and toward the euening, as I haue red and noted. [And] indeed the Romans had such a custome, and likewise the Grecians,[2] as may appeere by the words of *Socrates*, who said vnto the *Atheniens*, *Oriente sole consilium, occidente conuiuium est cogitandum*, [although a little something was allowed in the morning to yoong children which we now call a breakefast.] *Plato* called the Sicilians monsters, for[3] that they vsed to eat twise in the daie. Among the Persians onelie the king dined when the sunne was at the highest, and shadow of the stile at the shortest: the rest (as it is reported) went alwaies [but once] to meat when[4] their stomachs craued it, [as the Canariens and Indians doo in my time (who, if appetite serue, refuse not to go to meat at anie houre of the night), and likewise the ancient Caspians. Yet *Arhianus* noteth it as a rare thing, *li.* 4. *cap.* 16. that the Tyrhenians had taken vp an ill custome to feed twise in a daie.] Howbeit at the last they fell generallie to allow of suppers toward the setting of the sunne [in all places,] bicause they would haue [5]their whole[5] familie to go to meat togither, and wherevnto they

This folly still keeps-on, for doctors' good.

[1] p. 171]

Nobles and rich men still sit at table till 2 or 3 P.M., having only just time for Prayers, *Long sitting reprehended.*

and then home to supper.

The Normans wisht at first to bring back the old Roman custom of 1 meal a day.

The Greeks allowd young children a Breakfast.

The Canarians and Indians eat once a day, when they're hungry.

[2] Gretians [3] in [4] as [5—5] all their

would appoint their gueſts to come at a certeine length of the ſhadow, to be perceiued in their dials. [And this is more to be noted of antiquitie, that if anie man (as *Plutarch* ſaith) did feed before that time, he incurred a note of reprehenſion as if he had beene gluttonous and giuen vnto the bellie, 8. *Sympoſ.* 6.] Their ſlaues in like ſort were glad, when it grew[1] to the tenth foot, for then were they ſure ſoone after to go to meat. In the ſcripture we read of manie ſuppers & few dinners, onelie for that dining was not greatlie vſed in Chriſts time, but taken as a thing latelie sproong vp, when pampering of the bellie began to take hold, occaſioned by idlenes and great abundance of riches. It is pretie to note in Iuuenal, how he taunteth *Marius* for that he gaue himſelfe to drinke[2] before the *ninth houre of the daie: for thinking three houres to be too little for the filling of his bellie, he began commonlie at eight, which was an houre too ſoone. Afterwards [when gurmandiſe increaſed yet more amongſt the Romans, and from them was diſperſed vnto all nations vnder their ſubiection, it came to paſſe that] ſix houres onlie were appointed to worke and conſult in, and the other ſix of the daie to feed and drinke in, as the verſe ſaith:

Plutarch says that any one who eat before sunset was thought a glutton.

Dining wasn't much us'd in Christ's time.

*That is at three of the clocke at afternoone.

The later Romans workt only 6 hours a day, and eat and drank the other 6.

*Sex horæ tantùm*[3] *rebus tribuantur agendis,*[4]
*Viuere poſt illas, littera zetha monet.*

[Wherevnto *Maximus Planudes* (except my memorie faile me) addeth this ſcholie after his maner, ſaieng that from morning vnto noone (which is ſix of the clocke after the vnequall accompt) each one dooth trauell about his neceſſarie affaires, that being doone, he betaketh himſelfe to the refreſhing of his bodie, which is noted and ſet downe by the Greeke letters of the diall (wherewith the Romane horologies were marked, as ours be with their numerall letters) whereby

[1] grewed [2] drinking [3] tanto [4] agendus

the time is deſcribed; for thoſe which point 7, 8, 9, and 10 are written with ξ η θ ι, and being ioined yeeld ξηθι, which in Engliſh ſignifieth ſo much as "liue," as if they ſhould meane, eat that thou maiſt liue.] But how *Martial* diuided his daie, and with him the whole troope of the learned & wiſer ſort, theſe verſes following doo more euidentlie declare: Martial's diuision of his day:

*Prima ſalutantes, atque altera continet horas,* *Li. 4. epig. 8.*
*Exercet raucos tertia cauſidicos.*
*In quintam varios extendit Roma labores,*
*Sexta quies laſſis, ſeptima finis erit.*
*Sufficit in nonam nitidis octaua paleſtris,*
*Imperat extructos frangere nona thoros.*
*Hora libellorum decima eſt Eupheme meorum,*
*Temperat Ambroſias cum tua cura dapes.* he didn't eat and drink till after the 10th hour.
*Et bonus æthereo laxatur Nectare Cæſar,*
*Ingentique tenet pocula parcamanu.*
*Tunc admitte iocos: greſſu timet ire licenti,*
*Ad matutinum noſtra Thaleia Iouem.*

Thus we ſee how the ancient maner of the Gentils was to feed but once in the daie, and that toward night, till gluttonie grew on and altered this[1] good cuſtome. [I might here remember alſo their maner in pulling off their ſhooes when they ſat downe to meat, whereof *Martial* ſaith: The Romans pulld off their shoes when they sat down to meat.

*Depoſui ſoleas, affertur protinus ingens*
*Inter lactucas oxygarmumque liber, &c.*

And *Tullie* alſo remembreth where he ſaith *Seruum à pedibus ad te miſi*, which office grew of the ſaid cuſtome, as *Seruus ad limina* did of keeping the doore, though in moſt houſes both theſe were commonlie one mans office, alſo *Ad pocula* of attending on the cup. But bicauſe the good writers of our time haue obſerued theſe phraſes and ſuch like with their cauſes and deſcriptions, in their infinite and ſeuerall trea-

[1] that

tiſes, I ſhall not need to diſcourſe anie farther vpon them.] With vs the nobilitie, gentrie, and ſtudents, doo ordinarilie go to dinner at eleuen before noone, and to ſupper at fiue, or betweene fiue and ſix at afternoone. The merchants dine and ſup ſeldome before twelue at noone, and ſix at night eſpeciallie in London. The huſbandmen dine alſo at high noone as they call it, and ſup at ſeuen or eight: but out of the tearme in our vniuerſities the ſcholers dine at ten. As for the pooreſt ſort they generallie dine and ſup when they may, ſo that to talke of their order of repaſt, it were but [a] needleſſe matter. [I might here take occaſion alſo to ſet downe the varietie vſed by antiquitie in their beginnings of their diets, wherin almoſt euerie nation had a ſeuerall faſhion, ſome beginning of cuſtome (as we doo in ſummer time) with ſalets at ſupper, and ſome ending with lettice, ſome making their entrie with egs, and ſhutting vp their tables with mulberies, as we doo with fruit and conceits of all ſorts. Diuerſe (as the old Romans) began with a few crops of rue, as the Venetians did with the fiſh called *Gobius*, the Belgies with butter (or as we doo yet alſo) with butter and egs vpon fiſh daies. But whereas we commonlie begin with the moſt groſſe food, and end with the moſt delicate, the Scot thinking much to leaue the beſt for his meniall ſeruants maketh his entrance at the beſt, ſo that he is ſure therby to leaue the worſt. We vſe also our wines by degrees, ſo that the hoteſt commeth laſt to the table: but to ſtand vpon ſuch toies would ſpend much time, and turne to ſmall profit, wherfore I will deale with other things more neceſſarie for this turne.]

Nobles and gentlefolk dine at 11 A.M. and sup at 5.

Merchants at 12, and 6 P.M.

Husbandmen at 12, and 7 or 8.

Scholars dine at 10.

The poor when they can.

We begin with butter and eggs on fish-days.

We eat the coarsest food first, the most delicate last;

and drink our mildest wines first, the hottest last.

# Of their[1] apparell and attire.

## Chap. 7.[2]

AN Engliſhman, indeuoring ſometime to write of our attire, made ſundrie platformes for his purpoſe, ſuppoſing by ſome of them to find out one ſtedfaſt ground whereon to build the ſumme of his diſcourſe. But in the end (like an oratour long without exerciſe) when he ſaw what [3]a difficult peece of worke he had taken in hand, he gaue ouer his trauell, and onelie drue the picture of a naked man,[4]

Andrew Boorde tried to describe our English dress,

[3] p. 172]

but was forct to draw only a naked man,

[1] our

[2] In '77 ed. this is Chap. 2, Book III.

[4]

¶ I am an English man, and naked I stand here,
Musyng in my mynde what rayment I shal were;
For now I wyll were thys, and now I wyl were that;
Now I wyl were I cannot tel what.
All new fashyons be plesaunt to me;
I wyl haue them, whether I thryue or thee.

From *Andrew Boorde's Introduction* (1547) *and Dyetary* (1542), ed. F. J. F. for

with a pair of sheare and a piece of cloth.

vnto whome he gaue a paire of ſheares in the one hand, and a peece of cloth in the other, to the end he ſhould ſhape his apparell after ſuch faſhion as himſelfe liked, ſith he could find no kind of garment that could pleaſe him anie while togither; and this he called an Engliſh-man. Certes this writer (otherwiſe being a lewd [popiſh hypocrite] and vngratious prieſt[1]) ſhewed him-ſelfe herein not to be [altogether] void of iudgement; ſith the phantaſticall follie of our nation, [euen from the courtier to the carter] is ſuch, that no forme of apparell liketh vs longer than the firſt garment is in the wearing, if it continue ſo long, and be not laid aſide to receiue ſome other trinket newlie deuiſed by the fickle headed tailors, who couet to haue ſeuerall trickes in cutting, thereby to draw fond cuſtomers to more ex-penſe of monie. For my part I can tell better how to inueigh againſt this enormitie, than deſcribe [anie cer-teintie of] our attire: ſithence ſuch is our mutabilitie, that to daie there is none to the Spaniſh guiſe, to morrow the French toies are moſt fine and delect-able, yer[2] long no ſuch apparell as that which is after the high Alman[3] faſhion, by and by the Turkiſh maner is generallie beſt liked of, otherwiſe the Mo-riſco gowns, the[4] Barbarian ſleeues [the mandilion worne to Collie weſton ward, and the ſhort French breches] make ſuch a comelie veſture, that except it were a dog in a doublet, you ſhall not ſee anie ſo diſ-guiſed, as are my countrie men of England.[5] And as theſe faſhions are diuerſe, ſo likewiſe it is a world to ſee the coſtlineſſe and the curioſitie: the exceſſe and

*Andrew Boord*

hit the right nail on the head here, for our fanciful folly in dress is astonishing.

[*Strange cuts.*]

I can't describe Englishmen's dress; first

Spanish; then

French; then

German; then

Turkish; then

Barbary-an:

they look as absurd as a dog in a doublet.

E. E. Text Soc., 1870, p. 116. (A most quaint and interesting volume, though I say so.)—F.

[1] This is too harsh a character of Boorde: for a juster one, as I hope, see my Preface to his *Introduction*, p. 105.—F.

[2] ere [3] Almaine [see *Halle*, p. 516, 527.] [4] and the

[5] See Wynkyn de Worde's *Treatyse of this Galaunt* (? ab. 1520 A.D.) in my *Ballads from Manuscripts* (1520-54), vol. i. p. 438-453 (Ballad Soc., 1868 and 1872), a satire on the Gallant or vicious Dandy of the day.—F.

the vanitie: the pompe and the brauerie: the change and the varietie: and finallie the fickleneſſe and the follie, that is in all degrees: in ſomuch that nothing is more conſtant in England than inconſtancie of attire. [Oh how much coſt is beſtowed now adaies vpon our bodies and how little vpon our ſoules! how manie ſutes of apparell hath the one, and how little furniture hath the other? how long time is aſked in decking vp of the firſt, and how little ſpace left wherin to feed the later? how curious, how nice alſo, are a number of men and women, and how hardlie can the tailor pleaſe them in making it fit for their bodies? how manie times muſt it be ſent backe againe to him that made it? what chafing, what fretting, what reprochfull language doth the poore workeman beare awaie? and manie times when he dooth nothing to it at all, yet when it is brought home againe it is verie fit and handſome; then muſt we put it on, then muſt the long ſeames of our hoſe be ſet by a plumb-line, then we puffe, then we blow, and finallie ſweat till we drop, that our clothes may ſtand well vpon vs. I will ſaie nothing of our heads, which ſometimes are polled, ſometimes curled, or ſuffered to grow at length like womans lockes, manie times cut off, aboue or vnder the eares, round as by a woodden diſh. Neither will I meddle with our varietie of beards, of which ſome are ſhauen from the chin like thoſe of Turks, not a few cut ſhort like to the beard of marques Otto, ſome made round like a rubbing bruſh, other with a *pique de vant* (O fine faſhion!) or now and then ſuffered to grow long, the barbers being growen to be ſo cunning in this behalfe as the tailors. And therfore if a man haue a leane and ſtreight face, a marqueſſe Ottons cut will make it broad and large; if it be platter like, a long ſlender beard will make it ſeeme the narrower; if he be weſell becked, then much heare left on the cheekes will make the owner looke big like a bowdled

Fickloness and folly of the English in dress.

[*Much cost vpon the bodie, and little vpon the soule.*]

How men and women worry the tailor,

and abuse him!

Then the trying-on!

We sweat till we drop, to make our clothes fit.

Our hair we poll, or curl; wear long or cropt.

[*Beards.*]

Different kinds of beards for lean faces, platter

ones, weasel-beakt ones.

hen, and ſo grim as a gooſe, if Cornelis of Chelmereſford ſaie true: manie old men doo weare no beards at all. Some luſtie courtiers alſo and gentlemen of courage, doo weare either rings of gold, ſtones, or pearle in their eares, whereby they imagine the workemanſhip of God not to be a little amended. But herein they rather diſgrace than adorne their perſons, as by their niceneſſe in apparell,] [1] for which I ſaie moſt nations doo not vniuſtlie deride vs, as alſo for that we doo ſeeme to imitate all nations round about vs, wherein we be like to the *Polypus* or Chameleon; and therevnto [1] beſtow moſt coſt vpon our arſes, & much more than vpon all the reſt of our bodies, as women doo likewiſe vpon their heads and ſhoulders. In women alſo it is moſt to be lamented, that they doo now farre exceed the lightneſſe of our men (who neuertheleſſe are tranſformed from the cap euen to the verie ſhoo) and ſuch ſtaring attire as in time paſt was ſuppoſed meet for none but light houſewiues onelie,[3] is now become an habit for chaſt and ſober matrones. What ſhould I ſaie of their doublets with pendant codpeeſes on the breſt full of iags & cuts, and ſleeues of ſundrie colours? their galligaſcons [to beare out their bums & make their attire to ſit plum round (as they terme it) about them? their fardingals, and diuerſlie] coloured nether ſtocks [of ſilke, ierdſeie,] and ſuch like, whereby their bodies are rather deformed than commended? I haue met with ſome of [2] theſe trulles [2] in London [3] ſo [4] diſguiſed, that it hath paſſed my

Some courtiers wear rings in their ears, to improve God's work.

Men spend most on their arses, and women on their heads.

[*Excesse in women.*] Women are far worse than men. Whores' dress is worn by sober matrons.

They've codpieces on their breasts, galligaskins on their bums,

and many-colourd stockings.

Of some in London, I couldn't tell

[1]—[1] Neither can we be more iustly burdened with any reproche, then inordinate behauiour in apparrell, for which most nations deride us as also for that we men do seeme to [2]—[2] them

[3] See Robert Crowley's Epigram "Of Nice rogues" in his *One and thyrtye Epigrammes*, 1550 (E. E. T. Soc., 1871):

What shold we thynk of *the* women
*that* in London we *se*?
For more wanton lokes
I dare boldely saye,
Were neuer in Jewyshe whores
then in London wyues thys daye.
And if gate and garmentes
do shewe any thynge,

[4] so but

ſkill to diſcerne whether they were men or women. whether they were men or women.

Thus it is now come to paſſe, that women are become men, and men tranſformed[1] into monſters: and thoſe good gifts which almightie God hath giuen vnto vs to releeue our neceſſities withall [(as a nation turning altogither the grace of God into wantonneſſe, for God's good gifts are turnd into wantonness.

*Luxuriant animi rebus plerunque ſecundis*)]

not otherwiſe beſtowed than[2] in all exceſſe, as if we wiſt not otherwiſe how to conſume and waſt them. I praie God that in this behalfe our ſinne be not like vnto that of Sodoma and Gomorha, whoſe errors were pride, exceſſe of diet, and abuſe of Gods benefits aboundantlie beſtowed vpon them, beſide want of charitie toward the poore, and certeine other points which the prophet ſhutteth vp in ſilence. Certes the common-wealth cannot be ſaid to floriſh where theſe abuſes reigne, but is rather oppreſſed by vnreaſonable exactions made vpon [rich] farmers, and [of poore] tenants, wherewith to maintejne the ſame. Neither *Ezech.* 16. These abuses too cause exactions from poor tenants.

Our wiues do passe their whoris
in whorelyke deckynge.
I thynk the abbominable
whores of the Stews,
Dyd neuer more whorelyke
attyrementes vse.
The cappe on hyr beade
is lyke a Sowes mawe:
Such an other facion
I thynk neuer Jewe sawe.
Then fyne geare on the foreheade
settle after the new trycke,
Though it coste a crowne or two,
What then? they may not stycke.
If theyr heyre wyl not take colour,
then must they by newe;
And laye it oute in tussockis:
this thynge is to true.
At each syde a tussocke
as bygge as a ball.
A very fayre syght
for a fornicator bestiall.

Hyr face faire paynted
to make it shyne bryght,
And hyr bosome all bare,
and most whorelyke dight.
Hyr mydle braced in,
as smal as a wande;
And some by wastes of wyre
at the paste wyfes hand.
A bumbe lyke a barrell,
with whoopes at the skyrte,
Hyr shoes of such stuffe
that may touche no dyrte.
Vpon hyr whyte fyngers
manye rynges of golde
Wyth such maner stones
as are most dearlye solde.
. . . . . .
I haue tolde them but trueth,
let them saye what they wyll;
I haue sayde they be whorelike,
and so I saye still.

Shakspere complains of women painting their faces, and wearing sham hair, in *Loves Labours Lost*, IV. iii., and of the locks from 'the skull that bred them in the sepulchre', in *The Merchant*, III. ii.—F.

[1] turned [2] them

Dress in old times.

was it euer merier with England, than[1] when an Engliſhman was knowne [abroad] by his owne cloth, and contented himſelfe [at home] with his fine carſie hoſen, and a meane ſlop: his coat, gowne, and cloake of browne blue or puke, with ſome pretie furniture of veluet or furre, and a doublet of ſad tawnie, or blacke veluet, or other comelie ſilke, without ſuch [cuts and] gawriſh colours as are worne in theſe daies, and neuer brought in but by the conſent of the French, who thinke themſelues the gaieſt men, when they haue moſt diuerſitie[s of iagges,] and change of colours, about them. [Certes of all eſtates our merchants doo leaſt alter their attire, and therefore are moſt to be commended: for albeit that which they weare be verie fine and coſtlie, yet in forme and colour it repreſenteth a great peece of the ancient grauitie apperteining to citizens and burgeſſes, albeit the yoonger ſort of their wiues both in attire and coſtlie houſekeeping can not tell when and how to make an end, as being women in deed in whome all kind of curioſitie is to be found and ſeene, and in farre greater meaſure than in women of higher calling.] I might here name a ſort of hewes deuiſed for the nonce, wherewith to pleaſe phantaſticall heads, as gooſeturd greene,[2] [peaſe porrige tawnie, popingaie blue,[3] luſtie gallant,] the diuell in the head (I ſhould ſaie the hedge) and ſuch like: but I paſſe them ouer[4] thinking it ſufficient to haue ſaid thus much of apparell generallie, when nothing can particularlie be ſpoken of anie conſtancie thereof.

[*Attire of merchants.*]

They still keep to the old gravity befitting burgesses. But their young wives are worse than women of higher state.

Fashionable colours in Elizabeth's time: goose-turd green (Victorian 'eau de Nile'), Devil in the Hedge, &c.

[1 p. 177]

[1] then

[2] *Ver d'oye.* Goose-turd greene; a greenish yellow; or a colour which is betweene a greene and a yellow.—Cotgrave.

[3] *Verd gay.* A Popiniay greene.—Cotgrave.

[For Chaucer's complaints of the men's and women's dress of his day, see his *Parson's Tale*, Pt. 2, of Confession, *De Superbia.* For a ballad on the fantastic dresses of Charles I.'s time, see Roxb. Coll. I. 476, Ballad Soc. reprint ii. 117, and 97. And on the point generally, see the Percy Society's 'Poems on Costume.']

# [Of the high court of parlement, and *authoritie of the ſame.*

## Chap. 8.[1]

IN ſpeaking of parlement lawe, I haue in the chapiter precedent ſaid ſomewhat of this high and moſt honorable court. Wherefore it ſhall not need to remember ought heere that is there touched: I will onelie ſpeake of other things therefore concerning the eſtate of aſſemblie, whereby the magnificence thereof ſhall be in ſome part better knowne vnto ſuch as ſhall come after vs. This houſe hath the moſt high and abſolute power of the realme, for thereby kings and mightie princes haue from time to time beene depoſed from their thrones, lawes either enacted or abrogated, offendors of all ſorts puniſhed, and corrupted religion either diſſanulled or reformed, which commonlie is diuided into two houſes or parts, the higher or vpper houſe conſiſting of the nobilitie, including all euen vnto the baron and biſhop: the lower called the nether houſe of knights, ſquires, gentlemen, and burgeſſes of the commons, with whome alſo the inferior members of the cleargie are ioined, albeit they ſit in diuerſe places, and theſe haue to deale onelie in matters of religion, till it come that they ioine with the reſt in confirmation of all ſuch acts as are to paſſe in the ſame. For without the conſent of the three eſtates, that is, of the nobilitie, cleargie, and laietie, ſildome anie thing is ſaid to be concluded vpon, and brought vnto the prince for his conſent and allowance. To be ſhort, whatſoeuer the people of Rome did in their *Centuriatis* or *Tribunitijs comitijs*, the ſame is and may be doone by authoritie of our parlement houſe, which is the head and bodie of all the realme, and the place wherein

Parliament is

the highest power in the realm, and has depos'd kings.

[*The parlement house diuideth the estate of the realme into nobilitie and the commons.*]

The Upper House, and Nether House.

The lower Clergy

sit with the Commons to confirm all Acts.

Consent of the Three Estates,—Nobility, Clergy, and Laity,—before bills, etc., go to the King.

[1] Excepting the list of members of Parliament at the end, this chapter does not appear at all in the 1577 ed.

euerie particular perſon is intended to be preſent, if not by himſelfe, yet by his aduocate or atturneie. For this cauſe alſo any thing ther enacted is not to be miſliked, but obeied of all men without contradiction or grudge.

All men to obey Parliament.

[*Time of sommons.*] 40 days.

By the ſpace of fortie dais, before this aſſemblie be begun, the prince ſendeth his writs vnto all his nobilitie particularlie, ſummoning them to appeare at the ſaid court. The like he doth to the ſhiriffe of euerie countie; with commandement to chooſe two knights within ech of their counties, to giue their aduiſe in the name of the ſhire; likewiſe to euerie citie and towne, that they may chooſe their burgeſſes, which commonlie are men beſt ſkilled in the ſtate of their citie or towne, either for the declaration of ſuch benefits as they want, or to ſhew which waie to reforme ſuch enormities as thorough the practiſes of ill members are practiſed and crept in among them: the firſt being choſen by the gentlemen of the ſhire, the other by the citizens and burgeſſes of euerie citie and towne, whereby that court is furniſhed. The firſt daie of the parlement being come, the lords of the vpper houſe, as well eccleſiaſticall as temporall, doo attend vpon the prince, who rideth thither in perſon, as it were to open the doore of their authoritie; and being come into the place, after praiers made, and cauſes ſhewed, wherefore ſome not preſent are inforced to be abſent, each man taketh his place according to his degree. The houſe it ſelfe is curiouſlie furniſhed with tapiſterie, and the king being ſet in his throne, the ſpirituall lords take vp the ſide of the houſe which is on the right hand of the prince, and the temporall lords the left, I meane, ſo well dukes and earles, as viſcounts and barons, as I before remembred. In the middeſt and a pretie diſtance from the prince, lie certeine ſackes ſtuffed with wooll or haire, wheron the iudges of the realme, the maſter of the rols, and ſecretaries of eſtate doo ſit. Howbeit theſe iudges haue no voice in the houſe, but onelie ſhew what their opinion is of ſuch &

Writs to Sheriffs of Counties to choose 2 Knights,

and to Towns to choose Burgesses.

Electors in shire and town.

[*Of the vpper house.*]

House of Lords tapestri'd.

[*Places of the peeres.*] Spiritual Lords on the King's right: Temporal Lords on his left. Between, the Judges, &c., on woolsacks.

ſuch matters as come in queſtion among the lords, if they be commanded ſo to doo: as the ſecretaries are to anſwer ſuch letters or things paſſed in the councell, whereof they haue the cuſtodie & knowledge. Finallie, the conſent of this houſe is giuen by each man ſeuerallie, firſt for himſelfe being preſent, then ſeuerallie for ſo manie as he hath letters & proxies directed vnto him, ſaieng onlie; *Content* or *Not content*, without any further debating. Of the number aſſembled in the lower houſe, I haue alreadie made a generall report in the chapter precedent, and their particulars ſhall follow here at hand. Theſe therefore being called ouer by name, do chooſe a ſpeaker, who is as it were their mouth, and him they preſent vnto the prince, in whom it is either to refuſe or admit him by the lord chancellor, who in the princes name dooth anſwer vnto his oration, made at his firſt entrance & preſentation into the houſe, wherein he declareth the good liking that the king hath conceiued of his choiſe vnto that office & function. Being admitted, he maketh fiue requeſts vnto that honorable aſſemblie, firſt that the houſe may (as in times paſt) inioy hir former liberties and priuileges: ſecondlie, that the congregates may frankelie ſhew their minds vpon ſuch matters as are to come in queſtion: thirdlie, that if anie of the lower houſe doo giue anie cauſe of offenſe during the continuance of this aſſemblie, that the ſame may inflict ſuch puniſhment vpon the partie culpable, as to the ſaid aſſemblie ſhall be thought conuenient: fourthlie, if anie doubt ſhould ariſe among them of the lower houſe, that he in their name might haue free acceſſe and recourſe vnto his maieſtie & lords of the higher houſe, to be further inſtructed and reſolued in the ſame: fiftlie and laſt, he craueth pardon for himſelfe, if in his going to and fro betweene the houſes, he forget or miſtake anie thing, requiring that he may returne and be better informed in ſuch things as he did faile in without offenſe: vnto which petitions the lord

The Upper House.

Peers vote in person, or by proxy, without debating.

[*Of the lower house.*

*Speaker,*]

the Mouth of the House.

The King can refuse or admit him.

Five [*Petitions of the speaker*] to the Lord Chancellor, for,
1. the House's privileges,
2. right of free speech,
3. of punishing its own offenders,

4. of access to the Lords and King,

5. forgiveness for his mistakes.

chancellor dooth anſwer as apperteineth, and this is doone on the firſt daie, or peraduenture the ſecond, if it could not be conuenientlie performed in the firſt.

[*Clerke of the parlement*] reads the Bills,

Beſide the lord chancellor there is another in the vpper houſe called the clerke of the parlement, whoſe office is to read the billes. For euerie thing that commeth in conſultation in either houſe, is firſt put in writing in paper, which being read, he that liſteth, riſeth vp and ſpeaketh either with it or againſt it, and ſo one after another ſo long as they ſhall thinke good; that doone, they go to another, and ſo to the third, &c: the inſtrument ſtill wholie or in part raced or reformed, as cauſe moueth for the amendment of the ſame if the ſubſtance be reputed neceſſarie. In the vpper houſe the lord chancellor demandeth if they will haue it ingroſſed, that is to ſaie, put in parchment, which doone, it is read the third time, & after debating of the matter to and fro, if the more part doo conclude withall, vpon the vtterance of theſe words, *Are ye contented that it be enacted or no?* the clerke writeth vnderneath *Soit baille aux commons*, and ſo when they ſee time they ſend ſuch billes approued, to the commons, by ſome of them that ſit on the wooll ſackes, who comming into the houſe, & demanding licence to ſpeake, doo vſe this kind of words or the like to the ſpeaker, as ſir *Thomas Smith* dooth deliuer [1]and ſet them downe, whoſe onelie direction I vſe, and almoſt word for word in this chapter, requiting him with the like borowage as he hath vſed toward me in his diſcourſe of the ſundrie degrees of eſtates in the common-wealth of England, which (as I hope) ſhall be no diſcredit to his trauell. "Maſter ſpeaker, my lords of the vpper houſe haue paſſed amongſt them, and thinke good that there ſhould been acted by parlement, ſuch an act, and ſuch an act (reading their titles in ſuch ſort as he receiued them); they praie you therefore to conſider & ſhew your aduiſe vpon them." Which doone, they go their waie, and the doore being ſhut after them,

then the Members speak for or against,

and the Bills are alterd accordingly.

After the third reading, the

Lords send their Bills to the Commons,

(I take all this from Sir T. Smith, who took all his talk of the different ranks of England from me) [1 p. 174]

and pray the Commons' conſideration of them.

the Speaker declareth what meſſage was sent vnto them, and if they be then void of conſultation vpon anie other bill, he preſentlie demandeth what their pleaſures are, firſt of one, then of another, &c: which are ſolemnelie read, or their contents breeflie ſhewed, and then debated vpon among them.

The ſpeaker ſitteth in a chaire erected ſomewhat higher than the reſt, that he may ſee and be ſeene of all men; and before him on a lower ſeat ſitteth his clerke, who readeth ſuch bils as be firſt propounded in the lower houſe, or ſent downe from the lords: for in that point each houſe hath equall authoritie to propound what they thinke meet, either for the abrogation of old or making of new lawes. All bils be thriſe, and on diuerſe daies, read and diſputed vpon before they come to the queſtion, which is, whether they ſhall be enacted or not; and in diſcourſe vpon them, verie good order is vſed in the lower houſe, wherein he that will ſpeake giueth notice thereof by ſtanding vp bare headed. If manie ſtand vp at once (as now & then it happeneth) he ſpeaketh firſt that was firſt ſeene to moue out of his place, and telleth his tale vnto the ſpeaker, without reherſall of his name whoſe ſpeches he meaneth to confute, ſo that with a perpetuall oration, & not with altercation, theſe diſcourſes are continued. But as the partie *con*futed may not replie vpon that daie, ſo one man can not ſpeake twiſe to one bill in one daie, though he would change his opinion, but on the next he may ſpeake againe, & yet but once as afore. No vile, ſeditious, vnreuerent or biting words are vſed in this aſſemblie, yet if anie happen to eſcape and be vttered, the partie is puniſhed according to the cenſure of the aſſemblie, and cuſtome in that behalfe. In the afternoone they ſit not except vpon ſome vrgent occaſion: neither hath the ſpeaker anie voice in that houſe, wherewith to moue or diſſuade the furtherance or ſtaie of anie bill, but his office is, vpon the reading thereof, breeflie to declare the

The Speaker [*Of the nether house.*]

His Clerk reads all bills,

and they're read and debated on 3 several days.

The first Member who rises, speaks first.

No one can speak twice in 1 day on the same bill.

No biting words are us'd.

Afternoon sittings seldom held.

contents. If anie bill paſſe, which commeth vnto them from the lords, it is thus ſubſcribed, *Les commons ont aſſentus:* ſo if the lords agree vpon anie bill ſent vnto them from the commons, it is ſubſcribed after this maner, *Les ſeigniours ont aſſentus.* If it be not agreed on after thriſe reading, there is conference required and had betweene the vpper and nether houſes, by certeine appointed for that purpoſe vpon the points in queſtion, wherevpon, if no finall agreement by the more part can be obteined, the bill is daſhed and reiected, or (as the ſaieng is) cleane caſt out of the doores. None of the nether houſe can giue his voice by proxie but in his owne perſon; and after the bill twiſe read, then ingroſſed, and the third time read againe & diſcourſed vpon, the ſpeaker aſketh if they will go to the queſtion, wherevnto if they agree, he holdeth vp the bill & ſaith; So manie as will haue this bill, go forward ſaie Yea: hervpon ſo manie as allow of the thing crie Yea, the other No, & as the crie is more or leſſe on either ſide, ſo is the bill to ſtaie or elſe go forward. If the number of negatiue and affirmatiue voices ſeeme to be equall, ſo manie as allow of the bill, go downe withall, the reſt ſit ſtill, and being told by the poll, the greater part doo carrie away the matter. If ſomething be allowed and in ſome part reiected, the bill is put to certeine committees to be amended, & then being brought in againe, it is read, and paſſeth or ſtaieth, as the voices yeeld therto. This is the order of the paſſage of our lawes, which are not ratified till both houſes haue agreed vnto them, and yet not holden for law till the prince haue giuen his aſſent. Upon the laſt daie therfore of the parlement or ſeſſion, the prince commeth in perſon againe into the houſe, in his robes as at the firſt. Where, after thanks giuen to the prince, firſt in the name of the lords by the lord chancellor, then in the name of the commons by the ſpeaker, for his great care of the welfare of his realme, &c: the lord chancellor, in the princes name,

If Lords and Commons can't agree, appointed Members of each House hold a Conference.

No proxies allowd in the Lower House.

Bills decided by cry of 'Yea' or 'No,'

or if the cries seem equal, the Yeas sit down, the Nos stand up, and both are counted.

Acts are not law till both Houses and the Prince have agreed to them.

To assent, the Prince attends in person,

giueth thanks to the lords & commons likewiſe for their paines, with promiſe of recompenſe as opportunitie & occaſion ſhall ſerue therefore. This doone, one readeth the title of euerie act paſſed in that ſeſſion, and then it is noted vpon them what the prince doth allow of, with theſe words, *Le roy veult.* If the prince like not of them, it is written vpon them *Le roy aduiſera.* And ſo thoſe acts are daſhed, as the other from thenceforth are taken and holden for law, and all imprinted except ſuch as concerne ſome priuat perſons, which are onelie exemplified vnder the ſeale of the parlement, as priuileges to his vſe. And this is the ſumme of the maner after which our parlements in England are holden, without which no forfaiture of life, member, or lands of anie Engliſhman, where no law is ordeined for the ſame before hand, is auailable or can take place amongſt vs. And ſo much in maner out of the third chapiter of the ſecond booke of the common-wealth of England written by ſir *Thomas Smith:* whervnto I will annex a table of the counties, cities, boroughs and ports, which ſend knights, burgeſſes, and barons to the parlement houſe, and dooth inſue as followeth.]

the titles of all Acts are read, and he assents to or dissents from 'em. All Acts but private ones are printed.

This is all borrowd from Sir T. Smith's 'Commonwealth of England,' bk ii. ch. 3.

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## [1]The names of counties, cities, boroughs, and ports, ſending knights, citizens, burgeſſes, and barons to the parlement of England.

*Bedford.*

| | |
|---|---|
| KNights. | 2 |
| The borough of Bedford. | 2 |

*Buckingham.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Knights. | 2 |
| The borough of Buckingham. | 2 |

[1] In the 1577 ed. this list appears as part of chap. 3, book 3. "Of the Lawes of England."

The borough of Wickombe. 2
The borough of Ailesburie. 2

*Barckeshire.*

Knights. 2
The borough of New Windsore. 2
The borough of Reading. 2
The borough of Wallingford. 2
The borough of Abington. 2

*Cornewall.*

Knights. 2
The borough of Launceston *aliàs* Newport. 2
The borough of Leskerd. 2
The borough of Lostwithiell. 2
The borough of Dunheuet. 2
The borough of Truro. 2
The borough of Bodmin. 2
The borough of Helston. 2
The borough of Saltash. 2
The borough of Camelford. 2
The borough of Portighsam *aliàs* Portlow. 2
The borough of Graunpount. [1] 2
The borough of Eastlow. 2
The borough of Prurie. 2
The borough of Tregonie. 2
The borough of Trebenna *aliàs* Bossinnie. 2
The borough of S. Ies. 2
[2 p. 175.] [2] The borough of Fowaie. 2
The borough of Germine. 2
The borough of Michell. 2
The borough of saint Maries. 2

*Cumberland.*

Knights. 2
The citie of Caerleill. 2

*Cambridge.*

Knights. 2
The borough of Cambridge. 2

[1] The figure is omitted in 1587 edition.

*Cheſter.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Knights. | 2 |
| The citie of Cheſter. | 2 |

*Darbie.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Knights. | 2 |
| The borough of Darbie. | 2 |

*Deuon.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Knights. | 2 |
| The citie of Exceſter. | 2 |
| The borough of Totnes. | 2 |
| The borough of Plimmouth. | 2 |
| The borough of Bardneſtable. | 2 |
| The borough of Plimton. | 2 |
| The borough of Taueſtocke. | 2 |
| The borough of Dartmouth, Clifton, and Herdines. | 2 |

*Dorſetſhire.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Knights. | 2 |
| The borough of Poole. | 2 |
| The borough of Dorcheſter. | 2 |
| The borough of Linne. | 2 |
| The borough of Melcombe. | 2 |
| The borough of Waiemouth. | 2 |
| The borough of Bureport. | 2 |
| The borough of Shafteſburie. | 2 |
| The borough of Warham. | 2 |

*Eſſex.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Knights. | 2 |
| The borough of Colcheſter. | 2 |
| The borough of Malden. | 2 |

*Yorkeſhire.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Knights. | 2 |
| The citie of Yorke. | 2 |
| The borough of Kingſton vpon Hull. | 2 |
| The borough of Knareſborough. | 2 |
| The borough of Skardborough. | 2 |
| The borough of Rippon. | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| The borough of Hudon. | 2 |
| The borough of Boroughbridge. | 2 |
| The borough of Thuſke. | 2 |
| The borough of Aldebrough. | 2 |
| The borough of Beuerleie. | 2 |
| *Gloceſterſhire.* | |
| Knights. | 2 |
| The citie of Glocester. | 2 |
| The borough of Cirenceſter. | 2 |
| *Huntingtonſhire* | |
| Knights. | 2 |
| The borough of Huntingdon. | 2 |
| *Hertfordſhire.* | |
| Knights. | 2 |
| The borough of ſaint Albons. | 2 |
| *Herefordſhire.* | |
| Knights. | 2 |
| The citie of Hereford. | 2 |
| The borough of Lempſter | 2 |
| *Kent.* | |
| Knights. | 2 |
| The citie of Canturburie. | 2 |
| The citie of Rocheſter. | 2 |
| The borough of Maidſtone. | 2 |
| The borough of Quinborough. | 2 |
| *Lincolne.* | |
| Knights. | 2 |
| The citie of Lincolne. | 2 |
| The borough of Boſtone. | 2 |
| The borough of great Grineſbie. | 2 |
| The borough of Stamford. | 2 |
| The borough of Grantham. | 2 |
| *Leiceſterſhire.* | |
| Knights. | 2 |
| The borough of Leiceſter. | 2 |
| *Lancaſterſhire.* | |
| Knights. | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| The borough of Lancaſter. | 2 |
| The borough of Preſton in Andernes. | 2 |
| The borough of Liuerpoole. | 2 |
| The borough of Newton. | 2 |
| The borough of Wigan. | 2 |
| The borough of Clithero. | 2 |
| *Middleſex.* | |
| Knights. | 2 |
| The citie of London. | 4 |
| The citie of Weſtminſter. | 2 |
| *Monmouth.* | |
| Knights. | 2 |
| The borough of Monmouth. | 1 |
| *Northhampton.* | |
| Knights. | 2 |
| The citie of Peterborough. | 2 |
| The borough of Northhampton. | 2 |
| The borough of Barkleie. | 2 |
| The borough of Higham Ferres. | 1 |
| *Notingham.* | |
| Knights. | 2 |
| The borough of Notingham. | 2 |
| The borough of Eſtreatford. | 2 |
| *Norffolke.* | |
| Knights. | 2 |
| The citie of Norwich. | 2 |
| The borough of Linne. | 2 |
| The borough of great Jernemouth. | 2 |
| The borough of Thetford. | 2 |
| The borough of caſtell Riſing. | 2 |
| *Northumberland.* | |
| Knights. | 2 |
| The borough of New caſtell vpon Tine. | 2 |
| The borough of Morpeth. | 2 |
| The borough of Barwike. | 2 |
| *Oxford.* | |
| Knights. | 2 |

The citie of Oxford. 2
The borough of Bamburie. 2
The borough of Woodſtocke. 2

*Rutland.*

Knights. 2

*Surreie.*

Knights. 2
The borough of Southwarke. 2
The borough of Blechingleigh. 2
The borough of Rigate. 2
The borough of Guildford. 2
The borough of Gatton. 2

*Staffordſ.*[1]

Knights. 2
The citie of Lichfield. 2
The borough of Stafford.[2] 2
The borough of New caſtell vnder Linne. 2
The borough of Tamworth. 2

*Salop.*

Knights. 2
The borough of Salop. 2
The borough of Bruges *aliàs* Bridgenorth. 2
The borough of Ludlow. 2
The borough of Wenlocke. 2

*Southhampton.*

Knights. 2
The citie of Winton. 2
[3 p. 176] §The borough of Southhampton. 2
The borough of Porteſmouth. 2
The borough of Peterfield. 2
The borough of Stockebridge. 2
The borough of Chriſt church. 2

*Suffolke.*

Knights. 2
The borough of Ippeſwich. 2
The borough of Dunwich. 2

[1] Stratford [2] Stratforde

| | |
|---|---|
| The borough of Ortford. | 2 |
| The borough of Aldeborough. | 2 |
| The borough of Sudburie. | 2 |
| The borough of Eya. | 2 |
| *Summerſet.* | |
| Knights. | [2] |
| The citie of Briſtow. | 2 |
| The citie of Bath. | 2 |
| The citie of Welles. | 2 |
| The borough of Taunton. | 2 |
| The borough of Bridgewater. | 2 |
| The borough of Minched. | 2 |
| *Suſſex.* | |
| Knights. | 2 |
| The citie of Chicheſter. | 2 |
| The borough of Horſham. | 2 |
| The borough of Midhurſt. | 2 |
| The borough of Lewes. | 2 |
| The borough of Shorham. | 2 |
| The borough of Brember. | 2 |
| The borough of Stening. | 2 |
| The borough of Eaſtgreneſteed. | 2 |
| The borough of Arundell. | 2 |
| *Weſtmerland.* | |
| Knights. | 2 |
| The borough of Appulbie. | 2 |
| *Wilton.* | |
| Knights. | 2 |
| The citie of New Sarum. | 2 |
| The borough of Wilton. | 2 |
| The borough of Dounton. | 2 |
| The borough of Hindon. | 2 |
| The borough of Heiteſburie. | 2 |
| The borough of Weſtburie. | 2 |
| The borough of Caine. | 2 |
| The borough of Deuiſes. | 2 |
| The borough of Chipenham. | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| The borough of Malmeſburie. | 2 |
| The borough of Cricklade. | 2 |
| The borough of Budwin. | 2 |
| The borough of Ludgeſale. | 2 |
| The borough of Old Sarum. | 2 |
| The borough of Wotton Baſſet. | 2 |
| The borough of Marleborough. | 2 |

*Worceſter.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Knights. | 2 |
| The citie of Worceſter. | 2 |
| The borough of Withee. | 2 |

*Warwike.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Knights. | 2 |
| The citie of Couentrie. | 2 |
| The borough of Warwike. | 2 |

*Barons of the ports.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Haſtings. | 2 |
| Winchelſeie. | 2 |
| Rie. | 2 |
| Rumneie. | 2 |
| Hithe. | 2 |
| Douer. | 2 |
| Sandwich. | 2 |

*Mountgomerie.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Knights. | 1 |
| The borough of Mountgomerie. | 1 |

*Flint.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Knights. | 1 |
| The borough of Flint. | 1 |

*Denbigh.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Knights. | 1 |
| The borough of Denbigh. | 1 |

*Merionneth.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Knights. | 1 |
| The borough of Hauerfordweſt. | 1 |

*Carneruan.*

Knights. 1
The borough of Carneruan. 1

*Angleſeie.*

Knights. 1
The borough of Beaumares. 1

*Carmarden.*

Knights. 1
The borough of new Carmarden. 1

*Pembroke.*

Knights. 1
The borough of Pembroke. 1

*Cairdigan.*

Knights. 1
The borough of Cardigan.[1] 1

[*Brecknoch.*

[Knights. 1
The borough of Brecknoch. 1]

*Radnor.*

Knights. 1
The borough of Radnor. 1

*Glamorgan.*

Knights. 1
The borough of Cardiffe. 1

¶ The ſumme of the foreſaid number of the common houſe *videlicet*, of

Knights. 90.
Citizens. 46.
Burgeſſes. 289.
Barons. 14.

439.

[1] Brecknocke

## Of the lawes of England [1] [ſince hir *firſt inhabitation.*]

### Chap. 9.[2]

*Samothes* (1) and others of whom we know nothing.

THat *Samothes* or *Dis* gaue the firſt lawes to the Celtes (whoſe kingdome he erected about the fifteenth of Nimbrote), the teſtimonie of *Beroſus* is proofe ſufficient. For he not onelie affirmeth him to publiſh the ſame in the fourth of *Ninus*, but alſo addeth thereto, how there liued none in his daies of more excellent wiſdome, nor politike inuention than [3] he, whereof he was named *Samothes*, as ſome other do affirme. What his lawes were, it is now altogither vnknowne, as moſt things of this age; but that they were altered againe at the comming of Albion, no man can abſolutelie denie, ſith new lords vſe commonlie to giue new lawes, and conquerors aboliſh ſuch as were in vſe before them.

*Albion.* (2)

*Brute.* (3)

The like alſo may be affirmed of our Brute, notwithſtanding that the certeine knowledge, ſo well of the one as of the other is periſhed, and nothing worthie memorie left of all their dooings. Somewhat yet we haue of *Mulmutius*, who not onelie ſubdued ſuch princes as reigned in this land, but alſo brought the realme to good order, that long before had beene torne with ciuill diſcord. But where his lawes are to be found, and which they be from other mens, no man liuing in theſe daies is able to determine.

*Mulmutius.* (4)

[4 p. 173]

Bladudus, who made a ridiculous end.

[4] Certes, there was neuer prince in Britaine, of whome his ſubiects conceiued better hope in the beginning, than of *Bladudus*, and yet I read of none that made ſo ridiculous an end: in like ſort there hath not

[1] On the practical evils of the Law, &c. &c., as administerd before and about 1542, see Henry Brinklow's most interesting *Complaint*, E. E. Text Soc., Extra Series, 1874.

[2] In the 1577 edition, this chapter is the 3rd of book 3.

[3] then

reigned anie monarch in this Ile, whoſe waies were more feared at the firſt, than thoſe of Dunwallon (king Henrie the fift excepted) and yet in the end he prooued ſuch a prince, as after his death there was in maner no ſubiect, that did not lament his funerals. And this onelie for his policie in gouernance, ſeuere adminiſtration of iuſtice, and prouident framing of his lawes and conſtitutions, [for the gouernment of his ſubiects]. His people alſo, coueting to continue his name vnto poſteritie, intituled thoſe his ordinances according to their maker, calling them by the name of the lawes of *Mulmutius*, which indured in execution among the Britons, ſo long as our homelings had the dominion of this Ile. Afterward, when the [comeling] Saxons had once obteined the ſuperioritie of the kingdom, the maieſtie of thoſe[1] lawes fell for a time into ſuch decaie, that although *Non penitùs cecidit, tamen potuit cecidiſſe videri*, as *Leland* ſaith; and the decrees[2] themſelues had vtterlie periſhed in deed at the verie firſt brunt, had they not beene preſerued in Wales, where they remained amongſt the relikes of the Britons, & not onlie vntill the comming of the Normans, but euen vntill the time of Edward the firſt, who obteining the ſouereigntie of that portion, indeuoured [verie earneſtlie] to extinguiſh thoſe of *Mulmutius*, and to eſtabliſh his owne.

*The praiſe of Dunwallon.* (5)

His people calld his ordinances the Laws of Mulmutius.

They lasted while our homeling Britons held our Ile, till the comeling Saxons won it,

were preserv'd in Wales till

Edward I conquerd it,

But as the Saxons at their firſt arriuall did what they could to aboliſh the Britiſh lawes, ſo in proceſſe of time they yeelded a little to relent, & not ſo much to abhorre and miſlike of the lawes of *Mulmutius*, as to receiue[3] and imbrace the ſame, eſpeciallie at ſuch time as the [ſaid] Saxon princes entered into amitie with the Britiſh nobilitie,[4] and after that [began to] ioine in matrimonie with the Britiſh ladies, [as the Britiſh barons did with the Saxon frowes, both by an eſpeciall ſtatute and decree, wherof in another treatiſe I haue made mention at large]. Heerof alſo it came to paſſe in the

and gradually in part adopted by the Saxons when they marrid with the Britons,

[1] these [2] lawes [3] re-receyue [4] Princes

end, that they were contented to make a choiſe, and inſert no ſmall numbers of them into their owne volumes, as may be gathered by thoſe of Athelbert[1] the great, ſurnamed king of Kent, Inas and Alfred, kings of the weſt Saxons, and diuerſe other yet extant to be ſeene. Such alſo was the lateward eſtimation of them, that when anie of the Saxon princes went about to make [2]new ordinances,[2] they cauſed thoſe of *Mulmutius* (which *Gildas* ſometime tranſlated into Latine) to be [firſt] expounded vnto them; and in this peruſall, if they found anie there alreadie framed, that might ſerue their turnes, they foorthwith reuiued the ſame, and annexed them to their owne.

as Ethelbert's, Ina's, and Alfred's Laws testify.

King Alfred had all the Laws of Mulmutius translated into Saxon.

But in this dealing, the diligence of Alfred is moſt of all to be commended, who not onelie choſe out the beſt, but gathered togither all ſuch whatſoeuer the ſaid *Mulmutius* had made: and then to the end they ſhould lie no more in corners as forlorne books, and vnknowne [to the learned of his kingdome,] he cauſed them to be turned into the Saxon toong, wherein they continued long after his deceaſe.

And the Normans, tho' at first they dislik't these laws, yet at last took many of them, as St Edward's laws,

As for the Normans, who [for a ſeaſon] neither regarded the Britiſh, nor cared for the Saxon ſtatutes,[3] they alſo at the firſt vtterlie miſliked of them; till at the laſt, when they had well weied that one kind of regiment is not conuenient for all peoples, and that no ſtranger, being in a forren countrie newlie brought vnder obedience, could make ſuch equall ordinances, as he might thereby gouerne his new common-wealth without ſome care & [4] trouble, they fell in [5] with ſuch [5] a deſire to ſee by what rule the ſtate of the land was gouerned in time of the Saxons, that hauing peruſed the ſame, they not onelie commended their maner of regiment, but alſo admitted a great part of their lawes (now currant vnder the name of S. Edwards lawes, and vſed as principles and grounds), whereby they not onlie

[1] Atherbert [2—2] anye newe lawes [3] lawes [4] of [5—5] so wyth

qualified the rigor of their owne, and mitigated their almoſt intollerable burden of ſeruitude which they had latelie laid vpon the ſhoulders of the Engliſh, but alſo left vs a great number of [the old] *Mulmutian* lawes whereof the moſt part are in vſe to this daie, as I ſaid, albeit that we know not certeinlie how to diſtinguiſh them from others, that are in ſtrength amongſt vs.

and many are in use to this day.

After Dunwallon, the next lawgiuer was *Martia*, whome *Leland* ſurnameth *Proba;* and after him *Iohn Bale* alſo, who in his *Centuries* dooth iuſtlie confeſſe himſelfe to haue beene holpen by the ſaid *Leland*, as I my ſelfe doo likewiſe for manie things conteined in this treatiſe. Shee was wife vnto Gutteline king of the Britons: and being made protectrix of the realme, after hir huſbands deceaſſe in the nonage of hir ſonne, and ſeeing manie things dailie to grow vp among hir people worthie reformation, ſhe deuiſed ſundrie and thoſe verie politike lawes, for the gouernance of hir kingdome, which hir ſubiects when ſhe was dead and gone, did name the Martian ſtatutes. Who turned them into Latine, as yet I doo not read, howbeit (as I ſaid before of the lawes of *Mulmutius*) ſo the ſame Alfred cauſed thoſe of this excellentlie well learned ladie (whome diuerſe commend alſo for hir great knowledge in the Greeke toong) to be turned into his owne language; wherevpon it came to paſſe that they were dailie executed among his ſubiects, afterward allowed of (among the reſt) by the Normans, and finallie remaine in vſe in theſe our[1] daies, notwithſtanding that we cannot diſſeuer them [alſo] verie readilie from the other.

*Martia.* (6)

Leland helpt Bale, and so he did me.

Martia was the widow of King Gutteline of Britain,

and made very good laws, calld the Martian Statutes.

These, Alfred

also translated into Saxon; and

they too are still in use.

The ſeuenth alteration of lawes was practiſed by the Saxons, for I ouerpaſſe the [2]vſe of the ciuill ordinances vſed in Rome, finallie brought hither by the Romans, &

7th change of Laws, by the Saxons.

[1] these

[2—2] lawes made by the Romaines, whose order do partly remaine in publike notice

Roman Civil Law never fully adopted here.

yet in perfect notice among the Ciuilians of our countrie, though neuer generallie nor fullie receiued by all the ſeuerall regions of this Iland. Certes there are great numbers of theſe later, which yet remaine in ſound knowledge, and are to be read, being comprehended for

*Martian*[1] *law.*

the moſt part[2] vnder the names of the Martian[1] and the

*Saxon law.*

Saxon law. Beſide theſe alſo I read of the Dane law,

*Dane law*

ſo that the people of middle England were ruled by the firſt, the weſt Saxons by the ſecond; as Eſſex, Norffolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeſhire, and part of Hertfordſhire

Dane Law the worst.

were by the third, of all the reſt the moſt inequall and intollerable. [And as in theſe daies what ſoeuer the prince in publike aſſemblie commanded vpon the neceſſitie of his ſubiects, or his owne voluntarie authoritie,

In old time the Prince's will was law, and there was no fixt place for dispensing justice

was counted for law: ſo none of them had appointed anie certeine place, wherevnto his people might repaire at fixed times for iuſtice, but cauſed them to reſort commonlie to their palaces, where in proper perſon they would often determine their cauſes, and ſo make ſhorteſt worke, or elſe commit the ſame to the hearing of other, and ſo diſpatch them awaie. Neither had they

or making laws.

any houſe appointed to aſſemble in for the making of their ordinances, as we haue now at Weſtminſter. Wherefore Edmund gaue lawes at London & Lincolne, Ethelred at Habam, Alfred at Woodſtock and Wannetting, Athelſtane in Exceſter, Grecklade, Feuerſham, & Thunderſleie, Canutus at Wincheſter, &c: other in other places, whereof this may ſuffice.]

The Saxon law of Ordeal, or

Among other things alſo vſed in the time of the Saxons, it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſet downe the forme of their Ordalian law, which they brought hither

[2 p. 178]

[2] with them from beyond the ſeas [out of Scithia,] and vſed onelie in the triall of guiltie and vnguiltineſſe. Certes it conteined not an ordinarie proceeding by daies

trial by Fire or Water.

and termes, as in the ciuill and common law we ſee practiſed in theſe daies; but a ſhort diſpatch & triall of

[1] mercian

the matter by fire or water, whereof at this preſent I will deliuer the circumſtance, as I haue faithfullie tranſlated it out of an ancient volume, and conferred with an imprinted[1] copie, latelie publiſhed by *M. Lambert*, [and] now extant to be read. [Neuertheleſſe, as the Scithians were the firſt that vſed this practiſe, ſo I read that it was taken vp and occupied alſo in France in proceſſe of time, yea and likewiſe in Grecia, as *G. Pachymerus* remembreth in the firſt booke of his hiſtorie (which beginneth with the empire of *M. Paleologus*) where he noteth his owne fight and vew in that behalfe. But what ſtand I herevpon ?]

The Trial by Ordeal I'll describe from an old MS. and Mr Wm Lambard's 'ΑΡΧΑΙΟΝΟΜΙΑ sive de priscis Anglorum Legibus Libri.' 1568. (p. 220, &c.) ed. 1644.

The Ordalian (ſaith the aforeſaid author) was a certeine maner of purgation vſed two waies, wherof the one was by fire, the other by water. In the execution of that which was doone by fire, the partie accuſed ſhould go a certeine number of paſes, with an hot[2] iron in his hand, or elſe bare footed vpon certeine plough ſhares red hot, according to the maner. This iron was ſometime of one pound weight, and then was it called ſingle *Ordalium*, ſometimes of three, and then named treble *Ordalium*, and whoſoeuer did beare or tread on the ſame without hurt of his bodie he was adiudged giltleſſe, otherwiſe if his ſkin were ſcorched, he was foorthwith condemned as guiltie of the treſpaſſe whereof he was accuſed, [according to the proportion and quantitie of the burning.]

[*Ordalian law.*]

[*Fire.*]

The person accus'd held in hand, or walkt on, hot iron.

If scorcht, he was guilty.

There were in like ſort two kinds of triall by the water, that is to ſay, either by hot or cold: and in this triall the partie thought culpable, was either tumbled into ſome pond or huge veſſell of cold water, wherein if he continued for a ſeaſon, without wreſtling or ſtrugling for life, he was foorthwith acquited as guiltleſſe of the fact wherof he was accuſed: but if he began to plunge, and labour once for breath immediatlie vpon his falling into that liquor, he was by and by con-

Ordeal by

[*Water.*]

The accus'd person was tumbl'd into a pond.

If he struggl'd or pufft, he was guilty.

[1] prynted [2] hote peece of

Trial by Ordeal of hot Water.

demned as guiltie of the crime. Or elſe he did thruſt his arme vp to the ſhoulder into a lead, copper, or caldron of ſeething water, from whence if he withdrew the ſame without anie maner of damage, he was diſcharged of further moleſtation: otherwiſe he was taken for a treſpaſſer, and puniſhed accordinglie. The fierie maner of purgation belonged onelie to noble men and women, and ſuch as were free borne: but the huſbandmen and villaines were tried by water. Whereof to ſhew the vnlearned dealing and blind ignorance of thoſe times, it ſhall not be impertinent to ſet foorth the whole maner, which continued here in England vntill the time of king John, who ſeeing the manifold ſubtilties in the ſame [(by ſundrie ſorcerous and artificiall practiſes whereby the working of the ſaid elements were reſtreined)] did extinguiſh it altogither as flat lewdneſſe and bouerie. The Rubrike of the treatiſe entereth thus: *Here beginneth the execution of iuſtice, whereby the giltie or vngiltie are tried by hot iron.* Then it followeth: *After accuſation lawfullie made, and three daies ſpent in faſting and praier, the prieſt being clad in all his holie veſtures, ſauing his veſtiment, ſhall take the iron laid before the altar with a paire of tongs, and ſinging the hymne of the three children,* that is to ſaie, *O all ye workes of God the Lord,* and in Latine *Benedicite omnia opera, &c: he ſhall carie it ſolemnelie to the fire (alreadie made for that purpoſe) and firſt ſaie theſe words ouer the place where the fire is kindled, whereby this purgation ſhall be made in Latine as inſueth: Benedic Domine Deus locum iſtum, vt ſit nobis in eo ſanitas, ſanctitas, caſtitas, virtus, & victoria, & ſanctimonia, humilitas, bonitas, lenitas, & plenitudo legis, & obedientia Deo patri, & filio, & ſpiritui ſancto. Hæc benedictio ſit ſuper hunc locum, & ſuper omnes habitantes in eo. In Engliſh:* Bleſſe thou O Lord this place, that it may be to vs health, holineſſe, chaſtitie, vertue, and victorie, pureneſſe, humilitie, goodneſſe, gentleneſſe, and fulneſſe

Nobles tried by Fire;

Husbandmen by Water.

King John

stopt it all as flat humbug.

The Procedure in Ordeal by Fire:

1. Accusation.

2. Three days' Fasting.

3. Priest takes the iron in tongs, sings a hymn;

4. carries the iron to the fire,

and asks a blessing on the place;

of the law, and obedience to God the father, the ſonne, and the holie ghoſt. This bleſſing be vpon this place, and all that dwell in it. *Then followeth the bleſſing of the fire.*

Procedure in Ordeal by Fire.

*Domine Deus pater omnipotens, lumen indeficiens, exaudi nos, quia tu es conditor omnium luminum. Benedic Domine hoc lumen, quod ante ſanctificatum eſt, qui illuminaſti omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum (vel mundum) vt ab eo lumine accendamur igne claritatis tuæ. Et ſicut igne illuminaſti Moſen, ita nunc illumina corda noſtra, & ſenſus noſtros, vt ad vitam æternam mereamur peruenire, per Chriſtum, &c.* Lord God father almightie, light euerlaſting, heare vs, ſith thou [1] art the maker of all lights. Bleſſe O Lord this light, that is alreadie ſanctified in thy ſight, which haſt lightned all men that come into the world (or the whole world) to the end that by the ſame light we may be lightned with the ſhining of thy brightneſſe. As thou diddeſt lighten Moſes, ſo now illuminate our hearts, and our ſenſes, that we may deſerue to come to euerlaſting life, through Christ our, &c. *This being ended, let him ſay the Pater noſter, &c: then theſe words: Sæluum fac ſeruum, &c. Mitte ei auxilium Deus, &c. De Sion tuere eum, &c. Dominus vobiſcum, &c. That is,* O Lord ſaue thy ſeruant, &c. Send him helpe O God from thy holie place, [&c.] Defend him out of Sion, &c. Lord heare, &c. The Lord be with you, &c.

5. asks a blessing on the Fire:

6. says other Prayers;

*The praier. Benedic Domine ſancte pater, omnipotens Deus, per inuocationem ſanctiſſimi nominis tui, & per aduentum filij tui, atque per donum ſpiritus paracleti, ad manifeſtandum verum iudicium tuum, hoc genus metalli, vt ſit ſanctificatum, & omni dæmonum falſitate procul remota, veritas veri iudicij tui fidelibus tuis manifeſta fiat, per eundem Dominum, &c. In Engliſh:* Bleſſe we beſeech thee O Lord, holie father, euerlaſting God, through the inuocation of thy moſt holie name, by the

7. prays that the Iron

Procedure in Ordeal by Fire.

comming of thy ſonne, and gift of the holie ghoſt, and to the manifeſtation of thy true iudgement, this kind of mettall, that being hallowed, and all fraudulent

may manifest God's judgment;

practiſes of the diuels vtterlie remoued, the manifeſt truth of thy true iudgement may be reuealed, by the ſame Lord Jeſus, &c.

8. puts the iron in the fire;

*After this, let the iron be laid into the fire, and ſprinkled with holie water, and whileſt it heateth, let the*

9. goes to Mass,

*prieſt go to maſſe, and doo as order requireth: and when he hath receiued the hoſt, he ſhall call the man that is to be purged (as it is written hereafter) firſt adiuring him,*

and gives the Host to the accus'd man.

*and then permitting him to communicate according to the maner.*

The office of the maſſe.

The Mass Service.

*Iuſtus es Domine, &c.* O Lord thou art iuſt, &c.

*The Praier.*

Prayer for the man accus'd.

*ABſolue quæſumus Domine delicta famuli tui, vt à peccatorum ſuorum nexibus, quæ pro ſua fragilitate contraxit, tua benignitate liberetur, & in hoc iudicio quoad meruit, iuſtitia tua præueniente, ad veritatis cenſuram peruenire mereatur, per Chriſtum Dominum, &c.* *That is:* Pardon we beſeech thee O Lord, the ſinnes of thy ſeruant, that being deliuered from the burden of his offenſes, wherewith he is intangled, he may be cleared by thy benignitie, and in this his triall (ſo far as he hath deſerued, thy mercie preuenting him) he may come to the knowledge of the truth, by Chriſt our Lord, &c.

The Gospel.

*The Goſpell. Mar.* 10.

What shall I do to possess eternal life?

*IN illo tempore, cùm egreſſus eſſet Ieſus in via, procurrens quidam genu flexo ante eum, rogabat eum dicens, Magiſter*[1] *bone, quid faciam vt vitam æternam percipiam? Ieſus autem dixit ei, Quid me dicis bonum? &c.* In thoſe daies when Ieſus went foorth toward his iourneie, and one meeting him in the waie running, and kneeling

[1 p. 179]

vnto him, aſked him ſaieng: Good maſter what ſhall I doo that I may poſſeſſe eternall life? Ieſus ſaid vnto him, Whie calleſt thou[1] me good? &c. *Then followeth the ſecret, and ſo foorth all of the reſt of the maſſe.* *But before the partie dooth communicate, the prieſt ſhall vſe theſe words vnto him: Adiuro te per patrem, & filium, & ſpiritum ſanctum, & per veram chriſtianitatem quam ſuſcepiſti, & per ſanctas relliquias quæ in iſta eccleſia ſunt, & per baptiſmum quo te ſacerdos regenerauit, vt non præſumas vllo modo communicare, neque accedere ad altare, ſihoc feciſti aut conſenſiſti, &c.* I adiure thee by the father, the ſonne, and the holie Ghoſt, by the true chriſtendome which thou haſt receiued, by the holie relikes which are in this church, and by the baptiſme wherewith the prieſt hath regenerated thee, that thou preſume not by any maner of means to communicate, nor come about the altar, if thou haſt doone or conſented vnto this, whereof thou art accuſed, &c. *Here let the prieſt ſuffer him to communicate, ſaieng; Corpus hoc, & ſanguis Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, ſit tibi ad probationem hodie.* This bodie & this bloud of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, be vnto thee a triall this daie. *The praier: Perceptis Domine Deus noſter ſacris muneribus, ſupplices deprecamur, vt huius participatio ſacramenti à proprijs nos reatibus expediat, & in famulo tuo veritatis ſententiam declaret, &c.* Hauing receiued O Lord God theſe holie myſteries, we humblie beſeech thee that the participation of this ſacrament may rid vs of our guiltineſſe, and in this thy ſeruant ſet foorth the truth. *Then ſhall follow Kyrieleſon, the Letanie, and certeine Pſalmes, and after all them Oremus: Let vs praie. Deus qui per ignem ſigna magna oſtendens, Abraham puerum tuum de incendio Chaldæorum quibuſdam pereuntibus eruiſti, Deus qui rubum ardere ante conſpectum Moſis & minimè comburi permiſiſti, Deus qui de incendio fornacis Chaldaicis pleriſque ſuccenſis, tres pueros tuos illæſos eduxiſti,*

Procedure in Ordeal by Fire.

The Mass Service.

The Priest to adjure the accus'd not to receive the Sacrament if he's guilty.

*The cup yet in vse.*

The last Prayer, that the Fire may test the accus'd's guilt or innocence.

Procedure in Ordeal by Fire.

*Deus qui incendio ignis populum Sodomæ inuoluens, Loth famulum tuum cum ſuis ſalute donaſti, Deus qui in aduentu ſancti ſpiritus tui, illuſtratione ignis fideles tuos ab infidelibus decreuiſti: oſtende nobis in hoc prauitatis noſtræ examine virtutem eiuſdem ſpiritus, &c: & per ignis huius feruorem diſcernere infideles, vt à tactu eius cuius inquiſitio agitur, conſcius exhorreſcat, & manus eius comburatur, innocens verò pœnitus illæſus permaneat, &c. Deus cuius noticiam nulla vnquam ſecreta effugiunt, fidei noſtræ tua bonitate reſponde, & præſta vt quiſquis purgandi ſe gratia, hoc ignitum tulerit ferrum, vel abſoluatur vt innocens, vel noxius detegatur, &c. In Engliſh thus*

The last Prayer Englisht,

O God, which in ſhewing great tokens by fire diddeſt deliuer Abraham thy ſeruant from the burning of the Chaldeis, whileſt other periſhed; O God which ſufferedſt the buſh to burne in the ſight of Moſes, and yet not to conſume; O God which deliueredſt the three children from bodilie harme in the fornace of the Chaldeis, whileſt diuerſe were conſumed; O God which by fire didſt wrap the people of Sodome in their deſtruction, and yet ſauedſt Lot and his daughters from perill; O God which by the ſhining of thy brightneſſe at the comming of the holie ghoſt in likeneſſe[1] of fire, diddeſt ſeparate the faithfull from ſuch as beleeued not: ſhew vnto vs in the triall of this our wickedneſſe, the

that the Fire

power of the ſame ſpirit, &c: and by the heat of this fire diſcerne the faithfull from the vnfaithfull, that the guiltie whoſe cauſe is now in triall, by touching thereof,

may prove the accus'd guilty or innocent.

may tremble and feare, and his hand be burned, or, being innocent, that he may remaine in ſafetie, &c. O God from whom no ſecrets are hidden, let thy goodneſſe anſwer to our faith, and grant that whoſoeuer in this purgation, ſhall touch and beare this iron, may either be tried an innocent, or reuealed as an offendor, &c. *After this the prieſt ſhall ſprinkle the iron with holie water, ſaieng:* The bleſſing of God the father, the

[1] likewyse

ſonne, and the holie ghoſt, be vpon this iron, to the reuelation of the iuſt iudgement of God. *And foorthwith let him that is accuſed beare it, by the length of nine foot, and then let his hand be wrapped and ſealed vp for the ſpace of three daies: after this if any corruption or raw fleſh appeare where the iron touched it, let him be condemned as guiltie: if it be whole and found, let him giue thanks to God.* And thus much of the firie *Ordalia*, wherevnto that of the water hath ſo preciſe relation, that in ſetting foorth of the one, I haue alſo deſcribed the other, wherefore it ſhall be but in vaine to deale anie further withall.

Ordeal by Fire.

10. The accus'd man to carry the hot iron for 9 feet.

If, after 3 days, his hand 's raw, he's guilty

Ordeal by [*Water*,] just the same.

Hitherto alſo (as I thinke) ſufficientlie of ſuch lawes as were in vſe before the conqueſt. Now it reſteth that I ſhould declare the order of thoſe, that haue beene made [and receiued] ſince the comming of the Normans, [referred to the eight alteration or change of our maner of gouernance, and therevnto doo produce three ſcore and foure ſeuerall courts.] But for aſmuch as I am no lawier, and therefore haue but little ſkill to proceed in the ſame accordinglie, it ſhall ſuffice to ſet downe ſome generall diſcourſe of ſuch as are vſed in our daies, and ſo much as I haue gathered by report and common heare-ſaie.

So much for our Laws before the Conquest.

Of those after it,

producing 64 Courts,

I shall only give a general account.

We haue therefore in England ſundrie lawes, and firſt of all the ciuill, vſed in the chancerie, Admiraltie, and diuerſe other courts, in ſome of which, the ſeuere rigor of iuſtice is often ſo mitigated by conſcience, that diuerſe things are thereby made eaſie and tollerable, which otherwiſe would appeare to be meere iniurie and extremitie.

[*Ciuill law*] in the Admiralty and other Courts.

We haue alſo a great part of the Canon law dailie practiſed among vs, eſpeciallie in caſes of tithes, contracts of matrimonie, and ſuch like, as are vſuallie to be ſeene in the conſiſtories of our biſhops [and higher courts of the two archbiſhops] where the exerciſe of the ſame is verie hotlie followed. The third ſort of

[*Canon law*] in tithe and marriage cases.

Our own laws, which often change.

lawes that we haue[1] are our owne, & thoſe alwaies ſo variable, & ſubiect to alteration and change, that oft in one age, diuerſe iudgements doo paſſe vpon one maner of caſe, whereby the ſaieng of the poet,

*Tempora mutantur, & nos mutamur in illis,*

[*Lawiers of England not alwaies constant in iudgment.*]

may verie well be applied vnto ſuch; as being vrged with theſe words. In ſuch a yeare of the prince, this opinion was taken for sound law; doo anſwer nothing elſe, but that the iudgement of our lawiers is now altered, ſo that they ſaie farre otherwiſe. The regiment that we haue therefore after our owne ordinances, dependeth vpon [three lawes, to wit,] Statute law, Common law, Cuſtomarie law, and Preſcription, [according to the triple maner of our trials and iudgments, which is by parlement, verdict of twelue men at an aſſiſe, or wager of battell, of which the laſt is little vſed in our daies, as no appeale dooth hold in the firſt and laſt rehearſed. But to returne to my purpoſe.]

We have 3 Laws: 1. Statute, 2. Common, 3. Customary.

*Parlement law.*

The firſt is deliuered vnto vs by parlement, which court [being for the moſt part holden at Weſtminſter neere London,] is the higheſt of all other, & conſiſteth of three ſeuerall ſorts of people, that is to ſaie, the nobilitie, cleargie, and commons of this realme. And thereto is not ſummoned, but vpon vrgent occaſion when the prince dooth ſee his time, and that by ſeuerall writs, dated commonlie full ſix weekes before it begin to be holden. Such lawes as are agreed vpon in the higher houſe by the lords ſpirituall and temporall, and in the lower houſe by the commons and bodie of the realme (whereof the conuocation of the cleargie holden in Powles, [or if occaſion ſo require in Weſtminſter church], is a member) there ſpeaking by the mouth of the knights of the ſhire and burgeſſes, remaine in the end to be confirmed[2] by the prince, who commonlie reſorteth thither [of cuſtome,] vpon the firſt and laſt

Parliament consists of Nobility, Clergy, and Commons.

The Convocation of the Clergy is part of Parliament.

[2 p. 180]

[1] follow

daies of this court, there to vnderſtand what is doone, and giue his roiall conſent to ſuch ſtatutes as him liketh of. Comming therefore thither into the higher houſe, and hauing taken his throne, the ſpeaker of the parlement (for one is alwaies appointed to betweene the houſes, as an indifferent mouth for both) readeth openlie the matters there determined by the ſaid three eſtates, and then craueth the princes conſent and [finall] confirmation to the ſame. The king hauing heard the ſumme and principall points of each eſtatute brieflie recited vnto him, anſwereth in French with great deliberation vnto ſuch as he liketh (*Il nous plaiſt*) but to the reſt *Il ne plaiſt*, whereby the latter are[1] made void and fruſtrate. That alſo which his maieſtie liketh of, is [hereby authoriſed, confirmed, &] euer after holden for law, except it be repealed in anie the like aſſemblie. The number of the commons aſſembled in the lower houſe, beſide the cleargie, conſiſteth of ninetie knights. For each ſhire of England hath two gentlemen or knights of greateſt wiſedome and reputation, choſen out of the bodie of the ſame for that onelie purpoſe, ſauing that for Wales one onlie is ſuppoſed ſufficient in euerie countie, whereby the number afore mentioned is made vp. There are likewiſe fourtie and ſix citizens, 289 burgeſſes, and fourteene barons, ſo that the whole aſſemblie of the laitie of the lower houſe conſiſteth of foure hundred thirtie and nine perſons, if the iuſt number be ſupplied. Of the lawes here made likewiſe ſome are penall and reſtraine the common law, and ſome againe are found to inlarge the ſame. The one ſort of theſe alſo are for the moſt part taken ſtrictlie according to the letter, the other more largelie and beneficiallie after their intendment and meaning.

Statute Law.

The King allows or disallows the Bills passt by both Houses of Parliament,

and those allowd become Law.

90 Knights of the Shire, or County Members.

[*Number of congregates in the parlement.*]

Each Welsh county has only 1 Member.

The whole House of Commons numbers 439.

The Common law ſtandeth vpon ſundrie maximes or principles, and yeares or termes, which doo conteine

*Common law.*

[1] are utterly

Common Law.

ſuch caſes as by great ſtudie and ſolemne argument of the iudges [ſound practiſe confirmed by long experience, fetched euen from the courſe of moſt ancient lawes made farre before the conqueſt,] and thereto the deepeſt reach and foundations of reaſon, are ruled and adiudged for law. Certes theſe caſes are otherwiſe called plees or action, wherof there are two ſorts, the one criminall and the other ciuill. The meanes and meſſengers alſo to determine thoſe cauſes are our writs [or breefes,] whereof there are ſome originall and ſome iudiciall. The parties plaintiffe & defendant, when they appeare, proceed (if the caſe doo ſo require) by plaint or declaration, [barre or] anſwer, replication,[1] reioinder, and ſo [by rebut, ſurrebut] to iſſue [and triall if occaſion ſo fall out,] the one ſide affirmatiuelie, the other negatiuelie [as common experience teacheth.] Our trials and recoueries are either by verdict and demourre, confeſſion or default, wherein if anie negligence or treſpaſſe hath beene committed, either in proceſſe and forme, or in matter and iudgement, the partie grieued may haue a writ of errour to vndoo the ſame, but not in the ſame court where the former iudgement was giuen.

Criminal and Civil cases.

Procedure at Common Law.

Writ of Error.

*Customarie law.*

Cuſtomarie law conſiſteth of certeine laudable cuſtomes vſed in ſome priuat countrie, intended firſt to begin vpon good and reaſonable conſiderations, as gauell kind, which is all the male children [equallie] to inherit, and continued to this daie in Kent: [where it is onelie to my knowledge reteined, and no where elſe in England. It was at the firſt deuiſed by the Romans, as appeareth by *Cæſar* in his commentaries, wherein I find, that to breake and daunt the force of the rebellious Germans, they made a law that all the male children (or females for want of males, which holdeth ſtill in England) ſhould haue their fathers inheritance equallie diuided amongſt them. By this meanes alſo it came to paſſe, that whereas before time for the ſpace

As Gavelkind in Kent.

All the male children share equally the father's realty.

[1] replication and

of ſixtie yeares, they had put the Romans to great and manifold troubles, within the ſpace of thirtie yeares after this law made, their power did wax ſo feeble, and ſuch diſcord fell out amongſt themſelues, that they were not able to mainteine warres with the Romans, nor raiſe anie iuſt armie againſt them. For as a riuer runing with one ſtreame is ſwift and more plentifull of water than when it is drained or drawne into manie branches: ſo the lands and goods of the anceſtors being diſperſed amongſt their iſſue males, of one ſtrong, there were raiſed ſundrie weake, whereby the originall or generall ſtrength to reſiſt the aduerſarie, became infeebled and brought almoſt to nothing. *Vis vnita* (ſaith the philoſopher) *fortior eſt eadem diſperſa*, and one good purſſe is better than manie euill; and when euerie man is benefited alike, each one will ſeeke to mainteine his priuate eſtate, and few take care to prouide for publike welfare.]

Division of inheritances weakend Kentishmen.

Vnion is strength.

[1] Burrow kind, is [1] where the yoongeſt is preferred before the eldeſt, which is the cuſtome of manie countries of this region: [alſo the woman to haue the third of hir huſbands poſſeſſions, the huſband that marieth an heire to haue ſuch lands as moue by hir during his naturall life, if he ſuruiue hir, and hath a child by hir which hath beene heard crie thorough foure wals, &c:] of [2] ſuch like to be learned elſewhere, [and ſometimes frequented generallie ouer all.]

Borough-English. The youngest son is his father's heir.

Preſcription is a certeine cuſtome, which hath continued time out of minde, but it is more particular than cuſtomarie law, as where onelie a pariſh or ſome priuat perſon dooth preſcribe to haue common, or a waie in another mans ſoile, or tithes to be paid after this or that maner, I meane otherwiſe than the common courſe and order of the law requireth, whereof let this ſuffice at this time, in ſteed of a larger diſcourſe of our owne lawes, leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to enter farre into that

*Prescription.*

as of rights of common and way.

[1]—[1] or Burrow kind [2] and so forth of

whereof I haue no ſkill. For what hath the meditation of the law of God to doo with anie preciſe knowledge of the law of man, ſith they are ſeuerall trades, and incident to diuerſe perſons?

Courts held quarterly, every *Terme.*

There are alſo ſundrie vſuall courts holden once in euerie quarter of the yeare, which we commonlie call termes, of the Latine word *Terminus*, wherein all controuerſies are determined, that happen within the Queenes dominions. Theſe are commonlie holden at London, except vpon ſome great occaſion they be tranſferred to other places. At what times alſo they are kept [both for ſpirituall and temporall dealing,] the table inſuing ſhall eaſilie declare. Finallie, how well they are followed by ſutors, the great wealth of[1] lawiers without anie trauell of mine can readilie[2] expreſſe. [For as after the comming of the Normans the nobilitie had the ſtart, and after them the cleargie: ſo now all the wealth of the land dooth flow vnto our common lawiers, of whome, ſome one hauing practiſed little aboue thirteene or fourteene yeares is able to buie a purchaſe of ſo manie 1000 pounds: which argueth that they wax rich apace, and will be richer if their clients become not the more wiſer & warie hereafter. It is not long, ſince a ſergeant at the law (whome I could name) was arreſted vpon an extent, for three or foure hundred pounds, and another ſtanding by did greatlie maruell that he could not ſpare the gaines of one terme for the ſatiſfaction of that dutie. The time hath beene that our lawiers did ſit in Powles vpon ſtooles againſt the pillers and walles to get clients, but now ſome of them will not come from their chambers to the Guildhall in London vnder ten pounds, or twentie nobles at the leſt. And one being demanded why he made ſo much of his trauell, anſwered, that it was but follie for him to go ſo farre, when he was aſſured to get more monie by ſitting ſtill at home. A friend of mine alſo had a ſute

Generally at London.

Many lawsuits.

All the money in the land flows to the lawyers.

And they'll be richer if their clients don't get wiser.

Once, lawyers sat in St Paul's on stools to get clients; now they want £10 to come to Guildhall.

[3 p. 181]

[1] of our [2] easily

of late of ſome valure, and to be ſure of counſell at his time, he gaue vnto two lawiers (whoſe names I forbeare to deliuer) twentie ſhillings a peece, telling them of the daie and houre wherein his matter ſhould be called vpon. To be ſhort, they came not vnto the barre at all, whervpon he ſtaied for that daie. On the morrow after he met them againe, increaſed his former gifts by ſo much more, and told them of the time, but they once againe ſerued him as before. In the end he met them both in the verie hall doore, and after ſome timorous reprehenſion, of their vncourteous demeanour toward him, he beſtowed either three angels or foure more vpon each of them, wherevpon they promiſed peremptorilie to ſpeake earneſtlie in his cauſe. And yet for all this, one of them hauing not yet ſucked enough, vtterlie deceiued him: the other in deed came in, and wagging a ſcroll which he had in his hand before the iudge, he ſpake not aboue three or foure words, almoſt ſo ſoone vttered as a 'good morrow,' and ſo went from the bar; and this was all the poore man gat for his monie, and the care which his counſellours did ſeeme to take of his cauſe, then ſtanding vpon the hazard. But inough of theſe matters, for if I ſhould ſet downe how little law poore men can haue for their ſmall fees in theſe daies, and the great murmurings that are on all ſides vttered againſt their exceſſiue taking of monie (for they can abide no ſmall gaine) I ſhould extend this treatiſe into a farre greater volume than is conuenient for my purpoſe. Wherfore it ſhall ſuffice to haue ſet downe ſo much of their demeanour, and ſo much as is euen enough to cauſe them to looke with ſomewhat more conſcience into their dealings, except they be dull and ſenſeleſſe.]

A friend of mine gave 2 lawyers 20*s.* each to plead his cause.

[*Deceipt.*]

Neither came. So he gave 'em another 20*s.* each.

Again neither came.

So he gave each 3 angels more.

And then one Lawyer still wouldn't come, but

the other said 3 or 4 words for him.

[*Manie of our lawiers stoope not at small fees.*]

I hope I've said enough of Lawyers' tricks to make 'em more conscientious.

This furthermore is to be noted, that albeit the princes heretofore reigning in this land haue erected ſundrie courts, eſpeciallie of the chancerie at Yorke and Ludlow, for the eaſe of poore men dwelling in thoſe

Some provincial Courts have been set up, at York, Ludlow, &c.,

parts, yet will the pooreſt (of all men commonlie moſt contentious) refuſe to haue his cauſe heard ſo neere home, but indeuoureth rather to his vtter vndooing to trauell vp to London, thinking there ſooneſt to preuaile againſt his aduerſarie, though his caſe be neuer ſo doubtfull. But in this toie our Welſhmen doo exceed of all that euer I heard, for you ſhall here and there haue ſome one od poore Dauid of them giuen ſo much to contention and ſtrife, that without all reſpect of charges he will vp to London, though he go bare legged by the waie, and carie his hoſen on his necke (to ſaue their feet from wearing) bicauſe he hath no change. When he commeth there alſo, he will make ſuch importunate begging of his countrimen, and hard ſhift otherwiſe, that he will ſometimes carie downe ſix or ſeuen writs [with him] in his purſſe, wherewith to moleſt his neighbor, though the greateſt quarrell be ſcarſelie worth the fee[1] that he [hath] paid for anie one of them. But inough of this, leaſt in reuealing the ſuperfluous follie of a few brablers in this behalfe, I bring no good will to my ſelfe amongſt the wiſeſt of that nation. Certes it is a lamentable caſe to ſee furthermore, how a number of poore men are dailie abuſed and vtterlie vndoone, by ſundrie varlets that go about the countrie, as [promoters or] brokers betweene the pettie foggers of the lawe, and the common people, onelie to kindle [and eſpie] coales of contention, whereby the one ſide may reape commoditie, and the other [ſpend and] be put to trauell. But of all that euer I knew in Eſſex, Denis and Mainford excelled, till John of Ludlow, *aliàs* Maſon, came in place, vnto whome in compariſon they two were but children: [3] for this laſt [3] in leſſe than three or foure yeares, did bring one man (among manie elſe-where in other places) almoſt to extreame miſerie (if beggerie be the vttermoſt) that [4]

*[Poore men contentious.]*

but men will come to London for their law.

Welshmen's love of law.

They'll walk bare-legd to London, with their hose round their necks, and beg money to sue out 6 or 7 writs.

2 *Promooters seeke matters to set lawiers on worke withall.*[2]

3 Rascally Essex Lawyers: Denis and Mainford; and John of Ludlow, or Mason, the worst of the 3.

[1] price [2]—[2] Three Varlettes worthie to be chronicled.
[3]—[3] and babes for he [4] who

before he had the ſhauing of his beard, was valued at two hundred pounds (I ſpeake with the leaſt[1]) and[2] finallie feeling that he had not ſufficient wherwith to ſuſteine himſelfe and his familie, and alſo to ſatiſfie that greedie rauenour, which ſtill called vpon him for new fees, he went to bed, and within foure daies made an end of his wofull life, euen with care and penſiueneſſe. After his death alſo he ſo handled his ſonne, that there was neuer ſheepe ſhorne in Maie, ſo neere clipped of his fleece preſent, as he was of manie to come: ſo that he was compelled to let awaie his [3]land, bicauſe his cattell & ſtocke were conſumed, and he no longer able to occupie the ground. But hereof let this ſuffice, & in ſteed of theſe enormities, [4]a table[4] ſhall [5]follow of the termes conteining their beginnings and endings,[5] as I haue borrowed them from[6] my freend *Iohn Stow*, [7]whoſe ſtudie is the onelie ſtore houſe of antiquities in my time, and he worthie therefore to be had in reputation and honour.[7]

That scamp of a lawyer, John Mason, so ruind a man I knew, worth £200,

that he died from grief.

Then Mason shore his son closer than any sheep clipt in May.

Now for a list of Law-Terms, got from my friend JOHN STOW.

[A man would imagine that the time of the execution of our lawes, being little aboue one quarter, or not fullie a third part of the yeare, and the appointment of the ſame to be holden in one place onelie, to wit, neere London in Weſtminſter, and finallie the great expenſes emploied vpon the ſame, ſhould be no ſmall cauſe of the ſtaie and hinderance of the adminiſtration of iuſtice in this land: but as it falleth out, they prooue great occaſions and the ſtaie of much contention. The reaſons of theſe are ſoone to be conceiued, for as the broken ſleeue dooth hold the elbow backe, and paine of trauell cauſe manie to ſit at home in quiet; ſo the ſhortneſſe of time and feare of delaie dooth driue thoſe

[*The times of our termes no hinderance to iustice.*]

The broken sleeve holds the elbow back.

[1] best [2] who [3] lease land [4—4] two tables

[5—5] insue, whereof the first shall containe the names of the Countyes, Cities, Borowes and Portes, which send knightes, Burgeses and Barons to the Parliament house, the other an infallible report of the beginnings and endes of euery tearme with their returnes, according to the maner

[6] of [7—7] whylest this impression was in hande

The shortness of Law-Terms and the cost of Law stop suits.

oftentimes to like of peace, who otherwiſe would liue at ſtrife, and quickelie be at ods. Some men deſirous of gaines would haue the termes yet made ſhorter, that more delaie might ingender longer ſute; other would haue the houſes made larger, and more offices erected, wherein to miniſter the lawes. But as the times of the tearmes are rather too ſhort than too long by one returne a peece: ſo if there were ſmaller roomes and fowler waies vnto them, they would inforce manie to make pawſes before they did raſhlie enter into plee. But ſith my purpoſe is not to make an ample diſcourſe of theſe things, it ſhall ſuffice to deliuer the times of the holding of our termes, which inſueth after this manner.][1]

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Law-Terms, from JOHN STOW.

## A perfect rule to know the beginning and ending of euerie terme, with their returnes.

Hilary.

HIlarie terme beginneth the three and twentith daie of Ianuarie (if it be not ſundaie) otherwiſe the next daie after, and [2]is finiſhed[2] the twelfe of Februarie, it[3] hath foure returnes.

{ Octabis Hilarij. } { Craſtino Purific. }
{ Quind. Hilarij. } { Octabis Purific. }

Easter.

¶ Eaſter terme beginneth ſeuenteene daies after Eaſter,[4] endeth foure daies after the Aſcenſion daie, and hath fiue returnes.

{ Quind. Paſch. } { Menſe } { Quinque Paſchæ. }
{ Tres Paſchæ. } { Paſchæ. } { Craſt. Aſcention. }

Trinity.

¶ Trinitie terme beginneth the [5]fridaie after Trin-

[1] In the 1577 ed. here follows the list of members of parliament given in the preceding chapter.

[2]—[2] endeth [3] and [4] Easter and

[5]—[5] next daye after Corpus Christi daye

itie ſundaie,[5] and endeth the wedneſdaie fortnight after, [1] in which time it [1] hath foure returnes.

| | |
|---|---|
| Craſt. Trinitatis. | Quind. Trinitatis. |
| Octabis Trinitatis. | Tres Trinitatis. |

¶ Michaelmaſſe terme beginneth the ninth of October (if it be not ſundaie) and ending[2] the eight and [3] twenuth of Nouember, it[4] hath eight returnes. Michaelmas Term. [3 p. 182]

| | |
|---|---|
| Octabis Michael. | Craſt. anima. |
| Quind. Michael. | Craſt. Martini. |
| Tres Michael. | Octa. Martini. |
| Menſe Michael. | Quind. Martini. |

Note alſo that the eſcheker, [which is *Fiſcus* or *ærarium publicum principis,*] openeth eight daies before anie terme begin, except Trinitie terme, which openeth but foure daies before. The Exchequer opens 8 days before each Term, except Trinity Term.

[5] And thus much for our vſuall termes as they are kept for the adminiſtration of our common lawes, wherevnto I thinke good to adde the lawdaies accuſtomablie holden in [5] the arches and audience of Canturburie, with other eccleſiaſticall and ciuill courts[6] thorough the whole yeare, [7] or for ſomuch time as their execution indureth (which in compariſon is ſcarſelie one halfe of the time if it be diligentlie examined), to the end, each one at home being called vp to anſwer, may trulie know the time of his appearance; being ſorie in the meane ſeaſon, that the vſe of the popiſh calendar is ſo much reteined in the ſame, and not rather the vſuall daies of the moneth placed in their roomes, ſith moſt of them are fixed, and palter not their place of ſtanding. Howbeit ſome of our infected lawiers will not let them go awaie ſo eaſilie, pretending facilitie and cuſtome of vſage, but meaning peraduenture inwardlie to keepe a I shall add the Law-days of the Arches and other eccleſiaſtical and civil Courts. The Popish Calendar is too much kept in them.

[1]—[1] and [2] endeth [4] and

[5]—[5] And nowe followeth the lawe dayes in the Court of [6] lawes

[7]—[7] These dayes are not chaunged except they lyght on a Sunday or holy daye, and euery day is called a lawday, unlesse it be Sunday or holyday.

commemoration of thoſe dead men whoſe names are there remembred.[7]

Feasts in Michaelmas Term,

*Michaelmas terme.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| S. Faith. | All Soules. | S. Andrew. |
| S. Edward. | S. Martin. | Conception |
| S. Luke. | Edmund. | of [1] the virgin |
| Simon & Iu. | Katherine. | Marie.[1] |

on the 1st day after each of which the Arches Court is held in Bow Church, and the Admiralty Court in Southwark.

¶ It is to be remembred[2] that the firſt daie following euerie of theſe feaſts noted in each[3] terme, the court of the arches is kept in Bow church in the forenoone. And the ſame firſt daie in the afternoone is the admeraltie court for ciuill [and ſeafaring] cauſes kept in Southwarke, [where iuſtice is miniſtred & execution doone continuallie according to the ſame.]

On the 2nd day after, the Canterbury Audience and Prerogative Courts are held.

The ſecond daie following euerie one of the ſaid feaſts, the court of audience of Canturburie is kept in the conſiſtorie in Paules in the forenoone. And the ſelfe[4] daie in the afternoone, in the ſame place is the prerogatiue court of Canturburie holden.

On the 3rd day after, the Bp of London's Consistory Court is held, and the Appeal Commissioners' Court.

The third day after anie ſuch feaſt in the forenoone, the conſiſtorie court of the biſhop of London is kept in Paules church in the [ſaid] conſiſtorie, and the ſame third daie in the afternoone is the court of the delegates, and [the court] of the Queenes highneſſe commiſſioners vpon appeales [is likewiſe] kept in the ſame place [on the fourth daie.]

*Hilarie terme.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| S. Hilarie. | S. Scolaſtic. | S. Chad. |
| S. Wolſtan. | S. Valentine | Perpet. & Fel. |
| Conuerſion | Aſhwedneſ.[5] | S. Gregorie. |
| of S. Paule. | S. Matthie. | Annũciation |
| S. Blaſe. | | of our Ladie. |

Note that the foure firſt daies of this terme be cer-

[1]—[1] our Lady. [2] noted [3] euery
[4] same [5] Ashwednesd

teine and vnchanged. The other are altered after the courſe of the yeare, and ſometime kept and ſometime omitted. For if it ſo happen that one of thoſe feaſts fall on wedneſdaie, commonlie called Aſhwedneſdaie after the daie of S. Blaſe (ſo that the ſame lawdaie after Aſhwedneſdaie cannot be kept bicauſe the lawdaie of the other feaſt dooth light on the ſame) then the ſecond lawdaie after Aſhwedneſdaie ſhall be kept, and the other omitted. And if the lawdaie after Aſhwedneſdaie [1] be the next daie after the feaſt of S. Blaſe, then ſhall all and euerie [2] court daies be obſerued in order, as they may be kept conuenientlie. And marke, [3]that although[3] Aſhwedneſdaie be put the ſeuenth in order, yet it hath no certeine place, but is changed as the courſe of Eaſter cauſeth it.

The 4 first days of Hilary term are fixt, but the others are changeable.

*Eaſter terme.*

The fifteenth daie after Eaſter.

| | |
|---|---|
| S. Alphege. | Gordian. |
| S. Marke. | S. Dunſtan. |
| Inuention of the croſſe. | Aſcenſion daie. |

¶ In this terme the firſt ſitting is alwaie kept the mondaie being the fifteenth daie after Eaſter, and ſo foorth after the feaſts here noted, which next follow by courſe of the yeare after Eaſter, and the like ſpace being kept betweene other feaſts.

In Easter Term the 1st sitting is on the 15th day after Easter.

The reſt of the lawdaies are kept to the third of the Aſcenſion, which is the laſt day of this terme. And if it happen that the feaſt of the Aſcenſion of our Lord doo come before anie of the feaſts aforeſaid, then they are omitted for that yeare. And likewiſe if anie of thoſe daies come before the fifteenth of Eaſter, thoſe daies are omitted alſo.

[1] that Wednesday [2] euery those [3]—[3] although that

*Trinitie terme.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tripitie ſundaie. | S. Butolph. | S. Swithune. |
| Corpus Chriſti. | S. Iohn. | S. Margaret. |
| Boniface biſh. | S. Paule. | S. Anne. |
| S. Barnabie. | Tranſlat. Thomas. | |

In Trinity Term the 1st and 2nd sittings are on the 1st Law-days after the Feasts of the Trinity, and Corpus Christi.

[Here] note [alſo] that the lawdaies of this terme are altered by meane of Whitſuntide, and the firſt ſitting is kept alwaies on the firſt lawdaie after the feaſt of the holie Trinitie, and the ſecond ſeſſion is kept the firſt lawdaie after [the idolatrous and papiſticall feaſt daie called] *Corpus Chriſti*, except *Corpus Chriſti* daie fall on ſome day aforenamed: which chanceth ſometime, and then the fitter daie is kept. And after the ſecond ſeſſion, account foure daies or thereabout, and then looke which is the next feaſt day, and the firſt lawdaie after the ſaid feaſt ſhall be the third ſeſſion. The other lawdaies follow in order, but ſo manie of them are kept, as for the time of the yeare ſhall be thought meet.

All days not Sundays or Holy days, are Law-days.

[1] It is alſo generallie to be obſerued,[1] that euerie daie is called a lawdaie that is not ſundaie or holie daie: and that if the feaſt daie being knowne of anie court daie in anie terme, the firſt or ſecond daie following be ſundaie, then the court daie is kept the daie after the ſaid holie daie or feaſt.

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## Of prouiſion made for the poore.

### Chap. 10.[2]

The Poor are everywhere, and the Rich must relieve them.

THere is no common-wealth at this daie in Europe, wherin there is not great ſtore of poore people, and thoſe neceſſarilie to be relieued by the welthier ſort, which otherwiſe would

[1]—[1] And note generally

[2] In the 1577 ed. this chapter forms the 5th of Book 3.

ſtarue and come to vtter confuſion. With vs, the poore is commonlie diuided into three ſorts, ſo that ſome are poore by impotencie, as the fatherleſſe child, the aged, blind and lame, and the diſeaſed perſon that is iudged to be incurable: the ſecond are poore by caſualtie, as the wounded ſouldier, the decaied houſeholder, and the ſicke perſon viſited with grieuous and painefull[1] diſeaſes: the third conſiſteth of thriftleſſe poore, as the riotour that hath conſumed all, the vagabund that will abide no where, but runneth vp and downe from place to place (as it were ſeeking worke and finding none), and finallie the roge and ſtrumpet, which are not poſſible to be diuided in ſunder, [but runne too and fro ouer all the realme, cheefelie keeping the champaine ſoiles in ſummer, to auoid the ſcorching heat, and the woodland grounds in winter, to eſchew the bluſtering winds.]

*Three sorts of poore.*
1. by impotency,
2. by casualty,
3. by thriftlessness (riotors, vagabonds, rogues, and strumpets).

[2] For the firſt two ſorts,[3] that is to ſaie, the poore by [2 p. 183]

[1] uncurable

[3] See the interesting account in *Holinshed*, iii. 1081-2, of how the good young king Edward VI., mov'd by a sermon of Bp Ridley's, talkt with him about means for relieving the poor, and on his suggestion resolvd to begin with those of London, and wrote to the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Richard Dobs, about it. Dobs, Ridley, 2 aldermen, and 6 commoners, got-up a committee of 24. "And in the end, after sundrie meetings (for by meane of the good diligence of the bishop it was well followed,) they agreed vpon a booke that they had deuised, wherein first they considered of nine speciall kinds and sorts of poore people, and those same they brought in these three degrees:

Three degrees of poore
- The poore by impotencie.
- Poore by casualtie.
- Thriftlesse poore.

1. The poore by impotencie are also diuided into three kinds, that is to saie:
   1. The fatherlesse poore mans child.
   2. The aged, blind, and lame.
   3. The diseased person, by leprosie, dropsie, &c.
2. The poore by casualtie are of three kinds, that is to saie:
   4. The wounded souldier.
   5. The decaied housholder.
   6. The visited with greeuous disease.
3. The thriftles poore are three kinds in like wise that is to saie:
   7. The riotor that consumeth all.
   8. The vagabond that will abide in no place.
   9. The idle person, as the strumpet and others.

For these sorts of poore were prouided three seuerall houses. First for the innocent and fatherlesse, which is the beggers child, and is in deed the seed and breeder of beggerie, they prouided the house that was late Graie friers in London

impotencie, and the poore by caſualtie, which are the[1] true poore in deed, and for whome the word dooth bind vs to make ſome dailie prouiſion, there is order taken through out euerie pariſh in the realme, that weekelie collection ſhall be made for their helpe and ſuſtentation, to the end they ſhould not ſcatter abroad, and by begging here and there annoie both towne and countrie. Authoritie alſo is giuen vnto the iuſtices in euerie countie, and great penalties appointed for ſuch as make default, to ſee that the intent of the ſtatute in this behalfe be trulie executed, according to the purpoſe and meaning of the ſame, ſo that theſe two ſorts are ſufficientlie prouided for: and ſuch as can liue within the limits of their allowance, (as each one will doo that is godlie and well diſpoſed,) may well forbeare to rome and range about.[2] But if they refuſe to be ſupported by this benefit of the law, and will rather indeuour, by going to and fro, to mainteine their idle trades, then are they adiudged to be parcell of the third ſort, and ſo, in ſteed of courteous refreſhing at home, are often corrected with ſharpe execution, and whip of iuſtice abroad. Manie there are, which notwithſtanding the rigor of the lawes prouided in that behalfe, yeeld rather with this libertie (as they call it) to be dailie vnder the feare

For the true Poor, whom Christ bids us feed, weekly collections are made throughout the land

so that they need not roam about.

But if they like best to roam,

then they get whipt.

and now is called Christes hospitall, where the poore children are trained in the knowledge of God, and some vertuous exercise to the ouerthrowe of beggerie. For the second degree, is prouided the hospitall of saint Thomas in Southwarke, & saint Bartholomew in west Smithfield, where are continuallie at least two hundred diseased persons, which are not onelie there lodged and cured, but also fed and nourished. For the third degree, they prouided Bridewell, where the vagabond and idle strumpet is chastised, and compelled to labour, to the ouerthrow of the vicious life of idlenes. They prouided also for the honest decaied housholder, that he should be relieued at home at his house, and in the parish where he dwelled, by a weekelie reliefe and pension. And in like manner they prouided for the lazer, to keepe him out of the citie from clapping of dishes, and ringing of bels, to the great trouble of the citizens, and also to the dangerous infection of manie, that they should be relieued at home at their houses with seuerall pensions."—*Holinshed*, iii. 1082. The rest of the page should be read about 'blessed king' Edward VI., and his thanking God that He'd given him life to finish 'this worke' of relief to the poor 'to the glorie of thy name': two days after, the good young king died."—F.

[1] there ye [2] abrode

and terrour of the whip, than by abiding where they were borne or bred, to be prouided for by the [1] deuotion of the pariſhes.[1] I found not long ſince a note of theſe latter ſort, the effect whereof inſueth. Idle beggers are ſuch, either through other mens occaſion, or through their owne default. By other mens occaſion (as one waie, for example), when ſome couetous man, [ſuch I meane as haue the caſt or right veine, dailie to make beggers inough wherby to peſter the land,] eſpieng a further commoditie in their commons, holds, and tenures, dooth find ſuch meanes as thereby to wipe manie out of their occupiengs, and turne the ſame vnto his[2] priuate gaines. Herevpon it followeth, that although the wiſe and better minded [doo either forſake the realme for altogether, and ſeeke to liue in other countries, as France, Germanie, Barbarie, India, Moſcouia, and verie Calecute, complaining of no roome to be left for them at home,] doo ſo behaue themſelues that they are worthilie to be accompted among the ſecond ſort; yet the greater part, commonlie hauing nothing to ſtaie vpon, are wilfull; and therevpon doo either prooue idle beggers, or elſe continue ſtarke theeues till the gallowes doo eat them vp, [which is a lamentable caſe. Certes in ſome mans iudgements theſe things are but trifles, and not worthie the regarding. Some alſo doo grudge at the great increaſe of people in theſe daies, thinking a neceſſarie brood of cattell farre better than a ſuperfluous augmentation of mankind. But I can liken ſuch men beſt of all vnto the pope and the diuell, who practiſe the hinderance of the furniture of the number of the elect to their vttermoſt, to the end the authoritie of the one vpon earth, the deferring of the locking vp of the other in euerlaſting chaines, and the great gaines of the firſt, may continue and indure the longer. But if it ſhould come to paſſe that any forren inuaſion ſhould be made,

Idle beggars are made by others' covetousness.

*A thing often seene.*

Which turns them out of their holdings.

*At whose hands shall the bloud of these men be required?*

They have either to emigrate,

or turn idle beggars or stark thieves.

Some men think this a trifle.

Others grudge the increase of the people, thinking cattle more needed than men.

Such folk I liken to the Pope and the Devil, who try to keep down the number of God's Elect.

[1]—[1] parish [2] their

Against invasion, a wall of men is better than stacks of corn or bags of money.

which the Lord God forbid for his mercies ſake!—then ſhould theſe men find that a wall of men is farre better than ſtackes of corne and bags of monie, and complaine of the want when it is too late to ſeeke remedie. The like occaſion cauſed the Romans to deuiſe their law Agraria: but the rich not liking of it, and the couetous vtterlie condemning it as rigorous and vnprofitable, neuer ceaſed to practiſe diſturbance till it was quite aboliſhed. But to proceed with my purpoſe.]

Idle beggars are so,

Such as are idle beggers[1] through their owne default, are of two ſorts, and continue their eſtates

1. by casual means,

either by caſuall or meere voluntarie meanes: thoſe that are ſuch by caſuall means, are [in the beginning] iuſtlie to be referred either to the firſt or ſecond ſort

(having been respectable, and then degenerated into thriftless good-for nothings;)

of poore afore mentioned: but degenerating into the thriftleſſe ſort, they doo what they can to continue their miſerie, and, with ſuch impediments as they haue, to ſtraie and wander about, as creatures abhorring all labour and euerie honeſt exerciſe. Certes I call theſe caſuall meanes, not in reſpect of the originall of their pouertie, but of the continuance of the

[1] Objection 2, sign. e. i. "I praie you shewe me by what occasion or meanes, this huge nomber of Beggers and Vacabounde doe breede here in Englande. And why you appointe twelue of them to euery Shipp: I thinke they maie carie the Shippe awaie, & become Pirates. [Answer.] If you consider the pouerty that is and doth remaine in the Shire tounes, and Market tounes, within this Realme of England and Wales, which tounes, being inhabited with greate store of poore householders, who by their pouertie are driuen to bring vp their youth idlely; and if they liue vntill they come to mans state, then are they past all remedie to be brought to woorke. Therfore, at suche tyme as their Parentes fayles them, they beginne to shifte, and acquainte them selues with some one like brought vppe, that hath made his shifte, with dicyng, cosenyng, picking or cutting of purses, or els, if he be of courage, plaine robbing by the waie side, which they count an honest shift for the time; and so come they daiely to the Gallowes. Hereby growes the greate and huge nomber of Beggers and Vacabounles, which by no reasonable meanes or lawes could yet be brought to woorke, being thus idely brought vp. Whiche perilous state and imminent daunger that they now stande in, I thought it good to auoide, by placeyng twelue of these poore people into euery fishyng Shippe, accordyng to this Platte." 1580. *Robert Hitchcok's Pollitique Platt.*—F.

ſame, from whence they will not be deliuered, [1] ſuch is [1] their owne vngratious lewdneſſe, and froward diſpoſition. The voluntarie meanes proceed from outward cauſes, as by making of coroſiues, and applieng the ſame to the more fleſhie parts of their bodies: and alſo laieng of ratſbane, ſperewort, crowfoot, and ſuch like, vnto their whole members, thereby to raiſe pitifull [2] and odious ſores, and mooue [the harts of] the goers by ſuch places where they lie, to [3] yerne at [3] their miſerie, and therevpon beſtow large almeſſe vpon them. [How artificiallie they beg, what forcible ſpeech, and how they ſelect and chooſe out words of vehemencie, whereby they doo in maner coniure or adiure the goer by to pitie their caſes, I paſſe ouer to remember, as iudging the name of God and Chriſt to be more conuerſant in the mouths of none; and yet the preſence of the heuenlie maieſtie further off from no men than from this vngratious companie. Which maketh me to thinke that puniſhment is farre meeter for them than liberalitie or almeſſe, and ſith Chriſt willeth vs cheeflie to haue a regard to himſelfe and his poore members.]

2. by voluntary means, making horrible sores on themselves,

that the goers-by may pity them and give them large alms.

God is far from them.

They deserve punishment rather than alms.

Unto this neſt [4] is another ſort to be referred, more ſturdie than the reſt, which, hauing ſound and perfect lims, doo yet notwithſtanding ſometime counterfeit the poſſeſſion of all ſorts of diſeaſes. Diuerſe times in their apparell alſo they will be like ſeruing men or laborers: oftentimes they can plaie the mariners, and ſeeke for ſhips which they neuer loſt. But in fine, they are all theeues and caterpillers in the commonwealth, and by the word of God not permitted to eat, ſith they doo but licke the ſweat from the true laborers browes, & beereue the godlie [poore] of that which is due vnto them, to mainteine their exceſſe, conſuming the charitie of well-diſpoſed people beſtowed vpon them, after a moſt wicked [5] & deteſtable maner.

Other sturdy beggars sham to be

serving-men, labourers, or seamen.

Thieves and caterpillars in the commonwealth, who lick the sweat from the true workmen's brows!

[1—1] throw [2] piteous [3—3] lament [4] neast [5] wicked, horrible

This Beggar trade began but 60 years ago; and now we've 10,000 at it.

It is not yet [1] full threeſcore yeares [1] ſince this trade began: but how it hath proſpered ſince that time, it is eaſie to iudge, for they are now ſuppoſed of one ſex and another, to amount vnto aboue 10000 perſons; as I haue heard reported. Moreouer, in counterfeiting the Egyptian roges,[2] they haue deuiſed a language among themſelues, which they name '*Canting*,' but other, '*pedlers French*,' a ſpeach compact thirtie yeares ſince, of Engliſh, and a great number of od words of their owne deuiſing, without all order or reaſon: and yet ſuch is it as none but themſelues are able to vnderſtand. The firſt deuiſer thereof was hanged by the necke; a iuſt reward no doubt for his deſerts, and a common end to all of that profeſſion. A gentleman alſo of late hath taken great paines to ſearch out the ſecret practiſes of this vngratious rable. And among other things he ſetteth downe and deſcribeth [4]three & twentie[4] ſorts of them, whoſe names it ſhall not be amiſſe to remember, whereby ech one may [5]take occaſion to read and know as alſo by his induſtrie[5] what wicked people they are, and what villanie remaineth in them.

And they've invented '*Canting*' and '*Pedlers' French*' too.

Of which the first deviser was hung.

*Thomas Harman.*[3] A Kentish gentleman, has expos'd their rascally tricks, and describd three and twenty sorts of 'em.

Here are these 23 sorts of Vagabonds.

*The ſeuerall diſorders and degrees amongſt* our idle vagabonds.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Rufflers, | 7 Palliards. |
| 2 Uprightmen. | 8 Fraters. |
| 3 Hookers or Anglers. | 9 Abrams. |
| 4 Roges. | 10 Freſhwater mariners, |
| [p. 184] 5 Wild roges. | or whipiacks. |
| 6 Priggers [6]or pranſers.[6] | 11 Dummerers. |

[1]—[1] 50 yeares

[2] See the earliest known specimen of the Gipsy language, the "Egyptian roges" speech, in my edition of *Andrew Boorde*, E. E. T. Soc. Extra Series, 1870, p. 218.—F.

[3] See the edition of his book and Awdeley's prior one, by Mr Viles and myself, in the Early English Text Society's Extra Series, 1869, No. IX.—F.

[4]—[4] 22 [5]—[5] gather [6]—[6] of praunсers

12 Drunken tinkers.
13 Swadders or pedlers.
14 Jarkemen or patricoes.

¶ *Of women kind.*

1 Demanders for glimmar or fire.
2 Baudie baſkets.
3 Mortes.
4 Autem mortes.
5 Walking mortes.
6 Doxes.
7 Delles.
8 Kinching mortes.
9 Kinching cooes.

Thos. Harman's 23 sorts of Vagabonds.

The puniſhment that is ordeined for this kind of people is verie ſharpe, and yet it can not reſtreine them from their gadding: wherefore the end muſt needs be martiall law,[1] to be exerciſed vpon them, as vpon theeues, robbers, deſpiſers of all lawes, and enimies to the common-wealth & welfare of the land. What notable roberies, pilferies, murders, rapes, and ſtealings of [yoong] children, [2] burning, breaking and diſſiguring their lims to make them pitifull in the ſight of the people,[2] I need not to rehearſe: but for their idle roging about the countrie, the law ordeineth this maner of correction. The roge being apprehended, committed to priſon, and tried in the next aſſiſes (whether they be of gaole deliuerie or ſeſſions of the peace), if he happen to be conuicted for a vagabond, either by inqueſt of office, or the teſtimonie of two honeſt and credible witneſſes vpon their oths, he is then immediatlie adiudged to be greeuouſlie whipped and burned through the griſtle of the right eare, with an hot iron of the compaſſe of an inch about, as a manifeſtation of his wicked life, and due puniſhment receiued for the ſame.[3] And this iudgement is to be executed vpon him, except ſome honeſt perſon woorth fiue pounds in the queenes books in goods, or twentie ſhillings in lands, or ſome rich houſholder to be allowed by the iuſtices, will be bound in [4] recogniſ-

The Statutory punishment of 'em, tho' sharp, isn't sharp enough.

Martial law is the only thing for 'em.

Oh, what evils they do!

If a rogue is convicted of being a Vagabond,

the 1st time he's whipt and burnt thro' the right ear with a ½ inch hot iron,

unless a house-holder 'll take him into service for 1 year.

[1] Law of the Marshal.—F.

[2] they doe use (which they disfigure o begg withal)

[3] See my *Ballads from MSS.* i. 121-3, Ballad Soc.—F. [4] in a

On the 2nd conviction the Vagabond is whipt, bord thro' his other ear, and set to service.

If he runs away and is caught, he's killd.

ance to reteine him in his ſeruice for one whole yeare. If he be taken the ſecond time, and proued to haue forſaken his ſaid ſeruice, he ſhall then be whipped againe, bored likewiſe through the other eare, and ſet to ſeruice: from whence if he depart before a yeare be expired, and happen afterward to be attached againe, he is condemned to ſuffer paines of death as a fellon (except before excepted) without benefit of clergie or ſanctuarie, as by the ſtatute dooth appeare. Among roges and idle perſons, finallie, we find to be compriſed all proctors that go vp and downe with counterfeit licences, coofiners,[1] and ſuch as gad[2] about the countrie, vſing vnlawfull games, practiſers of phyſiognomie and palmeſtrie, tellers of fortunes, fenſers,[3] plaiers, minſtrels, iugglers, pedlers, tinkers, [pretenſed] ſchoolers, ſhipmen, priſoners gathering for fees, and others ſo oft as they be taken without ſufficient licence. [From among which companie our beare wards are not excepted, and iuſt cauſe: for I haue read that they haue either voluntarilie, or for want of power to maſter their ſauage beaſts, beene occaſion of the death and deuoration of manie children in ſundrie countries by which they haue paſſed, whoſe parents neuer knew what was become of them. And for that cauſe there is & haue beene manie ſharpe lawes made for bearwards in Germanie, wherof you may read in other. But to our roges.] Each one alſo that harboreth or aideth them with meat or monie, is taxed and compelled to fine with the queenes maieſtie for euerie time that he dooth[4] ſo ſuccour them, as it ſhall pleaſe the iuſtices of peace to aſſigne, ſo that the taxation exceed not twentie ſhillings, as I haue beene informed. And thus much of the poore, & ſuch prouiſion as is appointed for them within the realme of England.

Among Rogues, are Proctors with counterfeit licenses,

Physiognomists,

Fencers, Players, Minstrels, pretended Scholars,

and Bear-wards.

Every harbourer or helper of a Rogue is fin'd 20*s.*, or less.

[1] Cofiners [2] go [3] fencers, bearwards, [4] shall

# Of ſundrie [kinds of] puniſhments *appointed for malefactors.*

## Chap. 11.[1]

[IN caſes of felonie, manſlaughter, roberie, murther, rape, piracie, & ſuch capitall crimes as are not reputed for treaſon or hurt of the eſtate, our ſentence pronounced vpon the offendor, is, to hang till he be dead. For of other puniſhments vſed in other countries we haue no knowledge or vſe; and yet ſo few greeuous crimes committed with vs as elſe where in the world. To vſe torment alſo, or queſtion by paine and torture, in theſe common caſes, with vs is greatlie abhorred, ſith we are found alwaie to be ſuch as deſpiſe death, and yet abhorre to be tormented, chooſing rather frankelie to open our minds, than to yeeld our bodies vnto ſuch ſeruile halings and tearings as are vſed in other countries. And this is one cauſe wherefore our condemned perſons doo go ſo cheerefullie to their deths, for our nation is free, ſtout, hautie, prodigall of life and bloud, as ſir *Thomas Smith* ſaith, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 25. *de republica*,[2] and therefore cannot in anie wiſe digeſt to be vſed as villanes and ſlaues, in ſuffering continuallie beating, ſeruitude, and ſeruile

Hanging is the English puniſhment for felony, &c.

Torture we don't use.

Our criminals go cheerfully to their deaths. Our nation is stout and haughty, and will not stand being us'd as villains and slaves.

[1] This forms chap. 6, Book III., in 1577 ed.

[2] "Confession by torment is esteemed for nothing, for if hee confesse at the iudgement, the tryall of the 12 goeth not vpon him; if hee deny the fact: that which he said before, hindreth him not. The nature of English-men is to neglect death, to abide no torment: and therefore hee will confesse rather to haue done anything, yea to haue killed his owne father, than to suffer torment: for death, our nation doth not so much esteeme as a meere torment. In no place shall you see malefactors goe more constantly, more assuredly, and with lesse lamentation to their death than in England. . . . . The nature of our nation is free, stout, haulty, prodigall of life and blood: but contumely, beating, servitude, and seruile torment, and punishment; it will not abide. So in this nature & fashion, our ancient Princes and legislatoors haue nourished them, as to make them stout-hearted, couragious, and souldiers, not villaines and slaues; and that is the scope almost of all our Policie."—Sir Thomas Smith's *Commonwealth of England*, ed. 1621, p. 97, Book II., chap. 27 (not 25).—F.

torments.[1] No, our gailers are guiltie of fellonie, by an old law of the land, if they torment anie priſoner committed to their cuſtodie, for the reuealing of his complices.]

Our most grievous punishment is for traitors, who're drawn on a hurdle, hangd quarterd alive,

The greateſt and moſt greeuous puniſhment vſed in England, for ſuch as offend againſt the ſtate, is drawing[2] from the priſon to the place of execution vpon an hardle or ſled, where they are hanged till they be halfe dead, and then taken downe, and quartered [aliue;]

and their limbs hackt off and burnt.

after that, their members and bowels are cut from their bodies,[3] and throwne into a fire prouided neere hand and within [their owne] ſight, euen for the ſame purpoſe. Sometimes, if the treſpaſſe be not the more hainous, they are ſuffered to hang till they be quite dead. And when ſoeuer anie of the nobilitie are conuicted of high treaſon [by their peeres, that is to ſaie, equals, (for an inqueſt of yeomen paſſeth not vpon them, but onelie of the lords of the parlement,)] this maner of their death is conuerted into the loſſe of their heads onelie, notwithſtanding that the ſentence doo run after the former order. In triall of caſes concerning treaſon, fellonie, or anie other greeuous crime [not confeſſed], the partie accuſed dooth yeeld, if he be a noble man, to be tried by [an inqueſt (as I haue ſaid) and] his peeres: if a gentleman, by gentle-

But when Nobles are traitors,

only their heads are chopt off.

Nobles are tried by their peers; gentlemen by gentlemen;

[1] But see, 2 pages on, how felons who won't confess are presst to death by heavy weights.—F.

[2] drawne

[3] A.D. 1586. *Hol.* iii. 1434, col. 2. "On the one and twentith daie of Ianuarie, two Seminarie preests (before arreigned and condemned) were drawne to Tiburne, and there *hanged, bowelled, and quartered.* Also on the same daie a wench was *burnt* in Smithfield, for *poisoning* of hir aunt and mistresse, and also attempting to haue doon the like to her vncle."—F.

A.D. 1577. "The thirtith daie of Nouember, Cutbert Maine was *drawne, hanged, and quartered* at Lanceston in Cornewall for preferring Romane power. . . 1577-8. The third daie of Februarie, John Nelson, for denieng the queenes supremasie, and such other traitorous words against hir maiestie, was drawne from Newgate to Tiburne, and there *hanged, bowelled, and quartered.* And on the seuenth of the same moneth of Februarie, Thomas Sherewin was likewise drawne from the tower of London to Tiburne, and there *hanged, bowelled, and quartered* for the like offense."—*Holinshed*, iii. 1271, col. 1, l. 15, l. 47.—F.

men: and an inferiour, by God and by the countrie, [to wit, the yeomanrie (for combat or battell is not greatlie in vſe)] and being condemned of fellonie, manſlaughter, &c, he is eftſoons hanged by the necke till he be dead, and then cut downe and buried. But if he be conuicted of wilfull murther, [doone either vpon pretended malice, or in anie notable robberie,] he is either hanged aliue in chaines[1] neere the place where the fact was committed (or elſe, [vpon compaſſion taken,] firſt ſtrangled with a rope) and ſo continueth till his bones conſume to nothing. We haue vſe neither of the wheele nor of the barre, as in other countries; but when wilfull manſlaughter is perpetrated, beſide hanging, the offender hath his right hand commonlie ſtriken off[2] before or neere vnto[2] the place where the act was doone, after which he is led foorth to the place of execution, and there put to death according to the law.

commoners by the yeomanry. Trial by battle is not much us'd.

Murderers are hang'd alive in chains, tho' sometimes first strangl'd with a rope.

Wheel or Bar is not us'd here.

A wilful manslaughterer has his right hand cut off before he's hung.

[The word fellon is deriued of the Saxon words *Fell* and *One*, that is to ſay, an euill and wicked one, [3]a one of vntamable nature, and lewdneſſe not to be ſuffered, for feare of euill example and the corruption of others. In like ſort in] the[4] word fellonie are manie greeuous crimes conteined, as breach of priſon, *An.* 1. of Edward the ſecond. Diſfigurers of the princes liege people, *An.* 5. of Henrie the fourth. Hunting by night with painted faces and viſors, *An.* 1. of Henrie the ſeuenth. Rape, or ſtealing of women & maidens, *An.* 3. of Henrie the eight. Conſpiracie againſt the

'Fellon' is deriv'd from 'fell' and 'one.'

[3 p. 185]

Felony comprises many crimes.

[1] A.D. 1578-9. "The seuenteenth of Februarie, an Irishman, for murdering of a man in a garden of Stepenheth [= Stepney] parish, was *hanged in chaines* on the common called Mile end greene. This common was sometimes, yea, in the memorie of men yet liuing, a large mile long (from White chappell to Stepenheth church), and therefore called Mile end greene; but now at this present, by greedie (and as seemeth to me, vnlawfull) inclosures, and building of houses, notwithstanding hir maiesties proclamation to the contrarie, it remaineth scarse halfe a mile in length."—*Hol.* iii. 1271, col. 2, l. 54-64.—F.

[2]—[2] at

[4] Under the

Felony (which is punisht by death) includes these crimes:

perſon of the prince, *An.* 3. of Henrie the ſeuenth. Embeſilling of goods committed by the maſter to the ſeruant, aboue the value of fourtie ſhillings, *An.* 17. of Henrie the eight. Carieng of horſſes or mares into Scotland, *An.* 23. of Henrie the eight. Sodomie and buggerie,[1] *An.* 25. of Henrie the eight. Stealing of hawkes egs, *An.* 31. of Henrie the eight. Coniuring,[3] ſorcerie, witchcraft, and digging vp of croſſes, *An.* 33. of Hen. 8.[2] Propheſieng vpon armes, cogniſances, names & badges, *An.* 33. of Hen. 8. Caſting of ſlanderous bils, *An.* 37. Hen. 8. Wilfull killing by poiſon, *An.* 1. of Edw. the ſixt. Departure of a ſoldier from the field, *An.* 2. of Edward the ſixt. Diminution of coine, all offenſes within caſe of premunire, embeſelling of records, goods taken from dead men by their ſeruants, ſtealing of what ſoeuer cattell, robbing by the high waie, vpon the ſea, or of dwelling houſes, letting out of ponds, cutting of purſſes, ſtealing of deere by night, counterfeitors[4] of coine,[5] eui-

stealing hawks' eggs, conjuring,

prophesying on arms and badges,

sweating coin,

stealing, robbing, cutting purses (Sir John Falstaff!) stealing deer by night (Mr Wm Shakspere!)

[1] A.D. 1540. "The eight and twentith of Julie (as you haue heard before,) the lord Cromwell was beheaded, and likewise with him the lord Hungerford of Heitesburie, who at the houre of his death seemed vnquiet, as manie iudged him rather in a frensie than otherwise: he suffered for buggerie."—*Hol.* iii. 952, col. 2, l. 21. See the rest of the column for other executions for heresy, for affirming Henry VIII.'s marriage with his first Queen, Katherine, to be good, for treason, and for robbing a lady.—F.

[2] cap. 8, Record Com. Stat.

[3] A.D. 1580, an. Eliz. 23. "The eight and twentith daie of Nouember, were arreigned in the kings [Queens] Bench, William Randoll for *coniuring to know where treasure was hid in the earth*, and goods felloniouslie taken, were become: Thomas Elks, Thomas Lupton, Rafe Spacie, and Christopher Waddington, for being present, aiding and procuring the said Randoll to the coniuration aforesaid: Randoll, Elks, Spacie, and Waddington, were found guiltie, & had iudgement to be hanged: Randoll was executed, the other were repriued."—*Hol.* iii. 1314, col. 2, l. 68. . . . A.D. 1581. "The thirteenth of Januarie, a man was drawne to saint Thomas of Waterings, and there hanged, beaded, and quartered, for begging by a licence wherevnto the queenes hand was counterfeted."—*Hol.* iii. 1315, col. 1, l. 46.—F.

[4] counterfectours

[5] A.D. 1569-70. "The seuen and twentith of Januarie, Philip Mestrell, a Frenchman, and two Englishmen, were drawne from Newgate to Tiburne, and there hanged, the Frenchman quartered, who had coined gold counterfeit: the Englishmen, the one had clipped siluer, the other, cast testons of tin."—*Hol.* iii. 1211, col. 1, l. 65.

dences, charters, and writings, & diuerſe other needleſſe to be remembred. [If a woman poiſon hir huſband, ſhe is burned aliue;[1] if the ſeruant kill his maſter he is to be executed for petie treaſon; he that poiſoneth a man is to be boiled to death in water or lead, although the partie die not of the practiſe: in caſes of murther, all the acceſſaries are to ſuffer paines of death accordinglie.] Periurie is puniſhed by the pillorie, burning in the forehead with the letter P, [the rewalting of the trees growing vpon the grounds of the offendors,] and loſſe of als his[2] mooueables. Manie treſpaſſes alſo are puniſhed by the cutting of one or both eares from the head of the offendor, as the vtterance of ſeditious words against the magiſtrates, fraimakers, petie robbers, &c. Roges are burned through the eares; cariers of ſheepe out of the land, by the loſſe of their hands; ſuch as kill by poiſon, are either [boiled or] ſkalded to death in lead or ſeething water. Heretikes are burned quicke;[3] harlots and their mates, by carting, ducking, and dooing of open penance [in ſheets, in churches and market ſteeds,] are often put to rebuke. [Howbeit, as this is counted with ſome either as no puniſhment at all

Punishments.

Poisoners are boild to death in water or lead.

Perjurers are burnt in the forehead, and lose their goods.

Offenders lose their ears.

Rogues.

Sheepstealers.

Heretics are burnt alive.

Harlots are duckt, and do penance.

A.D. 1577-8. "The fiue and twentith of Februarie, John de Loy, a Frenchman, and fiue English gentlemen, was conueied from the tower of London towards Norwich, there to be arreigned and executed for coining of monie counterfet."—*Hol.* iii. 1271, col. 1, l. 55.—F.

[1] See note 3, page 222. A.D. 1575. "The ninteenth of Julie, a woman was burnt at Tunbridge in Kent for poisoning of hir husband: and two daies before, a man named Orleie was hanged at Maidstone, for being accessarie to the same fact."—*Holinshed*, iii. 1262, col. 1, l. 70.—F.

A.D. 1571. "On the sixteenth of Julie, Rebecca Chamber, late wife to Thomas Chamber of Heriettesham, was found culpable [= guilty] of poisoning the said Thomas Chamber hir husband, at the assises holden at Maidstone in the countie of Kent. For the which fact, she (hauing well deserued) was there burnt on the next morrow."—*Hol.* iii. 1226, col. 2, l. 30. See like instances in Stowe's *Annals*.—F.

[2] ye

[3] A.D. 1583. "On the eighteenth daie of September, John Lewes, who named himself Abdoit, an obstinate heretike, denieng the godhead of Christ, and holding diuers other detestable heresies (much like to his predecessor Matthew Hamont) was burned at Norwich."—*Holinshed*, iii. 1354, col. 2, l. 62.—F.

to ſpeake of, or but ſmallie regarded of the offendors, ſo I would wiſh adulterie and fornication to haue ſome ſharper law. For what great ſmart is it to be turned out of an hot ſheet into a cold, or after a little waſhing in the water to be let loſe againe vnto their former trades? Howbeit, the dragging of ſome of them ouer the Thames betweene Lambeth and Weſtminſter at the taile of a boat, is a puniſhment that moſt terrifieth them which are condemned therto; but this is inflicted vpon them by none other than the knight marſhall, and that within the compaſſe of his iuriſdiction & limits onelie. *Canutus* was the firſt that gaue authoritie to the cleargie to puniſh whoredome, who at that time found fault with the former lawes as being too ſeuere in this behalfe. For before the time of the ſaid *Canutus*, the adulterer forfeited all his goods to the king, and his bodie to be at his pleaſure; and the adultereſſe was to loſe hir eies or noſe, or both, if the caſe were more than common: whereby it appeereth of what eſtimation mariage was amongſt them, ſith the breakers of that holie eſtate were ſo greeuouſlie rewarded. But afterward, the cleargie dealt more fauourablie with them, ſhooting rather at the puniſhments of ſuch prieſts and clearkes as were maried, than the reformation of adulterie and fornication, wherein you ſhall find no example that anie ſeueritie was ſhewed, except vpon ſuch laie men as had defiled their nuns. As in theft therfore, ſo in adulterie and whoredome, I would wiſh the parties treſpaſſant, to be made bond or ſlaues vnto thoſe that receiued the iniurie, to ſell and giue where they liſted, or to be condemned to the gallies: for that puniſhment would proue more bitter to them than halfe an houres hanging, or than ſtanding in a ſheet, though the weather be neuer ſo cold.

Fornicators should be draggd across the Thames at the tail of a boat, (Cp. A. Boorde, 261, on the Bakers,)

as the Knight Marshall serves 'em.

The old punishment for adultery.

I would make adulterers and whores, slaves to be sold by the persons they'd offended.

Manſlaughter, in time paſt was puniſhed by the purſſe, wherin the quantitie or qualitie of the puniſh-

ment was rated after the ſtate and calling of the partie killed: ſo that one was valued ſometime at 1200, another at 600, or 200 ſhillings. And, by an eſtatute made vnder Henrie the firſt, a citizen of London at 100, whereof elſe-where I haue ſpoken more at large.] Such as kill themſelues, are buried in the field, with a ſtake driuen through their bodies.

Self-killers are burid with a stake thro' 'em.

Witches are hanged, or ſometimes burned; but theeues are hanged [1](as I ſaid before)[1] generallie [on the gibbet or gallowes], ſauing in Halifax, where they are beheaded after a ſtrange maner, and whereof I find this report. There is and hath beene of ancient time a law, or rather a cuſtome, at Halifax, that who ſoeuer dooth commit anie fellonie, and is taken with the ſame, or confeſſe the fact vpon examination; if it be valued by foure conſtables to amount to the ſum of thirteene pence halfe penie, he is foorthwith beheaded vpon [one of] the next market daie[s] (which fall vſuallie vpon the tueſdaies, thurſdaies, & ſaturdaies) or elſe vpon the ſame daie that he is ſo conuicted, if market be then holden. The engine wherewith the execution is doone, is a ſquare blocke of wood of the length of foure foot and an halfe, which dooth ride vp and downe in a ſlot, rabet, or regall betweene two peeces of timber, that are framed and ſet vpright, of fiue yardes in height. In the neather end of the ſliding blocke is an ax, keied or faſtened with [an] iron into the wood, which being drawne vp to the top of the frame is there faſtned by[2] a woodden pin[3] (with a notch made into the ſame after the maner of a Samſons poſt) vnto the middeſt of which pin [alſo] there is a long rope faſtened that commeth downe among the people, ſo that when the offendor hath made his confeſſion, and hath laid his necke ouer the neathermoſt

Witches are hangd or burnt. Thieves are hangd, except at Halifax,

[*Halifax law.*]

where Felons, when convicted of stealing anything worth 13½*d.*, are

beheaded by a kind of Guillotine.

[1]—[1] euerywhere [2] with

[3] pinne (the one ende set on a peece of woodde which goeth crosse ower ye two rabets & the other ende being let into the blocke, holding the Axe

The Halifax way of guillotining thieves.

blocke, euerie man there preſent dooth either take hold of the rope (or putteth foorth his arme ſo neere to the ſame as he can get, in token that he is willing to ſee true iuſtice executed), and pulling out the pin in this maner, the head blocke wherein the ax is faſtened dooth fall downe with ſuch a violence, that if the necke of the tranſgreſſor were ſo big as that of a bull, it ſhould be cut in ſunder at a ſtroke, and roll from the bodie by an huge diſtance. If it be ſo that the offendor be apprehended for an ox,[1] oxen, ſheepe, kine, horſſe, or anie ſuch cattell: the ſelfe beaſt, or other of the ſame kind, [ſhall] haue the end of the rope tied ſomewhere ynto them, ſo that they [being driuen, doo] draw out the pin, wherby the offendor is executed. Thus[2] much of Halifax law, which I ſet downe onelie to ſhew the cuſtome of that couñtrie in this behalfe.

Rogues.

Roges and vagabonds are often ſtocked and whipped;

Scolds.

ſcolds are ducked vpon cuckingſtooles in the water.

[*Mute.*] Felons who won't answer, are presst to death by weights.

Such fellons as ſtand mute, and ſpeake not at their arraignement, are preſſed to death by huge weights [laid vpon a boord, that lieth ouer their breſt, and a ſharpe ſtone vnder their backs,] and theſe commonlie hold their peace, thereby to ſaue their goods vnto their wiues and children, which, if they were condemned, ſhould be confiſcated to the prince.

Thieves who get benefit of clergy [*Cleargie.*] [3 p. 186]

Theeues that are ſaued by their bookes and cleargie, [for the firſt [3] offenſe, if they haue ſtollen nothing elſe but oxen, ſheepe, monie, or ſuch like, which be no open robberies, as by the high waie ſide, or aſſailing of anie mans houſe in the night, without putting him in feare of his life, or breaking vp of his wals or doores,] are burned in the left hand, vpon the brawne of the thombe, with an hot iron, ſo that if they be apprehended againe, that marke bewraieth them to haue beene arraigned of fellonie before, whereby they are ſure at that time to haue no mercie. I doo not read that this cuſtome of

are burnt on the left thumb

[1] ox or [2] And thus

ſauing by the booke is vſed anie where elſe than in England; neither doo I find (after much diligent inquirie) what Saxon prince ordeined that lawe. Howbeit, this I generallie gather thereof; that it was deuiſed[1] to traine the inhabiters of this land to the loue of learning, which before contemned letters and all good knowledge, as men onelie giuing themſelues to huſbandrie and the warres; the like whereof I read to haue beene amongſt the Gothes and Vandals, who for a time would not ſuffer euen their princes to be lerned, for weakening of their courages, nor anie learned men to remaine in the counſell houſe; but by open proclamation would command them to auoid, [whenſoeuer anie thing touching the ſtate of the land was to be conſulted vpon.] Pirats and robbers by ſea are condemned in the court of the admeraltie, and hanged on the ſhore at lowe water marke, where they are left till three tides haue ouerwaſhed them.[2] Finallie, ſuch as hauing wals and banks neere vnto the ſea, and doo ſuffer the ſame to decaie, (after conuenient admonition) whereby the water entereth and drowneth vp the countrie, are by a certeine [ancient] cuſtome apprehended, condemned, and ſtaked in the breach, where they remaine for euer as parcell of the foundation of the new wall that is to be made vpon them, as I haue heard reported.

Only in England do offenders have benefit of clergy.

This was to encourage learning.

[*Pirats*]

are hung on the sea-shore at low-water mark.

(Cp. Stat. 6 Hen. VI., cap. 5, as to punishment for defaults in Sewers, 'se-wœrs.')

Men who fail to keep up sea-walls, are stak't in the breach the water makes.

[And thus much in part of the adminiſtration of iuſtice vſed in our countrie, wherein notwithſtanding that we doo not often heare of horrible, merciles, and wilfull murthers, (ſuch I meane as are not ſildome ſeene in the countries of the maine,) yet now and then ſome manſlaughter and bloudie robberies are perpetrated and committed, contrarie to the lawes, which be ſeuerelie puniſhed, and in ſuch wiſe as I before reported. Certes there is no greater miſcheefe doone in

We don't often have bad murders.

[1] deuised at the first

[2] A.D. 1577-8. "On the ninth of March, seuen pirats were hanged at Wapping in the ouze, beside London."—*Holinshed*, iii. 1271, col. 1, l. 59-61.—F.

Robberies by 1. young gentlemen, 2. serving-men.

England than by robberies, the firſt by yoong ſhifting gentlemen, which oftentimes doo beare more port than they are able to mainteine. Secondlie by ſeruingmen,[1] whoſe wages cannot ſuffice ſo much as to find them breeches; wherefore they are now and then conſtreined, either to keepe high waies, and breake into the wealthie mens houſes with the firſt ſort, or elſe to walke vp and downe in gentlemens and rich farmers paſtures, there to ſee and view which horſſes feed beſt, whereby they manie times get ſomething, although with hard aduenture: it hath beene knowne by their confeſſion at the gallowes, that ſome one ſuch chapman hath had fortie, fiftie, or ſixtie ſtolne horſſes at paſture here and there abroad in the countrie at a time, which they haue ſold at faires and markets farre off, they themſelues in the meane ſeaſon being taken about home for honeſt yeomen, and verie wealthie drouers, till their dealings haue been bewraied. It is not long ſince one of this companie was apprehended, who was before time reputed for a verie honeſt and wealthie townesman; he vttered alſo more horſſes than anie of his trade, becauſe he ſold a reaſonable peniworth, and was a faire ſpoken man. It was his cuſtome likewiſe to ſaie, if anie man hucked hard with him about the price of a gelding: "So God helpe me, gentleman or ſir, either he did coſt me ſo much, or elſe by Jeſus I ſtole him." Which talke was plaine inough; and yet ſuch was his eſtimation, that each beleeued the firſt part of his tale, and made no account of the later, which was the truer indeed.

who turn highwaymen and burglars,

or steal horses,

which they sell at distant fairs.

The saying of one of these horse-thieves.

Rogues do great mischief.

Our third annoiers of the common-wealth are roges, which doo verie great miſcheefe in all places where

[1] On serving-men, see the striking passage in Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, p. 27-8, ed. 1852; and "*A Health to the Gentlemanly profession of Seruing men:* or The Seruingmans Comfort: With other thinges not impertinent to the Premisses, as well pleasant as profitable to the courteous Reader," 1598, reprinted in W. C. Hazlitt's Roxburghe Library, *Inedited Tracts*, 1868. Also '*The Serving Man and the Husbandman*,' A Pleasaunt New Dialogue.' *Rox. Ballads*, Ballad Soc., 1870, i. 300.

they become. For wheras the rich onelie ſuffer iniurie by the firſt two, theſe ſpare neither rich nor poore: but whether it be great gaine or ſmall, all is fiſh that commeth to net with them; and yet I ſaie, both they and the reſt are truſſed vp apace. For there is not one yeare commonlie, wherein three hundred or foure hundred of them are not deuoured and eaten vp by the gallowes in one place and other. It appeareth by *Cardane* (who writeth it vpon the report of the biſhop of Lexouia) in the geniture of king Edward the ſixt, how Henrie the eight, executing his lawes verie ſeuerelie againſt ſuch idle perſons, I meane, great theeues, pettie theeues and roges, did hang vp threeſcore and twelue thouſand of them in his time. He ſeemed for a while greatlie to haue terrified the reſt: but ſince his death the number of them is ſo increaſed, yea, although we haue had no warres, which are a great occaſion of their breed (for it is the cuſtome of the more idle ſort, hauing once ſerued, or but ſeene the other ſide of the ſea vnder colour of ſeruice, to ſhake hand with labour, for euer, thinking it a diſgrace for himſelfe to returne vnto his former trade,) that except ſome better order be taken, or the lawes alreadie made be better executed, ſuch as dwell in vplandiſh townes and little villages ſhall liue but in ſmall ſafetie and reſt. For the better apprehenſion alſo of theeues and mankillers, there is an old law in England verie well prouided, whereby it is ordered, that if he that is robbed, or any man, complaine and giue warning of ſlaughter or murther committed, the conſtable of the village wherevnto he commeth and crieth for ſuccour, is to raiſe the pariſh about him, and to ſearch woods, groues, and all ſuſpected houſes and places, where the treſpaſſor may be, or is ſuppoſed to lurke; and not finding him there, he is to giue warning vnto the next conſtable, and ſo one conſtable, after ſerch made, to aduertiſe another from pariſh to pariſh, till they come to the ſame where the

300 or 400 rogues are now hung yearly.

Henry VIII.

hung 72,000 of 'em.

Wars breed rogues.

Men who've once been soldiers, bid good-bye to labour.

Search for robbers and murderers in one parish after another.

offendor is harbored and found. It is alſo prouided, that if anie pariſh in this buſineſſe doo not hir dutie, but ſuffereth the theefe (for the auoiding of trouble ſake) in carrieng him to the gaile, if he ſhould be apprehended, or other letting of their worke, to eſcape, the ſame pariſh is not onlie to make fine to the king, but alſo the ſame, with the whole hundred wherein it ſtandeth, to repaie the partie robbed his damages, and leaue his eſtate harmleſſe. Certes this is a good law; howbeit, I haue knowne by mine owne experience, fellons being taken to haue eſcaped out of the ſtocks, being reſcued by other for want of watch & gard, that theeues haue beene let paſſe, bicauſe the couetous and greedie pariſhoners would neither take the paines, nor be at the charge, to carrie them to priſon, if it were far off; that when hue and crie haue beene made euen to the faces of ſome conſtables, they haue ſaid; "God reſtore your loſſe! I haue other buſineſſe at this time." And by ſuch meanes, the meaning of manie a good law is left vnexecuted, malefactors imboldened, and manie a poore man turned out of that which he hath ſwet and taken great paines for, toward the maintenance of himſelfe and his poore children and familie.]

If any parish lets a thief escape,

it is fin'd,

and makes good the robd man's loss.

I've known villagers so selfish as to refuse help, even when calld on by the constables,

## [1] Of the maner of building and *furniture of our houſes.*[2]

[1 p. 187]

### Chap. 12.[3]

THE greateſt part of our building in the cities and good townes of England, conſiſteth onelie of timber, for as yet few of the houſes of the communaltie (except here & there in the Weſt countrie townes) are made of ſtone, although they may (in my opinion) in diuerſe other places be builded ſo good cheape of the one as of the other. In old time the houſes of the Britons were ſlightlie ſet vp with a few poſts & many radels, [with ſtable and all offices vnder one roofe,] the like whereof almoſt is to be ſeene in the ſennie countries [and northerne parts] vnto this daie, where for lacke of wood they are inforced to continue this ancient maner of building. It is not in vaine therefore in ſpeaking of building to make a diſtinction betweene the plaine and wooddie ſoiles:[4] for as in theſe, our houſes are commonlie ſtrong and well timbered,—ſo that in manie places, there are not aboue [foure,] ſix, or nine inches betweene ſtud and ſtud,—ſo in the open champaine countries[5] they are inforced for want of ſtuffe to vſe no ſtuds at all, but onlie [franke poſts,] raiſins, [beames, prickepoſts,] groundſels, [ſummers (or dormants)] tranſoms, and ſuch[6] principals, with here and [7]there a girding,[7] whervnto they faſten their ſplints or radels, and then caſt it all ouer with [thicke] claie to keepe out the wind, which otherwiſe would annoie them. [Certes this rude kind of

Most of our houses are of timber,

few of stone.

In the fen country and the North, they're of posts and hurdles or panels.

On woody soils, the houses are well timbered;

but in the open country they've only a few upright and cross posts, with clay-coverd panels between.

[2] See Andrew Boorde's *Dyetary of Helth*, 1542, E. E. Text Soc. 1870, for a description of how to build houses, and manage them and men's income, and what food folk should eat.—F.

[3] In the 1577 ed. this chapter is chap. 10 of the 2nd Book.

[4] countrie [5] & champaine soyles [6] upright

[7]—[7] there an owerthwart post in their walles

Spaniards' astonishment at the Large Diet of Englishmen,

building made the Spaniards in queene Maries daies to woonder, but cheeflie when they ſaw what large diet was vſed in manie of theſe ſo homelie cottages; in ſo much that one of no ſmall reputation amongſt them ſaid after this maner: "Theſe Engliſh (quoth he) haue

and the wretchedness of their houses.

their houſes made of ſticks and durt, but they fare commonlie ſo well as the king." Whereby it appeareth that he liked better of our good fare in ſuch courſe cabins, than of their owne thin diet in their princelike habitations and palaces.] In like ſort as euerie countrie

Our houses are in stories, divided into rooms, and

houſe is thus apparelled on the out ſide, ſo is it inwardlie diuided into ſundrie roomes aboue and beneath; and

coverd with straw or slate.

where plentie of wood is, they couer them with tiles, otherwiſe with ſtraw, ſedge, or reed,[1] except ſome quarrie of ſlate be neere hand, from whence they haue, for their monie, ſo much as may ſuffice them.

Clay for panels of houses is white, red (or

The claie wherewith our houſes are impanelled, is either white, red, or blue; and of theſe, the firſt dooth participat verie much with the nature of our chalke;

loam), or blue.

the ſecond is called lome; but the third eftſoones changeth colour ſo ſoone as it is wrought, notwithſtanding that it looke blue when it is throwne out of the pit.

Asbestos or White Lime, slackt, is us'd for lime-whiting the clay.

Of chalke alſo we haue our excellent [Aſbeſtos or] white lime, made in moſt places, wherewith [being quenched,] we ſtrike ouer our claie workes and ſtone wals, in cities, good townes, rich farmers and gentlemens houſes: otherwiſe, in ſteed of chalke, (where it wanteth, for it is ſo ſcant that in ſome places it is ſold

When chalk can't be had, lime is made from shells, &c.

by the pound,) they are compelled to burne a certeine kind of red ſtone, as in Wales, and elſe where other ſtones, [and ſhels of oiſters and like fiſh found vpon the ſea coaſt, which being conuerted into lime, doth naturallie (as the other) abhorre and eſchew water, whereby it is diſſolued, and neuertheleſſe deſire oile, wherewith it is eaſilie mixed,] as I haue ſeene by experience. Within their doores alſo, ſuch as are of

[1] moss, in the Gawthorp Accounts.—F.

abilitie doo oft make their floores[1] and parget of fine alabaſter burned, which they call plaſter of Paris, whereof in ſome places we haue great plentie, and that verie profitable againſt the rage of fire. Plaster of Paris.

In plaſtering likewiſe of our faireſt houſes ouer our heads, we vſe to laie firſt a laine[2] or two of white morter tempered with haire, vpon laths, which are nailed one by another, (or ſometimes vpon reed or wickers more dangerous for fire, and made faſt here and there with ſaplaths, for falling downe,) and finallie couer all with the aforeſaid plaſter, which beſide the delectable whiteneſſe of the ſtuffe it ſelfe, is laied on ſo euen and ſmoothlie, as nothing in my iudgment can be doone with more exactneſſe. [The wals of our houſes on the inner ſides in like ſort be either hanged with tapiſterie, arras worke, or painted cloths, wherin either diuerſe hiſtories, or hearbes, beaſts, knots, and ſuch like are ſtained, or elſe they are ſeeled with oke of our owne, or wainеſcot brought hither out of the eaſt countries, whereby the roomes are not a little commended, made warme, and much more cloſe than otherwiſe they would be. As for ſtooues, we haue not hitherto vſed them greatlie, yet doo they now begin to be made in diuerſe houſes of the gentrie and wealthie citizens, who build them not to worke and feed in, as in Germanie and elſe where, but now and then to ſweat in, as occaſion and need ſhall require it.] This alſo hath beene common in England, contrarie to the cuſtomes of all other nations, and yet to be ſeene, (for example in moſt ſtreets of London,) that many of our greateſt houſes haue outwardlie beene verie ſimple and plaine to ſight, which inwardlie haue beene able to receiue a duke with his whole traine, and lodge them at their eaſe. Hereby moreouer it is come to paſſe, that the fronts of our ſtreets haue not beene ſo vniforme and orderlie buſlded as thoſe of forreine cities, where (to

Ceilings of Mortar,

coverd with Plaster of Paris.

Our inner walls are either tapestri'd or wainscoted.

Stoves are beginning to be used by rich men, to sweat in.

Houses (specially in London) are plain outside, fine inside, and not built all like one another.

[1] flowers [2] Laire

ſaie truth) the vtterſide of their manſions and dwellings haue oft more coſt beſtowed vpon them, than all the reſt of the houſe, which are often verie ſimple and vneaſie within, as experience dooth confirme. Of old time, our countrie houſes, in ſteed of glaſſe, did vſe much lattiſe, and that made either of wicker or fine rifts of oke in chekerwiſe. I read alſo that ſome of the better ſort, in and before the times of the Saxons [(who notwithſtanding vſed ſome glaſſe alſo, ſince the time of Benedict Biſcop, the moonke that brought the feat of glaſing firſt into this land)] did make panels of horne in ſteed of glaſſe, & fix them in woodden calmes. But as horne [in windows] is [now] quite laid downe in euerie place, ſo our lattiſes are alſo growne into leſſe vſe, bicauſe glaſſe is come to be ſo plentifull, and within a verie little ſo good cheape [if not better] then[1] the other.

Formerly, in the country, lattise was us'd for glass,

and horn was so us'd too, but is not at present, as glass is plentiful now.

[I find obſcure mention of the ſpecular ſtone alſo to haue beene found and applied to this vſe in England, but in ſuch doubtfull ſort as I dare not affirme it for certeine. Neuertheleſſe, certeine it is, that antiquitie vſed it before glaſſe was knowen, vnder the name of Selenites. And how glaſſe was firſt found I care not greatlie to remember, euen at this preſent, although it be directlie beſide my purpoſed matter. In Syria phenices which bordereth vpon Iurie, & neere to the foot of mount Carmell, there is a moore or marris, wherout riſeth a brooke called ſomtime *Belus*, and falleth into the ſea neere to Ptolemais. This riuer was fondlie aſcribed vnto Baall, and alſo honored vnder that name by the infidels, long time before there was anie king in Iſraell. It came to paſſe alſo as a certeine merchant ſailed that waie, loden with Nitrum, the paſſengers went to land for to repoſe themſelues, and to take in ſome ſtore of freſh water into their veſſell. Being alſo on the ſhore, they kindled a fire, and made prouiſion for their dinner, but bicauſe they wanted

The Specular stone, or Selenites, was formerly us'd for glass.

How glass is said to have been first discoverd.

[1] as

treuets or ſtones whereon [1] to ſet their kettels on, ran by chance into the ſhip, and brought great peeces of *Nitrum* with him, which ſerued their turne for that preſent. To be ſhort, the ſaid ſubſtance being hot, and beginning to melt, it mixed by chance with the grauell that laie vnder it; and ſo brought foorth that ſhining ſubſtance which now is called glaſſe, and about the time of *Semiramis*. When the companie ſaw this, they made no ſmall accompt of their ſucceſſe, and foorthwith began to practiſe the like in other mixtures, whereby great varietie of the ſaid ſtuffe did alſo inſue. Certes for the time this hiſtorie may well be true: for I read of glaſſe in *Iob*; but for the reſt, I refer me to the common opinion conceiued by writers. Now to turne againe to our windowes.] Heretofore alſo the houſes of our princes and noble men were often glaſed with Berill (an example whereof is yet to be ſeene in Sudleie caſtell) and in diuerſe other places with fine chriſtall, but this eſpeciallie in the time of the Romans, wherof alſo ſome fragments haue beene taken vp in old ruines. But now theſe are not in vſe, ſo that onelie the cleareſt glaſſe is moſt eſteemed: for we haue diuerſe ſorts, ſome brought out of Burgundie, ſome out of Normandie, much out of Flanders, beſide that which is made in England, [which would be] ſo good as the beſt, [if we were diligent and carefull to beſtow more coſt vpon it,] and [yet as it is] each one that may, will haue it for his building. Moreouer the manſion houſes of our countrie townes and villages (which in champaine ground ſtand altogither by ſtreets, & ioining one to an other, but in woodland ſoiles diſperſed here and there, each one vpon the ſeuerall grounds of their owners) are builded in ſuch ſort generallie, as that they haue neither dairie, ſtable, nor bruehouſe annexed vnto them vnder the ſame roofe (as in manie places beyond the ſea [& ſome of the north parts of our countrie,)] but all ſeparate from the firſt, and one of them from an other. And yet for all

[1 p. 188]

The first discovery of Glass.

Noblemen's houses formerly had beryl for glass, as at Sudley Castle.

Now we have clear glass, from Burgundy, Normandy, Flanders, and England.

Our country dwelling-houses

have their dairy, stables, &c. in out-houses.

this, they are not ſo farre diſtant in ſunder, but that the goodman lieng in his bed may lightlie heare what is doone in each of them with eaſe, and call quicklie vnto his meinie[1] if anie danger ſhould attach him.

Gentlemen's mansions and houses are mostly of timber;

The ancient manours and houſes of our gentlemen are yet, and for the moſt part, of ſtrong timber, [in framing whereof our carpenters haue beene and are worthilie preferred before thoſe of like ſcience among all other nations.]

tho' those lately built are of

Howbeit ſuch as be latelie builded, are, cõmonlie either of bricke or hard ſtone, [or both;] their roomes large and comelie,[2] and houſes of office further diſtant from their lodgings.

brick or stone.

So are the noblemen's houses; and so fine, that the worst is like a Prince's of old.

Thoſe of the nobilitie are likewiſe wrought with bricke and hard ſtone, as prouiſion may beſt be made: but ſo magnificent and ſtatelie, as the baſeſt houſe of a baron dooth often match [in our daies] with ſome honours of princes in old time. So that if euer curious building did floriſh in England, it is in theſe our yeares,[3] wherin our workemen excell, and are in maner comparable in ſkill with old *Vitruuius*, [*Leo Baptiſta*,] and *Serlo*.

Our builders are the best in the world, but charge so dear

[Neuertheleſſe, their eſtimation more than their greedie and ſeruile couetouſneſſe, ioined with a lingering humour, cauſeth them often to be reiected, & ſtrangers preferred to greater bargaines, who are more reaſonable in their takings, and leſſe waſters of time by a great deale than our owne.]

that cheaper strangers are often preferrd to them.

As to furniture,

The furniture of our houſes alſo exceedeth, and is growne in maner euen to paſſing delicacie: and herein I doo not ſpeake of the nobilitie and gentrie onelie, but likewiſe[4] of the loweſt ſort [in moſt places of our ſouth countrie,] that haue anie thing at all to take to. Certes, in noble mens houſes it is not rare to ſee abundance of Arras, rich hangings of tapiſtrie, ſiluer veſſell, and ſo much other plate, as may furniſh ſundrie cupbords, to the ſumme oftentimes of a thouſand or two thouſand pounds at the leaſt: whereby the value of this and the

our nobles' houses have rich hangings, and

£1000 or £2000 worth of plate

[1] meney [2] stately [3] dayes [4] euen

reſt of their ſtuffe dooth grow to be [almoſt] ineſtimable. Likewiſe in the houſes of knights, gentlemen, merchantmen, and ſome other wealthie citizens, it is not geſon to behold generallie their great prouiſion of tapiſtrie, Turkie worke, pewter, braſſe, fine linen, and thereto coſtlie cupbords of plate, worth fiue or ſix hundred [or a thouſand] pounds, to be deemed by eſtimation. But as herein all theſe ſorts doo far exceed their elders and predeceſſors, [and in neatneſſe and curioſitie, the merchant all other;] ſo in time paſt, the coſtlie furniture ſtaied there, whereas now it is deſcended yet lower, euen vnto the inferiour artificers and manie [1] farmers, who [by vertue of their old and not of their new leaſes] haue [for the moſt part] learned alſo to garniſh their cupbords with plate, their [ioined] beds with tapiſtrie and ſilke hangings, and their tables with [carpets &] fine naperie, whereby the wealth of our countrie [(God be praiſed therefore, and giue vs grace to imploie it well)] dooth infinitelie appeare. Neither doo I ſpeake this in reproch of anie man, God is my iudge, but to ſhew that I do reioiſe rather, to ſee how God hath bleſſed vs with his good gifts; and [2] whileſt I [2] behold how that in a time wherein all things are growen to moſt exceſſiue prices, [& what commoditie ſo euer is to be had, is dailie plucked from the communaltie by ſuch as looke into euerie trade,] we doo yet find the means to obtein & atchiue ſuch furniture as herotofore hath beene vnpoſſible. There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remaine, which haue noted three things to be maruellouſlie altred in England within their ſound remembrance; [& other three things too too much increaſed.] One is, the multitude of chimnies latelie erected, wheras in their yoong daies there were not aboue two or three, if ſo manie, in moſt vplandiſh townes of the realme (the religious houſes, & manour places of their lords alwaies excepted,

Our gentry's houses

have tapestry, Turkey-work, &c., and from £500 to £1000 worth of plate.

Artisans and Farmers too have

cupboards with plate, silk hanging, fine table linen, &c.

God be thankt for his good gifts!

And all this notwithstanding the great rise in prices.

*Three things greatlie amended in England.*

I.

*Chimnies.*

Of old, not above 2 or 3 in a town.

[1] most [2—2] to

Men made their fires against a reredos in the hall.

and peraduenture ſome great perſonages) but ech one made his fire againſt a reredoſſe in the hall, where he dined and dreſſed his meat.

II.

Improv'd bedding, instead of the old

*Hard lodging.*

The ſecond is the great [(although not generall)] amendment of lodging, for (ſaid they) our fathers [(yea] and we our ſelues [alſo)] haue lien full oft vpon ſtraw pallets, [on rough mats] couered onelie with a ſheet, vnder couerlets made of dagſwain or hopharlots (I vſe their owne termes,) and a good round log vnder their heads in ſteed of a bolſter [or pillow.] If it were ſo that our fathers or the good man of the houſe, had [within ſeuen yeares after his mariage purchaſed] a matteres or flockebed, and thereto a ſacke of chaffe to reſt his head vpon, he thought himſelfe to be as well lodged as the lord of the towne, [that peraduenture laie ſeldome in a bed of downe or whole fethers;] ſo well were they contented, [and with ſuch baſe kind of furniture: which alſo is not verie much amended as yet in ſome parts of Bedfordſhire, and elſewhere further off from our ſoutherne parts.] Pillowes (ſaid they) were thought meet onelie for women in childbed. As for ſeruants, if they had anie ſheet aboue them, it was well, for ſeldome had they anie vnder their bodies, to keepe them from the pricking ſtraws that ran oft through the canuas [of the pallet,] and raſed their hardened hides.

A good round log for a pillow.

7 years after marriage, a mattress, and a sack of chaff for a pillow,

as in Bedfordshire now.

Pillows fit only for lying-in women.

Servants' beds:

Straws prickt their hardend hides.

III.

*Furniture of household.*

The third thing they tell of, is the exchange of [veſſell, as of] treene platters into pewter, and woodden ſpoones into ſiluer or tin. For ſo common were all ſorts of treene ſtuffe[1] in old time, that a man ſhould hardlie find foure peeces of pewter (of which one was peraduenture a ſalt) in a good farmers houſe, and yet for all this frugalitie, (if it may ſo be iuſtly called) they were ſcarſe able to liue and paie their rents at their daies without ſelling of a cow, or an[2] horſſe, or more, although they paid but foure pounds at the vtter[3] moſt by the yeare. Such alſo was their pouertie, that if

Pewter platters, and silver or tin spoons now.

In old time, farmers had hardly any pewter vessels.

*This was in the time of generall ydlenesse.*

[3 p. 189]

[1] vesselles [2] a

[1]ſome one od[1] farmer or huſbandman had beene at the alehouſe, a thing greatlie vſed in thoſe daies, amongſt ſix or ſeuen of his neighbours, and there in a brauerie to ſhew what ſtore he had, did caſt[2] downe his purſſe, and therein a noble or ſix ſhillings in ſiluer vnto them [(for few ſuch men then cared for gold, bicauſe it was not ſo readie paiment, and they were oft inforced to giue a penie for the exchange of an angell)] it was verie likelie that all the reſt could not laie downe ſo much againſt it: whereas in my time, although peradventure foure pounds of old rent be improued to fortie,[3] fiftie, [or an hundred] pounds, yet will the farmer [as another palme or date tree] thinke his gaines verie ſmall toward the end[4] of his terme, if he haue not ſix or ſeuen yeares rent lieng by him, therewith to purchaſe a new leaſe, beſide a faire garniſh of pewter on his cupbord, [with ſo much more in od veſſell going about the houſe,] three or foure featherbeds, ſo manie couerlids and carpets of tapiſtrie, a ſiluer ſalt, a bowle for wine (if not an whole neaſt) and a dozzen of ſpoones to furniſh vp the ſute. This alſo he taketh to be his owne cleere; for what ſtocke of monie ſoeuer he gathereth [& laieth vp] in all his yeares, it is often ſeene, that the landlord will take ſuch order with him for the ſame, when he renueth his leaſe, which is commonlie eight or ſix[5] yeares before [6]the old[6] be expired (ſith it is now growen almoſt to a cuſtome, that if he come not to his lord ſo long before, another ſhall ſtep in for a reuerſion, and ſo defeat him out right) that it ſhall neuer trouble him more than the haire of his beard, when the barber hath waſhed and ſhaued[7] it from his chin. [And as they commend theſe, ſo (beſide the decaie of houſe-keeping whereby the poore haue beene relieued) they ſpeake alſo of three things that are growen to be verie grieuous vnto them, to wit, the inhanſing of rents, latelie mentioned; the dailie oppreſſion of copiholders, whoſe

So poor were the Farmers, that if at the Alehouse one could show 6s., all the other half-dozen couldn't produce as much.

But now, tho' rents have risen ten or twenty-fold, Farmers have 6 or 7 years' rent in hand, besides plenty of pewter, 3 or 4 feather-beds, tapestry carpets, a silver salt-cellar, a wine-bowl, and a dozen spoons.

But when a Farmer renews his lease,

his Landlord sweeps off all his ready money as clean as the barber shaves his chin.

Three things have grown very grievous in England.
1. The rise in rents.
2. Increase of copyhold fines.

[1]—[1] a [2] dast [3] fortie or [4] middest [5] ten [6]—[6] it [7] shaven

Lords of Manors rack and fleece their poor copy-holders in every possible way.

lords ſeeke to bring their poore tenants almoſt into plaine ſeruitude and miſerie, dailie deuiſing new meanes, and ſeeking vp all the old, how to cut them ſhorter and ſhorter, doubling, trebling, and now & then ſeuen times increaſing their fines; driuing them alſo for euerie trifle to looſe and forfeit their tenures, (by whome the greateſt part of the realme dooth ſtand and is mainteined,) to the end they may fleece them yet more, which is a lamentable hering. The third thing they talke of is vſurie, a trade brought in by the Jewes, now perfectlie practiſed almoſt by euerie chriſtian, and ſo commonlie, that he is accompted but for a foole that dooth lend his monie for nothing. In time paſt it was *Sors pro ſorte*, that is, the principall onelie for the principall; but now, beſide that which is aboue the principall properlie called *Vſura*, we chalenge *Fœnus*, that is, commoditie of ſoile, & fruits of the earth, if not the ground it ſelfe. In time paſt alſo, one of the hundred was much, from thence it roſe vnto two, called in Latine *Vſura, Ex ſextante*; three, to wit, *Ex quadrante*; then to foure, to wit, *Ex triente*; then to fiue, which is *Ex quincunce*; then to ſix, called *Ex ſemiſſe*, &c: as the accompt of the *Aſſis* ariſeth, and comming at the laſt vnto *Vſura ex aſſe*, it amounteth to twelue in the hundred, and therefore the Latines call it *Centeſima*, for that in the hundred moneth it doubleth the principall; but more of this elſewhere. See *Cicero* againſt *Verres*, *Demoſthenes* againſt *Aphobus*, and *Athenæus, lib. 13. in fine*: and when thou haſt read them well, helpe I praie thee in lawfull maner to hang vp ſuch as take *Centum pro cento*, for they are no better worthie as I doo iudge in conſcience. Forget not alſo ſuch landlords as vſe to value their leaſes at a ſecret eſtimation giuen of the wealth and credit of the taker, whereby they ſeeme (as it were) to eat them vp, and deale with bondmen; ſo that if the leaſſee be thought to be worth an hundred pounds, he ſhall paie no leſſe for his new terme, or elſe

3. Usury, now so practist by Christians, that he who lends his money without interest is thought a Fool.

At first no interest was paid:

then 1 per cent.,

then 2,

3,

4, 5,

6,

and at last 12.

Reader, help hang-up takers of cent per cent [*By the yeare.*]

Some landlords too screw out of their tenants; for a lease, all the money they have, as if tenants were bondmen.

another to enter with hard and doubtfull couenants. I am ſorie to report it, much more greeued to vnderſtand of the practiſe; but moſt ſorowfull of all to vnderſtand that men of great port and countenance are ſo farre from ſuffering their farmers to haue anie gaine at all, that they themſelues become graſiers, butchers, tanners, ſheepmaſters, woodmen, and *denique quid non*, thereby to inrich themſelues, and bring all the wealth of the countrie into their owne hands, leauing the communaltie weake, or as an idoll with broken or feeble armes, which may in a time of peace haue a plauſible ſhew, but when neceſſitie ſhall inforce, haue an heauie and bitter ſequele.] [1]

I'm very sorry to say, and sorrier still to know, that Gentlemen actually turn graziers, tanners, &c., themselves, for money, leaving the farmers and commonalty poor.

[1] For p. 238—241, compare Lord Buckhurst's letter in 1568, showing the poor furniture of his rooms in Q. Elizabeth's palace at Sheen:

"From Shene, this xxxth of September 1568" (To the Lords of Q. Eliz.'s Privy Council) . . "having receved your L. letters that I shold repaire to Shene, and there to do the beste I cold in accommodating the Cardinall *with* mine advise, aid, and assistans, towards her M. officers who then were at Shene for that purpose, (the same your letters containing no other effecte at all) I toke hors *with*-in one hower after, I being then xxx mile of from Shene, and so rode all the night, and upon my coming thether, being but 2 daies before the Cardinals arivall, I spake *with* her M. officers, *with* whome I had conferens for the better accomodating of the Cardinall. I brought them in to everie parte of the hous that I possessed, and showed them all such stuf and furpiture as I had. And where they required plate of me, I told them, as troth is, that I had no plate at all. Suche glasse vessell as I had, I offred them, which they thought to base; for naperie, I cold not satisfie their turne, for they desired damaske worke for a long table, and I had non other but plain linnen for a square table. The table whereon I dine me self, I offred them; and for that yt was but a square table, they refused yt. One onlie tester and bedsted not ocupied, I had, and thos I delivered for the Cardinall him self; and when we cold not by any menes in so shorte a time procure another bedsted for the bushop, I assighned them the bedsted on *which* my wiefes waiting wemen did lie, and laid them on the ground. Mine own basen and ewer I lent to the Cardinall, and wanted me self. So did I the candelsticks for mine own table, *with* divers drinking glasses, small cushions, small pottes for the ketchin, and sundrie other such like trifles, although indede I had no greter store of them then I presentlie ocupied; and albeit this be not worthie the writing, yet mistrusting lest the misorder of some others in denieng of such like kind of stuf not ocupied by themselves, hath bene percase informed as towards me, I have thought good not to omit yt. Long tables, formes, brasse for the ketchin, and all such necessaries as cold not be furnished by me, we toke order to provide in the towne; hanginges and beds we receved from the yeman of the wardrop at Richemond; and when we saw that naperie and shetes cold no where here be had, I sent word thereof to the officers at the Courte, by *which* menes we receved from my lord of Leceter 2 pair of fine shetes for the Car-

# Of cities and townes in [1] *England.*

## Cap. 13.[2]

*Six and twentie cities in England.*

AS in old time we read that there were eight and twentie flamines and archflamines in the ſouth part of this Ile, and ſo manie great cities vnder their iuriſdiction; ſo in theſe our daies there is but one or two fewer, and each of them alſo vnder the eccleſiaſticall regiment of ſome one biſhop or archbiſhop, who in ſpirituall caſes haue the charge and ouerſight of the ſame. So manie cities therefore are there in England and Wales, as there be biſhopriks & archbiſhopriks. For notwithſtanding that Lichfield and Couentrie, and Bath and Welles, doo ſeeme to extend the aforeſaid number vnto nine and twentie: yet neither of theſe couples are to be accounted but as one entier citie and ſee of the biſhop, ſith one biſhoprike can haue relation but vnto one ſee, and the ſaid ſee be ſituate but in one place, after which the biſhop dooth take his name. It appeareth by our old and ancient hiſtories, that the cities of this ſoutherlie portion haue beene of exceeding greatneſſe and beautie,

As many as there are Bishoprics and Archbishoprics.

Lichfield and Coventry count as one: so do Bath and Wells.

Once, our Southern cities were very large and fine.

dinall, and from my lord Chamberlen, one pair of fine for the bushop, with 2 other courser pair, and order beside for x pair more from London. At which time also, becaus I wold be sure your L. shold be asserteined of the simplenes and scarsytie of such stuf as I had here, I sente a man of mine to the Courte, speciallie to declare to your L. that for plate, damaske naperie and fine shetes, I had none at all; and for the reste of my stuf, neither was it such as with honor mighte furnishe such a personage; nor yet had I any greter store thereof then I presentlie occupied; and he brought me this answer again from your L. 'that if I had it not, I cold not lend it.' And yet, all things being thus provided for, and the diet for his L. being also prepared, I sente worde thereof to Mr Kingesmele; and therupon the next daie in the morning, about ix of the clocke the Cardinall came to Shene, where I met and receved him almost a quarter of a mile from the hous, and when I had furste brought the Cardinall to his lodginge, and after, the bushop to his, I thought good there to leve them to their repose." (Works of T. Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, in J. R. Smith's *Library of Old Authors*, pp. xxx—xxxiii.) Lord B. had been complained of for not accommodating the Cardinal de Châtillon and Bishop well. Lord B. had rooms in the Queen's Palace at Sheen, on the London side of Richmond, for which he paid 40 marks a year. [1] of [2] In 1577 ed. this chapter forms chap. 7 of Book 2.

whereof ſome were builded in the time of the Samotheans, and of which not a few in theſe our times are quite decaied, and the places where they ſtood worne out of all remembrance. Such alſo for the moſt part as yet remaine, are maruellouſlie altered, inſomuch that whereas at the firſt they were large and ample, now are they come either vnto a verie few houſes, or appeare not to be much greater in compariſon than poore & ſimple villages. *Antoninus* the moſt diligent writer of the thorough fares of Britaine, noteth, among other, theſe ancient townes following, as *Sitomagus*, which he placeth in the waie from Norwich, as *Leland* ſuppoſeth (wherin they went by Colcheſter) to London; *Nouiomagus* that lieth betweene Carleill and Canturburie, within ten miles eaſt of London; and likewiſe *Neomagus* and *Niomagus* which take their names of their firſt founder *Magus*, the ſonne of *Samothes*, & ſecond king of the Celtes that reigned in this Iland; [and not *A profunditate*, onelie, as *Bodinus* affirmeth out of *Plinie*, as if all the townes that ended in *Magus* ſhould ſtand in holes and low grounds: which is to be diſprooued in diuerſe cities in the maine, as alſo here with vs.] Of theſe moreouer, ſir *Thomas Eliot* ſuppoſeth *Neomagus* to haue ſtood ſomewhere about Cheſter; & *George Lillie*, in his booke of the names of ancient places, iudgeth *Niomagus* to be the verie ſame that we doo now call Buckingham, [and lieth farre from the ſhore]. And as theſe and ſundrie other now periſhed tooke their denomination of this prince, ſo there [1] are diuerſe cauſes, which mooue me to coniecture, that Saliſburie [2] dooth rather take the firſt name of Sarron, the ſonne of the ſaid *Magus*, than of *Cæſar*, *Caradoc*, or *Seuerus* (as ſome of our writers doo imagine), [or elſe at the leaſt wiſe of *Saliſburge* of the maine, from whence ſome Saxons came to inhabit in this land. And for this later, not vnlikelie, ſith before

Some have disappeard now;

others are only a few houses or poor villages.

*Sitomagus.*

*Nouiomagus.*

*Neomagus.*
*Niomagus.*

'-magus' does not mean a hole.

Sir Thos. Eliot.

George Lillie.

[1 p. 190]

*Salisburie of Sarron.*

[2] Salisbury itself

the comming of the Saxons, the king of the Sueſſionenſes had a great part of this Iland in ſubiection, as *Cæſar* ſaith; and in another place, that ſuch of Belgie as ſtale ouer hither from the maine, builded and called diuerſe cities after the names of the ſame from whence they came, I meane, ſuch as ſtood vpon the coaſt, as he himſelfe dooth witneſſe.] But ſith coniectures are no verities, and mine opinion is but one mans iudgement, I will not ſtand now vpon the proofe of this matter, leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to take great paines in adding new coniectures vnto old, in uch wiſe to deteine the heads of my readers about theſe trifles, that otherwiſe peraduenture would be farre better occupied [in matters of more importance.] To proceed therefore. As ſoone after the firſt inhabitation of this Iland, our cities began no doubt to be builded and increaſed, ſo they ceaſed not to multiplie from time to time, till the land was throughlie furniſhed with hir conuenient numbers, whereof ſome at this preſent with their ancient names, doo ſtill remaine in knowledge, though diuerſe be doubted of, and manie more periſhed by continuance of time, and violence of the enimie. I doubt not alſo but the leaſt of theſe were comparable to the greateſt of thoſe which ſtand in our time; for ſith that in thoſe daies the moſt part of the Iland was reſerued vnto paſture, the townes and villages either were not at all, (but all ſorts of people dwelled in the cities indifferentlie, an image of which eſtate may yet be ſeene in Spaine,) or at the leſtwiſe ſtood not ſo thicke, as they did afterward in the time of the Romans, but cheefelie after the comming of the Saxons, and [after them the] Normans, when euerie lord builded a church neare vnto his owne manſion houſe, and [1] thereto imparted [1] the greateſt portion [2] of his lands vnto ſundrie tenants, [to hold the ſame of him by coppie of court roll, which rolles were then kept in ſome eſpeciall place indif-

*Sarronium. Sarrons burg.*

Cities began to multiply.

*Greater cities in times past when husbandmen also were citizens.*

*The cause of the increase of villages.*

Copyholds.

[1]—[1] are imputed [2] part

ferentlie appointed by them and their lord, ſo that the one could haue no reſort vnto them without the other, [1 by which means] the [1] number of townes and villages was not a little increaſed.[2] If anie man be deſirous to know the names of thoſe ancient cities, that ſtood in the time of the Romans, he ſhall haue them here at hand, in ſuch wiſe as I haue gathered them out of our writers, obſeruing euen their manner of writing of them ſo neare as to me is poſſible, [without alteration of anie corruption crept vp into the ſame.]

Names of English cities standing in Roman times.

(of -ing of)

1. London otherwiſe called
   - Trenouanton.
   - Cair Lud.
   - Londinum or Longidinium.
   - Auguſta, of the legion Auguſta that ſoiourned there, when the Romans ruled here.

2. Yorke otherwiſe called
   - Cairbranke.
   - Vrouicum or Yurewijc.
   - Eorwijc [or Eoforwijc.]
   - Yeworwijc.
   - Eboracum.
   - Victoria, of the legion victrix that laie there ſometime.

[*Leouitus placeth yorke in Scotland de eclipsibus. A legion conteined sixtie centuries, thirtie manipuli, three cohortes.*]

3. Canturburie
   - Duroruerno *aliàs* Duraruenno.
   - Dorobernia.
   - Cantwarbirie.

4. Colcheſter
   - Cair Colon.
   - Cair Colden.
   - Cair Colkin [of Coilus.]
   - Cair Colun, of the riuer that runneth thereby.
   - Colonia, [of the colonie planted there by the Romans.] (Plin. lib. 2. ca. 75.)
   - Coloncester. (Tacitus.)
   - Camulodunum. (Ptolome.]

[1—1] wherby the [2] increased among us

Names of ancient English cities that stood in the times of the Romans.

5 Lincolne
- Cair Lud Coit, of the woods that ſtood about it.
- Cair Loichoit, by corruption.
- Lindum.
- Lindocollinum.

6 Warwijc [had ſometime 9 pariſh churches.]
- Cair Guttelin.
- Cair Line [or Cair Leon.]
- Cair Gwair.
- Cair Vmber.
- Cair Gwaerton.

7 Cheſter vpon Vske [was a famous vniuerſitie in the time of Arthur.]
- Cair legion.
- Carlheon.
- Cairlium.
- Legeceſter.
- Ciuitas legionum.

8 Carleill
- Cair Lueill.
- Cair Leill.
- Lugibalia.
- [Cair Doill.]

9 S. Albanes
- Cair Maricipit.
- Cair Municip.
- Verolamium.
- Verlamceſter.
- Cair Wattelin, of the ſtreet wheron it ſtood.

10 Winchester.
- Cair Gwent.
- Cair Gwin.
- Cair Wine.
- Venta Simenorum.

11 Ciſcester.
- Cair Churne.
- Cair Kyrne.
- Cair Kery.
- Cair Cery.
- Cirneceſter
- Churneceſter.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12 | Silceſter. | Cair Segent.<br>Seleceſter. | | [*Cair Segent stood upon the Thames, not farre from Reding.*] |
| 13 | Bath. | Cair Badon.<br>Thermæ.<br>Aquæ ſolis. | | |
| 14 | Shafteſbyry | Cair Paladour.<br>Septonia. | | |
| 15 | Worceſter. | Wigornia.<br>Cair Gworangon.<br>Brangonia.<br>Cair Frangon.<br>Woorkeceſter. | | |
| 16 | Chicheſter. | Cair Key [or Kair Kis.]<br>Cair Chic. | | |
| 17 | Briſtow | Cair Oder nant Badon.<br>Oder.<br>Cair Bren.<br>Venta Belgarum.<br>Brightſtow. | | |
| 118 | Rocheſt. | Durobreuis, corruptlie<br>Rofceſter.<br>Roffa. | Durobrouis.<br>Dubobrus.<br>Durobrius. | [1 p. 191] |
| 19 | Portcheſter. | Cair Peris.<br>Cair Poreis. | | |
| 20 | Cairmarden | Cair Maridunum.<br>Cair Merdine.<br>Maridunum.<br>Cair Marlin.<br>Cair Fridhin. | | |
| 21 | Gloceſter. | Cair Clowy.<br>Cair Glow.<br>Claudioceſtria. | | |

Ancient English cities in Roman times.

22 Leircester.
- [Cair Beir.]
- Cair Leir.
- Cair Lirion.
- Wirall, teſte. Matth. Weſt. 895.

23 Cambridge.
- [Grantabric.]
- Cair Graunt.

24 Cair Vrnach [peraduenture Burgh caſtell.]
25 Cair Cucurat.
26 Cair Draiton, [now a ſlender village.]
27 Cair Celennon.
28 Cair Megwaid.

Cair Dorme, on the Nene in Huntingdonshire.

As for Cair Dorme (another whereof I read likewiſe) it ſtood ſomewhere vpon [the] Nene in Huntingdonſhire, but now vnknowne, ſith it was twiſe raced to the ground, firſt by the Saxons, then by the Danes, ſo that the ruines thereof are [in theſe daies] not extant to be ſeene. And in like ſort I am ignorant where [1] moſt of them [1] ſtood, that are noted [with] the ſtar. [I find in

Alcluid

like ſort mention of a noble citie called *Alcluid*, ouer and beſide theſe afore mentioned, ſometime builded by *Ebracus* of Britaine, as the fame goeth, and finallie deſtroied by the Danes, about the yeare of Grace 870. It ſtood vpon the banks of the riuer Cluda, to wit, betweene it and the blanke on the north, and the Lound

a march town,

lake on the weſt, and was ſometime march betweene the Britons and the Picts, and likewiſe the Picts and the Scots; neuer the leſſe, the caſtell (as I heare) dooth yet remaine, and hath beene ſince well repared by the

now Dumbarton.

Scots, and called *Dombrittain* or *Dumbritton*, ſo that it is not an hard matter by theſe few words to find where *Alcluid* ſtood. I could here, if leiſure ſerued, and haſt of the printer [did [2]] not require diſpatch, deliuer the ancient names of ſundrie other townes, of which Stafford in

[1]—[1] they

[2] Not in orig.—F.

time paſt was called Stadtford, and therfore (as I geſſe) builded, or the name altered by the Saxons, Kinebanton now Kimbalton. But if anie man be deſirous to ſee more of them, let him reſort to *Houeden* in the life of Henrie the ſecond, and there he ſhall be further ſatiſfied of his deſire in this behalfe.] Stafford. See Hoveden's Life of Hen. II.

It ſhould ſeeme when thoſe ancient cities flouriſhed, that the ſame towne which we now call ſaint Albons, did moſt of all excell: but cheefelie in the Romans time, and was [not onelie] nothing inferior to London it ſelfe, but rather preferred before it, bicauſe it was newer, and [1] made a *Municipium* [1] of the Romans, whereas the other was old and ruinous, and inhabited onelie by the Britons, [as the moſt part of the Iland was alſo in thoſe daies.] Good notice hereof alſo is to be taken by *Matthew Paris*, and others before him, out of whoſe writings I haue thought good to note a few things, whereby the maieſtie of this ancient citie may appeare vnto poſteritie, and the former eſtate of Verlamceſter not lie altogither (as it hath doone hitherto) raked vp in forgetfulnes, through the negligence of ſuch as might haue deſerued better of their ſucceſſours, by leauing the deſcription thereof in a booke by it ſelfe, ſith manie particulars thereof were written to their hands, that now are loſt and periſhed. *Tacitus* in the foureteenth booke of his hiſtorie maketh mention of it, ſhewing that in the rebellion of the Britons, the Romans there were miſerablie diſtreſſed, *Eadem clades* (ſaith he) *municipio Verolamio fuit.* And herevpon *Nennius* in his catalog of cities calleth it *Cair municip*,[2] as I before haue noted. *Ptolome* ſpeaking of it, dooth place it among the *Catyeuchlanes*, but *Antoninus* maketh it one and twentie Italian miles from London, placing *Sullomaca* nine mile from thence, whereby it is euident, that *Sullomaca* ſtood [3] neere to Barnet, if it were not the [verie] ſame. Of the [old] compaſſe of

*when Albane was martyred Asclepiodotus was legat in Britaine.*

St Alban's was a finer town than London.

Notes from Matthew Paris about St Alban's.

Tacitus mentions it.

*Sullomaca and Barnet all one, or not far in sunder.*

[1]—[1] a colony [2] *Minucip* [3] stood very

the walles of *Verolamium* there is [1] now ſmall knowledge to be had [1] by the ruines, but of the beautie of the citie it ſelfe you ſhall partlie vnderſtand by that which followeth at hand, [after I haue told you for your better intelligence what *Municipium Romanorum* is: for there is great difference betweene that and *Colonia Romanorum*, ſith *Colonia aliò traducitur a ciuitate Roma*, but *Municipes aliundè in ciuitatem veuiunt, ſuisque iuribus & legibus viuunt:* moreouer their ſoile is not changed into the nature of the Romane, but they liue in the ſtedfaſt freendſhip and protection of the Romans, as did ſomtime the Ceretes, who were the firſt people which euer obteined that priuilege. The Britiſh *Verolamians* therefore, hauing for their noble ſeruice in the warres deſerued great commendations at the hands of the Romans, they gaue vnto them the whole freedome of Romans, whereby they were made *Municipes*, and became more free in truth than their *Colonies* could be. To conclude therefore, *Municipium* is a citie infranchiſed and indued with Romane priuileges, without anie alteration of hir former inhabitants or priuileges; whereas a *Colonie* is a companie ſent from Rome into anie other region or prouince, to poſſeſſe either a citie newlie builded, or to repleniſh the ſame from whence hir former citizens haue beene expelled and driuen out. Now to proceed.]

The difference betweene 'Municipium' and 'Colonia Romanorum.'

The Romans gaue the inhabitants of St Alban's the whole freedom of Romans.

'Municipium'

and 'Colonia' defin'd.

In the time of king Edgar it fell out, that one Eldred was abbat there; who being deſirous to inlarge that houſe, it came into his mind to ſearch about in the ruines of *Verolamium* (which now was ouerthrowne by the furie of the Saxons & Danes) to ſee if he might there come by anie curious peeces of worke, wherewith to garniſh his building taken in hand. To be ſhort, he had no ſooner begun to dig among the rubbis, but he found an exceeding number of pillers, peeces of antike worke, threſholds, doore frames, and ſundrie other

A.D. 959-75 Abbot Eldred dug in the ruins of Verolamium,

and found many pillars, door-frames,

[1]—[1] yet some mencyon

peeces of fine maſonrie for windowes and ſuch like, verie conuenient for his purpoſe. Of theſe alſo ſome were of porphyrite ſtone, ſome of diuerſe kinds of marble, touch, and alabaſter, beſide manie curious deuiſes of hard mettall; in finding whereof he thought himſelfe an happie man, and his ſucceſſe to be greatlie guided by S. Albane. Beſides theſe alſo he found ſundrie pillers of braſſe, and ſockets of latton, [alabaſter and touch,] all which he laid aſide by great heaps, determining in the end (I ſaie) to laie the foundation of a new abbaie; but God ſo preuented his determination, that death tooke him awaie, before his building was begun. After him ſucceeded one Eadmerus, who followed [1] the dooings of Eldred to the vttermoſt: and therefore not onlie peruſed what he had left with great diligence, but alſo cauſed his pioners to ſearch [2] yet further, within the old walles of *Verolamium*, where they not onelie found infinite [other] peeces of excellent workemanſhip, but came at the laſt to certeine vaults vnder the ground, in which ſtood diuers idols, and not a few altars, verie ſuperſtitiouſlie and religiouſlie adorned, as the pagans left them belike in time of neceſſitie. Theſe images were of ſundrie mettals, and ſome of pure gold, their altars likewiſe were richlie couered, all which ornaments Edmerus tooke awaie, and not onelie conuerted them to other vſe in his building, but alſo deſtroied an innumerable ſort of other idols, whoſe eſtimation conſiſted in their formes, and ſubſtances could doo no ſeruice. He tooke vp alſo [3] ſundrie curious pots, iugs, and cruſes of ſtone and wood moſt artificiallie wrought and carued, and that in ſuch quantitie, beſides infinite ſtore of fine houſhold ſtuffe, as if the whole furniture of the citie had beene brought thither of purpoſe to be hidden in thoſe vaults. In proceeding further, he tooke vp diuerſe pots of gold, ſiluer, braſſe, [4] glaſſe [and earth,] whereof ſome were filled

window-frames

of porphyry,

devices in metal,

pillars of brass, sockets of latton, &c.

Eadmer carrid on Eldred's search in old Verolamium,

[2 p. 192]

and found there idols and altars,—

the idols of gold, the altars ornamented,—

and curiously wrought pots and jugs,

some of gold, silver, glass, filld with

[1] prosequuted [3] moreouer [4] brasse and

ashes of the Gentiles, like others found in a well at Massingham about 1578 A.D.

with the aſhes and bones of the gentils, [the mouths being turned downewards (the like of which, but of finer earth, were found in great numbers alſo of late in a well at little Maſſingham in Norffolke, of ſix or eight gallons a peece, about the yeare 1578, and alſo in the time of Henrie the eight)] and not a few with the coines of the old Britons and Romane emperours. All which veſſels the ſaid abbat brake into peeces, and melting the mettall, he reſerued it in like ſort for the garniſhing of his church.

Eadmer also found 2 books of the Rites of the Gentiles, and the Martyrdom of St Alban.

*This soundeth like a lie.*

He found likewiſe in a ſtone wall two old bookes, whereof one conteined the rites of the gentils, about the ſacrifices of their gods, the other (as they now ſaie) the martyrdome of ſaint Albane, both of them written in old Brittiſh letters, which, either bicauſe no man then liuing could read them, or for that they were not woorth the keeping, were both conſumed to aſhes, ſauing that a few notes were firſt taken out of this later, concerning the death of their Albane. Thus much haue I thought good to note of the former beautie of *Verolamium*, whereof infinite other tokens haue beene found ſince that time, and diuerſe within the memorie of man, of paſſing workemanſhip, the like whereof hath no whers elſe beene ſeene in anie ruines within the compaſſe of this [1] Ile, either for coſt or quantitie of ſtuffe.

Many beautiful remains have been lately found in old Verulam.

The Thames never came up to St Alban's, but the Verlume did and does.

Furthermore, whereas manie [2] are not afraid to ſaie that the Thames came ſometimes by this citie, indeed it is nothing ſo; but that the Verlume (afterward called Vere and the Mure) did and [3] dooth ſo [ſtill] (whatſoeuer *Gildas* talketh hereof, whoſe books may be corrupted in that behalfe) there is yet euident proofe to be confirmed by experience. [For albeit that the riuer be now growne to be verie ſmall, by reaſon of the ground about it, which is higher than it was in old time; yet it keepeth in maner the old courſe, and

It's now very small,

[1] the [2] dyuers [3] or

runneth betweene the old citie that was, and the new towne that is ſtanding on Holmechirſt crag, as I beheld of late. Thoſe places alſo which now are medow beneath the abbaie, were ſometimes a great lake, mere, or poole, through which the ſaid riuer ran, and (as I read) with a verie ſwift and violent courſe, wheras at this preſent it is verie ſlow, and of no ſuch deapth as of ancient times it hath beene.] But [1] heare what mine author ſaith further of the ſame.[1] As thoſe aforſaid workemen digged in theſe ruines, they happened oftentimes vpon Lempet ſhels, peeces of ruſtie anchors, and keeles of great veſſels; wherevpon, ſome by and by gathered that either the Thames or ſome arme of the ſea did beat vpon that towne, not vnderſtanding that theſe things might aſwell happen in great lakes and meres, wherof there was one adioining to the north ſide of the citie, which laie then [(as ſome men thinke)] vnwalled, [but that alſo is falſe. For being there vpon occaſion this ſummer paſſed, I ſaw ſome remnant of the old wals ſtanding in that place, which appeared to haue beene verie ſubſtantiallie builded; the ruines likewiſe of a greater part of them are to be ſeene running along by the old chappell hard by, in maner of a banke. Whereby it is euident that the new towne ſtandeth cleane without the limits of the old, and that the bridge whereof the hiſtorie of S. Albane ſpeaketh, was at the nether end of Halliwell ſtreet or there about, for ſo the view of the place doth inforce me to coniecture.] This mere [(which the Latine copie of the deſcription of Britaine, written of late by *Humfrey Lhoid* our countrie man, calleth corruptlie *Stagnum enaximum* for *Stagnum maximum*)] at the firſt belonged to the king, and thereby Offa in his time did reape no ſmall commoditie. It continued alſo vntill the time of Alfrijc the ſeuenth abbat of that houſe, who bought it outright of the king then liuing, and by exceſſiue charges drained it ſo

and runs between the old town and the new.

St Alban's Abbey meadows were once a great lake.

In the ruins of old Verulam were found shells, anchors, &c.

I was at St Alban's last summer [1586,] and saw how solid the old walls were.

The old bridge was at the lower end of Halliwell St.

Humphrey Lhoyd's 'Britannia.'

[1]—[1] thus standeth the case

Abbot Alfric draind the St Alban's Abbey lakes. ('her' for 'its'.)

narrowlie, that within a while he left it drie [(ſauing that he reſerued a chanell for the riuer to haue hir vſuall courſe, which he held vp with high bankes)] bicauſe there was alwaies contention betweene the moonks and the kings ſeruants, which fiſhed on that water [vnto the kings behoofe.]

Its name still remains in Fish-pool St.

In theſe daies therefore[1] remaineth no maner mention of this poole, but onelie in one ſtreet, which yet is called Fiſhpoole ſtreet, wherof this may ſuffice for the reſolution of ſuch men, as ſeeke rather to yeeld to an inconuenience, than that their *Gildas* ſhould ſeeme to miſtake this riuer.

Hauing thus digreſſed to giue ſome remembrance of the old eſtate of *Verolamium*, it is now time to returne againe vnto my former purpoſe. Certes I

I can't get the names of all our towns and villages.

would gladlie ſet downe, with the names and number of the cities, all the townes, and villages in England and Wales, [with their true longitudes and latitudes,] but as yet I cannot come by them in ſuch order as I would: howbeit the tale of our cities is ſoone found by the biſhoprikes, ſith euerie ſee hath ſuch prerogatiue giuen vnto it, as to beare the name of a citie,[2] & to vſe *Regaleius* within hir owne limits. Which priuilege alſo is granted to ſundrie ancient townes in England, eſpeciallie northward, where more plentie of them is to be found by a great deale than in the ſouth. The names therefore of our cities are theſe:[2]

The names of our 26 Cities are these.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| London. | Worceſter. | Cheſter. |
| Yorke. | Gloceſter. | Chicheſter. |
| Canturburie. | Hereford. | Oxford. |
| Wincheſter. | Saliſburie. | Peterborow. |
| Cairleill. | Exceſter. | Landaffe. |
| Durham. | Bath. | S. Dauids. |
| Elie. | Lichfield. | Bangor. |
| Norwich. | Briſtow. | S. Aſaph. |
| Lincolne. | Rocheſter. | |

[1] there

[2]—[2] As

Whoſe particular plots and models with their deſcriptions ſhall inſue, if it may be brought to paſſe, that the cutters can make diſpatch of them before this chronologie[1] be publiſhed. Of townes and villages likewiſe thus much will I ſaie, that there were greater ſtore in old time [(I meane within three or foure hundred yeare paſſed)] than at this preſent. And this I note out of diuerſe records, charters, and donations (made in times paſt vnto ſundrie religious houſes, as Glaſſenburie, Abbandon, Ramſeie, Elie, and ſuch like) and[2] whereof in theſe daies I find not ſo much as the ruines. *Leland*, in ſundrie places, complaineth likewiſe of the decaie of pariſhes in great cities and townes, miſſing in ſome, ſix, or eight, or twelue churches [and more,] of all which he giueth particular notice. For albeit that the Saxons builded manie townes and villages, and the Normans well[3] more [at their firſt comming,] yet ſince the firſt [two] hundred yeares after the latter conqueſt, they haue gone[4] ſo faſt againe to decaie, that the ancient number of them is verie much abated. *Ranulph* the moonke of Cheſter telleth of generall ſurueie made in the fourth, [ſixteenth, & nineteenth] of the reigne of William Conqueror, ſurnamed the Baſtard, wherein it was found, that (notwithſtanding the Danes had ouerthrowne a great manie) there were to the number of 52000 townes, 45002 pariſh churches, and 75000 knights fees, whereof the cleargie held 28015. He addeth moreouer that there were diuerſe other builded ſince that time, within the ſpace of an hundred yeares after the comming of the Baſtard, as it were in lieu or recompenſe of thoſe that William Rufus pulled downe for the erection of his new forreſt. [For by an old booke which I haue, and ſometime written as it ſeemeth by an vnderſhiriffe of Nottingham, I find, euen[5] in the time of *Edw.* 4. 45120 pariſh churches, and but

I'll give Plans of our 26 Cities, if the Cutters are quick enough.

Many old towns and villages have disappeard,

as Leland bears witness.

[3 p. 193]

Ranulphus says that A.D. 1070-85

there were in England 52,000 towns, and 45,000 parish churches.

A.D. 1461-83 there were 45,120 parish churches.

[1] hystory [2] that there were many townes and villages
[4] gone againe [5] *orig.* cuen

60216 knights fees, whereof the cleargie held as before 28015, or at the leaſt 28000: for ſo ſmall is the difference which he dooth ſeeme to vſe.] Howbeit, if the aſſertions of ſuch as write in our time concerning this matter, either are or ought to be of anie credit in this behalfe, you ſhall not find aboue 17000 townes and villages, [and 9210] in the whole, which is little more than a fourth part of the aforeſaid number, if it be throughlie ſcanned.

Now, we've not above 17,000 towns and villages.

[Certes this miſfortune hath not onelie happened vnto our Ile & nation, but vnto moſt of the famous countries of the world heretofore, and all by the greedie deſire of ſuch as would liue alone and onelie to themſelues. And hereof we may take example in Candie, of old time called Creta, which (as *Homer* writeth) was called *Hetacompolis*, bicauſe it conteined an hundred cities, but now it is ſo vnfurniſhed that it may hardlie be called *Tripolis*. *Diodorus Siculus* ſaith, that Aegypt had once 18000 cities, which ſo decaied in proceſſe of time, that when *Ptolomeus Lagus* reigned, there were not aboue 3000: but in our daies, both in all Aſia & Aegypt this leſſer number ſhall not verie readilie be[1] found. In time paſt in Lincolne (as the fame goeth) there haue beene two and fiftie pariſh churches, and good record appeareth for eight and thirtie: but now, if there be foure and twentie, it is all. This inconuenience hath growen altogither to the church by appropriations made vnto monaſteries and religious houſes, a terrible canker and enimie to religion.]

Lincoln had once 52 parish-churches (38 for certain), but now has only 24.

But to leaue this lamentable diſcourſe of ſo notable [and greeuous] an inconuenience, growing [(as I ſaid)] by incroching and ioining of houſe to houſe, and [laieng] land to land, whereby the inhabitants of [2] manie places of our [2] countrie are deuoured and eaten [3] vp and their houſes either altogither pulled downe or

This decay of houses comes from the eating-up of the poor by the rich.

[1] *orig.* he [2]—[2] any [3] eate

ſuffered to decaie by litle and litle,[1] although ſometime a poore man peraduenture dooth dwell in one of them,— who, not being able to repare it, ſuffereth it to fall downe,—& thereto thinketh himſelfe verie friendlie dealt withall, if he may haue an acre of ground aſſigned vnto him, whereon to keepe a cow, or wherein to ſet cabbages, radiſhes, parſneps, carrets, melons, pompons, or ſuch like ſtuffe, by which he and his poore houſehold liueth as by their principall food, ſith they can doo no better. And as for wheaten bread, they eat it when they can reach vnto the price of it, contenting themſelues in the meane time with bread made of otes or barleie:[2] a poore eſtate God wot! Howbeit, what care our great incrochers? But in diuers places where rich men dwelled ſometime in good tenements, there be now no houſes at all, but hopyards, and ſheads for poles, or peraduenture gardens, as we may ſee in caſtell Hedingham, and diuerſe other places. But to proceed.]

Sometimes a poor man 'll live in a house till it tumbles down;

and is lucky if he gets an acre of ground for his cow, or the garden-stuff

on which his family live, (cp. *Piers Plowman*, B. Pass. 6,)

with oaten or barley bread.

Other house-sites are now gardens, as in Castle Hedingham.

It is ſo, that our ſoile being diuided into champaine ground and woodland, the houſes of the firſt lie vniformelie builded in euerie towne togither, with ſtreets and lanes; wheras in the woodland countries (except here and there in great market townes) they ſtand ſcattered abroad, each one dwelling in the midſt of his owne occupieng. And as in [3]manie and moſt great market townes,[3] there are commonlie three hundred or foure hundred families or manſions,[4] & two thouſand communicants, or peraduenture more: ſo in the other, [whether they be woodland or champaine,] we find not often aboue fortie,[5] fiftie, [or three ſcore] houſeholds, and two [or three] hundred communicants, whereof the greateſt part neuertheleſſe are verie poore folkes, oftentimes without all maner of occupieng, ſith the

Our country-town houses are in streets: the woodland ones stand separate.

Market-towns hold 300 or 400 families; villages, from 40 to 60,

mainly very poor folk.

[1] See on this my *Ballads from MSS.* i.; Mr Cowper's edition of *Life in Tudor England, Four Supplications*, and Crowley's *Select Works*, for the Early English Text Soc.; More's *Utopia*, &c.—F.

[2] See above, p. 153.—F.

[3—3] eury one of the first

[4] mansion houses

[5] fortie or

All the ground of some parishes is in 1, 2, or 3 men's hands.

ground of the pariſh is[1] gotten vp into a few mens hands, yea ſometimes into the tenure of [one] two or three, whereby the reſt are compelled, either to be hired ſeruants vnto the other, or elſe to beg their bread in miſerie from doore to doore.

Some landlords pull down all the poor folks' houses in a town.

[There are ſome (ſaith *Leland*) which are not ſo fauourable when they haue gotten ſuch lands, as to let the houſes remaine vpon them to the vſe of the poore; but they will compound with the lord of the ſoile to pull them downe for altogither, ſaieng that 'if they did let them ſtand, they ſhould but toll beggers to the towne, therby to ſurcharge the reſt of the pariſh, & laie more burden vpon them.' But, alas! theſe pitifull men ſee not that they themſelues hereby doo laie the greateſt log vpon their neighbors necks. For ſith the prince dooth commonlie looſe nothing of his duties accuſtomable to be paid, the reſt of the pariſhioners that remaine, muſt anſwer and beare them out: for they plead more charge other waies, ſaieng; "I am charged alreadie with a light horſſe; I am to anſwer in this ſort, and after that maner." And it is not yet altogither out of knowledge, that where the king had ſeuen pounds thirteene ſhillings at a taſke gathered of fiftie wealthie houſeholders of a pariſh in England: now a gentleman hauing three parts of the towne in his owne hands, foure houſholds doo beare all the aforeſaid paiment, or elſe *Leland* is deceiued in his Commentaries, *lib.* 13. latelie come to my hands, which thing he eſpeciallie noted in his trauell ouer this Ile. A common plague & enormitie, both in the hart of the land, and likewiſe vpon the coaſts. Certes] a great number complaine of the increaſe of pouertie,[2] [laieng the cauſe vpon God, as though he were in fault for ſending ſuch increaſe of people, or want of wars that ſhould conſume them, affirming that the land was neuer ſo full, &c:] but few men doo ſee the verie root from whence it

But this makes the remaining inhabitants pay heavier taxes.

Once a tax of £7 13s. was shar'd by 50 house-holders, but now by 4 only.

Increase of Poverty.

The Land never so full.

[1] is often

[2] See above, p. 213.—F.

dooth proceed. Yet the Romans found it out, when they floriſhed, and therefore preſcribed limits to euerie mans tenure and occupieng. *Homer* commendeth *Achilles* for ouerthrowing of fiue and twentie cities: but in mine opinion *Ganges* is much better preferred by *Suidas* for building of three ſcore in Inde, where he did plant himſelfe. I could (if need required) ſet downe in this place the number of religious houſes and monaſteries, with the names of their founders, that haue beene in this Iland: but ſith it is a thing of ſmall importance, I paſſe it ouer as impertinent to my purpoſe. Yet herein I will commend ſundrie [1] of the monaſticall votaries, eſpeciallie moonkes, for that they were authors of manie goodlie borowes and endwares, neere vnto their dwellings, although otherwiſe they pretended to be men ſeparated from the world. But alas! their couetous minds, one waie in inlarging their reuenues, and carnall intent an other, appeered herin too too much. For, being bold from time to time to viſit their tenants, they wrought oft [2] great wickedneſſe, and made thoſe endwares little better than brodelhouſes, eſpeciallie where nunries were farre off, or elſe no ſafe acceſſe vnto them. But what doo I ſpend my time in the rehearſall of theſe filthineſſes? Would to God the memorie of them might periſh with the malefactors! My purpoſe was alſo at the end of this chapter to haue ſet downe a table of the pariſh churches and market townes thorough out all England and Wales: but ſith I can not performe the ſame as I would, I am forced [3] to giue ouer my purpoſe: yet by theſe few that inſue you ſhall eaſilie ſee what order I would haue vſed according to the ſhires, [if I might haue brought it to paſſe].

The Romans wisely refus'd to let any man hold too much land.

I praise the Monks for building tenements near their Monasteries.

But they often turnd their [2 p. 194] tenants' houses into brothel-houses, when they had no Nunneries near to go to.

I can't give the numbers of Market-towns and Parish-churches in more than 18 shires.

[1] manye

[3] inforced

The Market-towns and Parishes in 18 Shires of England.

| *Shires.* | *Market townes.* | *Parishes.* |
|---|---|---|
| Middlesex. | 3 | 73 |
| London within the walles, and without. | | 120 |
| Surrie. | 6 | 140 |
| Sussex. | 18 | 312 |
| Kent. | 17 | 398 |
| Cambridge. | 4 | 163 |
| Bedford. | 9 | 13 |
| Huntingdon. | 5 | 78 |
| Rutland. | 2 | 47 |
| Barkeshire. | 11 | 150 |
| Northhampton. | 10 | 326 |
| Buckingham. | 11 | 196 |
| Oxford. | 10 | 216 |
| Southhampton. | 18 | 248 |
| Dorset. | 19 | 279 |
| Norffolke. | 26 | 625 |
| Suffolke. | 25 | 575 |
| Essex. | 18 | 415[1] |

## Of castels and holds.

### Chap. 14.[2]

[IT hath beene of long time a question in controuersie, and not yet determined, whether holds and castels, neere cities, or anie where in the hart of common-wealths, are more profitable or hurtfull for the benefit of the countrie? Neuertheles it seemeth by our owne experience, that we here in Eng-

Castles not needed in England.

[1] And these I had of a friende of myne, by whose traueyle and hys maisters excessiue charges I doubt not, but my country men eare long shall see all Englande set foorth in seuerall shyres after the same manner that Ortelius hath dealt wyth other countries of the mayne, to the great benefite of our nation and euerlasting fame of the aforesayde parties.

[2] In the 1577 ed. this forms chap. 8 of Book 2.—F.

land ſuppoſe them altogither vnneedfull. This alſo is apparant by the teſtimonie of ſundrie writers, that they haue beene the ruine of manie a noble citie. Of old Saliſburie, I ſpeake not; of Anwarpe, I ſaie nothing more than of ſundrie other, whereof ſome alſo in my time neuer ceaſe to incroch vpon the liberties of the cities adioining, thereby to hinder them what and wherin they may. For my part, I neuer read of anie caſtell that did good vnto the citie abutting theron, but onelie the capitoll of Rome: and yet but once good vnto the ſame, in reſpect of the nine times whereby it brought it into danger of vtter ruine and confuſion. *Ariſtotle* vtterlie denieth that anie caſtle at all can be profitable to a common wealth well gouerned. *Timotheus* of Corinthum affirmeth, that a caſtle in a common wealth is but a breeder of tyrants. *Pyrhus* king of Epire being receiued alſo on a time into Athens, among other courteſies ſhewed vnto him, they led him alſo into their caſtell of Pallas, who at his departure gaue them great thanks for the freendlie intertainment; but with this item, that 'they ſhould let ſo few kings come into the ſame as they might; leaſt (ſaith he) they teach you to repent too late of your great gentleneſſe.' *Caietanus*, in his common-wealth, hath finallie no liking of them, as appeereth in his eight booke of that moſt excellent treatiſe. But what haue I to deale whether they be profitable or not, ſith my purpoſe is rather to ſhew what plentie we haue of them, which I will performe, ſo far as ſhall be needfull?]

Castles—the owners of them—have been the ruin of many a city.

A Castle in a Commonwealth is a breeder of tyrants.

Caietanus's 'Commonwealth,' Bk 8.

There haue beene in times paſt, great ſtore of caſtels & places of defenſe within the realme of England, of which ſome were builded by the Britons, manie by the Romans, Saxons, and Danes, but moſt of all by the barons of the realme, in & about the time of king Stephan, who licenced each of them to build ſo manie as [1]them liſted[1] vpon their owne demeaſnes, hoping

Great store of Castles formerly in England.

Most about Stephen's time.

[1—1] they would

*Henry the thirde also raised diuers.*

thereby that they would haue imploied their vſe to his aduantage and commoditie. But finallie, when he ſaw that they were rather fortified againſt himſelfe in the end, than vſed in his defenſe, he repented all too late of his inconſiderate dealing, ſith now there was no remedie but by force for to ſubdue them. After his deceaſe,

Henry II.

king Henrie the ſecond came no ſooner to the crowne, but he called to mind the inconuenience which his predeceſſour had ſuffered, and he himſelfe might in time ſuſtaine, by thoſe fortifications. Therefore, one of the firſt things he did, was an attempt to race and deface the moſt part of theſe holds. Certes he thought it better to hazard the meeting of the enimie now and then in the plaine field, than to liue in perpetuall feare of thoſe houſes, and the rebellion of his lords vpon euerie light occaſion conceiued, who then were full ſo ſtrong as he, if not more ſtrong; and that made them the readier to withſtand and gaineſaie manie of thoſe proceedings, which he and his ſucceſſours from time to

levelld 1100 of his Barons' castles.

time intended. Herevpon therefore he cauſed more than eleuen hundred of their [ſaid] caſtels to be raced and ouerthrowne, whereby the power of his nobilitie was

And since, many have decayd. (See 'Ballads from MSS.,' i. 94.)

not a little reſtreined. Since that time alſo, not a few of thoſe which remained, haue decaied [partlie by the commandement of Henrie the third, and partlie] of themſelues, [or by conuerſion of them into the dwelling houſes of noble men, their martiall fronts being

There are very few castles now kept up, except on our coasts and Marches.

remooued:] ſo that at this preſent, there are verie few or no caſtels at all mainteined within England, ſauing onelie vpon the coaſts and marches of the countrie, for the better keeping backe of the forren enimie, when ſoeuer he ſhall attempt to enter and annoie vs.

The moſt prouident prince that euer reigned in this land, for the fortification thereof againſt all outward enimies, was the late prince of famous memorie, king

Henry VIII. repaird many castles.

Henrie the eight, who,[1] beſide that he repared moſt of

[1] sith

ſuch as were alreadie ſtanding,[1] builded ſundrie out of the ground. For, hauing ſhaken off the more than ſeruile yoke of[2] popiſh tyrannie, and eſpieng that the emperour was offended for his diuorce from queene Catharine his aunt, and thereto [vnderſtanding] that the French king had coupled the Dolphin his ſonne with the popes neece, and maried his daughter to the king of Scots, (whereby he had cauſe more iuſtlie to ſuſpect, than ſafelie to truſt, anie one of them all, as *Lambert* ſaith,) he determined to ſtand vpon his owne defenſe; and therefore, with no ſmall ſpeed, and like charge, he builded ſundrie blockehouſes, caſtels, and platformes vpon diuerſe frontiers of his realme, but chieflie the eaſt and ſoutheaſt parts of England, whereby (no doubt) he did verie much qualifie the conceiued grudges of his aduerſaries, and vtterlie put off their haſtie purpoſe of inuaſion. [But would to God he had caſt his eare toward Haruiſh, and the coaſts of Norffolke and Suffolke, where nothing as yet is doone! albeit there be none ſo fit and likelie places for the enimie to enter vpon, as in thoſe parts, where, at a full ſea they may touch vpon the ſhore, and come to land, without reſiſtance.] And thus much brieflie for my purpoſe at this preſent. For I need not to make anie long diſcourſe of ca[3]ſtels, ſith it is not the nature of a good Engliſhman to regard to be caged vp as in a coope, and hedged in with ſtone wals, but rather to meet with his enimie in the plaine field at handſtrokes, where he may trauaiſe his ground, chooſe his plot, and vſe the benefit of ſunne ſhine, wind and weather, to his beſt aduantage & commoditie. [*Iſocrates* alſo ſaith that towres, walles, bulworkes, ſoldiers, and plentie of armour, are not the beſt keepers of kingdomes; but freends, loue of ſubiects, & obedience vnto martiall diſcipline; which they want that ſhew themſelues either cruell or couetous toward their people.] As for thoſe tales that go of

And seeing danger from the Pope, the Emperor, and the Kings of France and Scotland,

Henry VIII. built castles, &c. on his frontiers.

*In these dayes the coast of Norfolke is the weakest as may appear by Waburne hope and other places of the same.*

[3 p. 195]

Englishmen don't want to be coopt up in stone walls. They like to fight in the open, hand to hand.

[*The best keepers of kingdomes.*]

[1] standing he [2] of the

The brag of the rebel Hugh Bigot,

Beſton caſtell, how it ſhall ſaue all England on a daie, and likewiſe the brag of a rebellious baron in old time [named Hugh Bigot], that ſaid in contempt of king Henrie the third,[1] [and about the fiftith yeare of his reigne:]

that if he were in his Castle he'd not care a button for Henry III., is all gammon.

*If I were in my caſtell of Bungeie,*
*Vpon the water of Waueneie,*
*I wold not ſet a button by the king of Cockneie*

I repute them but as toies; the firſt meere vaine, the ſecond fondlie vttered (if anie ſuch thing were ſaid), as manie other words are, and haue beene, ſpoken of like holds (as Wallingford, &c:) but now growen out of memorie, and with ſmall loſſe not heard of among the common ſort. [Certes the caſtell of Bungeie was ouerthrowen by the aforeſaid prince, the ſame yeare that he ouerthrew the walles and caſtell of Leirceſter, alſo the caſtels of Treſke and Maleſar, apperteining to Roger Mowbraie, and that of Fremlingham belonging likewiſe to Hugh Bigot, wherof in the chronologie following you may read at large. I might here in like ſort take occaſion to ſpeake of ſundrie ſtrong places where camps of men haue lien, and of which we haue great plentie here in England in the plaine fields: but I paſſe ouer to talke of any ſuch needleſſe diſcourſes. This neuertheleſſe concerning two of them is not to be omitted, to wit, that the one neere vnto Cambridge, now Gogmagogs hill, was called Windleburie before time, as I read of late in an old pamphlet. And to ſaie the truth, I haue often heard them named Winterburie hilles, which difference may eaſilie grow by corruption of the former word: the place likewiſe is verie large and ſtrong. The ſecond is to be ſeene in the edge of Shropſhire about two miles from Colme, betweene two riuers, the Clun or Colunus, and the Tewe otherwiſe named Themis, wherevnto there is no acceſſe but at one

Bigot's Castles of Bungay and Framlingham were overthrown by Henry III.

Many old Camps in England.

Of 2 special ones, [*The wandles in time past were called windles.*] Gogmagog Hills, near Cambridge, were calld Winterbury Hills.

The second, 2 miles from Colme, was calld by the Welsh, 'Cair Carador.'

[1] third as I gesse

place. The Welſhmen call it Cair Carador, and they are of the opinion, that Caractatus king of the Sillures was ouercome there by Oſtorius, at ſuch time as he fled to Cartimanda queene of the Brigants for ſuccour, who betraied him to the Romans, as you may ſee in *Tacitus.*]

## Of palaces belonging to *the prince.*[1]

### Chap. 15.[2]

It's not for me to describe Queen Elizabeth's Palaces,

IT lieth not in me to ſet down exactlie the number & names of the palaces belonging to the prince, nor to make anie deſcription of hir graces court, ſith my calling is, and hath beene ſuch, as that I haue ſcarſelie preſumed to peepe in at hir gates; much leſſe then haue I aduentured to ſearch out and know the eſtate of thoſe houſes, and what magnificent behauiour is to be ſeene within them. Yet thus much will I ſaie generallie of all the houſes and honours [3] perteining to hir maieſtie,[3] that they are builded either of ſquare ſtone or bricke, or elſe of both. And thervnto, although their capacitie and hugeneſſe be not ſo monſtrous, as the like of diuerſe forren princes are to be ſeene in the maine, [and new found nations of the world:] yet are they ſo curious, neat, and commodious as any of them, both for conueiance [4] of offices and lodgings, and excellencie of ſituation, which is not the leaſt thing to be conſidered of [in building]. Thoſe that were builded before the time of king Henrie the eight, reteine to theſe daies the ſhew and image of the ancient kind of workemanſhip vſed in this land: but ſuch as he erected [after his owne deuiſe (for he was nothing inferiour in this trade to Adrian the emperour

I've hardly dar'd peep in at her gates.

Her houses are of stone or brick,

not so huge as foreign princes',

but as neat and well situated as any of them.

Palaces before Hen. VIII. are in the old style.

[1] and court of Englande [2] In 1577 ed. this forms Chap. 9 of Book 2.—F.
[3]—[3] appertaining unto hir grace [4] conueighaunce

[*King Hen.* 8. *not inferior to Adrian and Justinian.*]

and Juſtinian the lawgiuer)] doo repreſent another maner of paterne, which, as they are ſuppoſed to excell all the reſt that he found ſtanding in this realme, ſo they are and ſhall be a perpetuall preſident vnto thoſe that doo come after, to follow in their workes and buildings of importance. Certes maſonrie did neuer better flouriſh in England than in his time. And albeit that in theſe daies there be manie goodlie houſes erected in the ſundrie quarters of this Iland; yet they are rather curious to the eie [like paper worke,] than ſubſtantiall for continuance: whereas ſuch as he did ſet vp, excell in both, and therefore may iuſtlie be preferred [farre] aboue all the reſt. The names of thoſe which come now to my remembrance, [and are as yet reſerued to hir maieſties onelie vſe at pleaſure] are theſe: [for of ſuch as are giuen awaie I ſpeake not, neither of thoſe that are vtterlie decaied, as Bainards caſtell in London builded in the daies of the Conquerour by a noble man called William Bainard, whoſe wife Inga builded the priorie of litle Donemow in the daies of Henrie the firſt; neither of the tower roiall there alſo, &c: ſith I ſee no cauſe wherefore I ſhould remember them and manie of the like, of whoſe verie ruines I haue no certeine knowledge. Of ſuch I ſaie therfore as I erſt mentioned, we haue] firſt of all, White hall at the weſt end of London (which is taken for the moſt large & principall of all the reſt) was [firſt a lodging of the archbiſhops of Yorke, then pulled downe,] begun by cardinall Woolſeie, and [finallie] inlarged and finiſhed by king Henrie the eight. [1][By eaſt of this ſtandeth Durham place, ſometime belonging to the biſhops of Durham, but conuerted alſo by king Henrie the eight into a palace roiall, & lodging for the prince. Of Summerſet place I ſpeake not, yet if the firſt beginner thereof (I meane the lord Edward, the learned and godlie duke of Summerſet) had liued, I doubt not but

Best masonry in Hen. VIII.'s time.

Elizabethan buildings are more like paper work.

Henry VIII.'s are better.

Q. Elizabeth's Palaces.

Baynard's Castle, in London,

with the Tower Royal there.

*white hall.*

Durham Place.

Somerset Place.

[1] Neere unto y is

it ſhould haue beene well finiſhed and brought to a ſumptuous end: but as vntimelie death tooke him from that houſe & from vs all, ſo it prooued the ſtaie of ſuch proceeding as was intended about it. Wherby it commeth to paſſe that it ſtandeth as he left it. Neither will I remember the Tower of London, which is rather an armorie and houſe of munition, and therevnto a place for the ſafekeeping of offendors, than a palace roiall for a king or queene to ſoiourne in. Yet in times paſt I find that Belline held his aboad there, and therevnto extended the ſite of his palace in ſuch wiſe, that it ſtretched ouer the Broken wharfe, and came further into the citie, in ſo much that it approched neere to Bellines gate, & as it is thought, ſome of the ruines of his houſe are yet extant, howbeit patched vp and made warehouſes in that tract of ground in our times.] S. James, ſometime a nonrie, [was] builded alſo[1] by the ſame prince. Hir grace hath alſo Oteland, Aſhridge, Hatfield, Hauering, Enueeld, [Eltham, Langleie,] Richmond [builded by Henrie the fift], Hampton court (begun ſometime by cardinall Woolſeie, and finiſhed by hir father), and therevnto Woodſtocke, erected by king[2] Henrie the firſt,[3] in which the queenes maieſtie delighteth greatlie to ſoiourne, notwithſtanding that in time paſt it was the place of [a parcell of] hir captiuitie, when it pleaſed God to trie hir by affliction and calamitie.

Somerset Place is left unfiñisht as when the Protector Somerset died.

The Tower of London is rather an armoury and prison than a Palace for the Queen to live in.

Billingsgate.

*S. James.*

*Oteland.*

*Ashridge.*
*Hatfield.*
*Enueeld.*
*Richmond.*
*Hampton.*
*Woodstocke.*
Q. Eliz.'s favourite place. [2 p. 196]

For ſtrength, Windleſor or Winſor is ſuppoſed to be the cheefe, a caſtell builded in time paſt by king Arthur, [or before him by Aruiragus,] as it is thought, and repared by Edward the third, who erected alſo a notable college there. After him, diuerſe of his ſucceſſours haue beſtowed exceeding charges vpon the ſame, which notwithſtanding are farre ſurmounted by the queenes maieſtie now liuing, who hath appointed huge ſummes of monie to be emploied vpon the ornature and alter-

*Windsor.* the strongest.

Edw. III. built a College there.

[1] likewise [3] seconde

Q. Elizabeth has spent huge sums on altering Windsor Castle. Modern building.

ation of the mould, according to the forme of building vſed in our daies, [which is more for pleaſure, than for either profit or ſafegard.] Such alſo hath beene the eſtimation of this place, that diuerſe kings haue not onelie beene interred there, but alſo made it the chiefe houſe of aſſemblie, and creation of the knights of the honorable order of the garter, than the which there is nothing in this land more magnificent and ſtatelie.

*Greenewich.* Castle

Greenewich was firſt builded by Humfreie duke of Gloceſter, vpon the Thames ſide foure miles eaſt from London, in the time of Henrie the ſixt, and called Pleaſance. Afterwards it was greatlie inlarged by king Edw. 4. garniſhed by king Hen. 7. and finallie made perfect by king Hen. 8. the onelie Phenix of his time for fine and curious maſonrie.

calld 'Pleasance.' Perfected by the masonry-Phœnix, Henry VIII.

*Dartford.*

Not farre from this is Dartford, and not much diſtant alſo from the ſouthſide of the [1] ſaid ſtreame, ſomtime a nonnerie [builded by Edward the third], but now a verie commodious palace, wherevnto it was alſo conuerted by K. Henrie the eight. Eltham (as I take it) was builded by king Henrie the third, if not before. There are beſide theſe, moreouer, diuerſe other. But what ſhall I need to take vpon me to repeat all, and tell what houſes the queenes maieſtie hath? ſith all is hirs; and when it pleaſeth hir in the ſummer ſeaſon to recreat hir ſelfe abroad, and view the eſtate of the countrie, [and heare the complaints of hir poore commons iniuried by hir vniuſt officers or their ſubſtitutes,] euerie noble mans houſe is hir palace, where ſhee continueth during pleaſure, and till ſhee returne againe to ſome of hir owne, in which ſhe remaineth ſo long as pleaſeth hir.

(once a nunnery.)

*Eltham.*

In summer when the Queen makes her Progresses, to right poor folks' wrongs, every nobleman's house is hers.

*Of the court.*

Q. Elizabeth's Court is one of the most renownd in Europe.

The court of England, which neceſſarilie is holden alwaies where the prince lieth, is in theſe daies one of the moſt renowmed and magnificent courts [2] that are to be found in Europe. For whether you regard the rich

[1] that [2] For her Household in 1600-1, see *H. Ord.*, p. 281.—F.

and infinit furniture of houſehold, order of officers, or the interteinement of ſuch ſtrangers as dailie reſort vnto the ſame, you ſhall not find manie equall therevnto much leſſe one excelling it in anie maner of wiſe. I might here (if I would, or had ſufficient diſpoſition of matter conceiued of the ſame,) make a large diſcourſe of ſuch [1] honorable ports, of ſuch graue councellors, and noble perſonages, as giue their dailie attendance vpon the queenes maieſtie there. I could in like ſort ſet foorth a ſingular commendation of the vertuous beautie, or beautifull vertues of ſuch ladies and gentlewomen as wait vpon hir perſon, betweene whoſe amiable countenances and coſtlineſſe of attire, there ſeemeth to be ſuch a dailie conflict and contention, as that it is verie difficult for me to geſſe, whether of the twaine ſhall beare awaie the preheminence. This further is not to be omitted, to the ſingular commendation of both ſorts and ſexes of our courtiers here in England, that there are verie few of them, which haue not the vſe and ſkill of ſundrie ſpeaches, beſide an excellent veine of writing before time not regarded. [Would to God the reſt of their liues and conuerſations were correſpondent to theſe gifts! for as our common courtiers (for the moſt part) are the beſt lerned and indued with excellent gifts, ſo are manie of them the worſt men when they come abroad, that anie man ſhall either heare or read of.] Trulie it is a rare thing with vs now, to heare of a courtier which hath but his owne language. And to ſaie how many gentlewomen and ladies there are, that beſide ſound knowledge of the Greeke and Latine toongs, are thereto no leſſe ſkilfull in the Spaniſh, Italian, and French, or in ſome one of them, it reſteth not in me: ſith I am perſuaded, that as the noble men and gentlemen doo ſurmount in this behalfe, ſo theſe come verie little or nothing at all behind them for their parts: which induſtrie, God continue, [and accompliſh that which otherwiſe is wanting!]

Elizabeth's Maids of Honour.

Their loveable faces and costly attire.

*English courtiers the best learned [& the worst liuers.]*

They know languages, and write well, too.

The men are licentious and bad.

Ladies know Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, French.

And noblemen surpass them.

[1] the

Old Court-ladies work, spin,

Beſide theſe things, I could in like ſort ſet downe the waies and meanes, wherby our ancient ladies of the court doo ſhun and auoid idleneſſe, ſome of them exerciſing their fingers with the needle, other in caulworke, diuerſe in ſpinning of ſilke, ſome in continuall reading

and read the Bible or Histories,

either of the holie ſcriptures, or hiſtories of our owne or forren nations about vs, [and diuerſe in writing volumes

and write or translate.

of their owne, or tranſlating of other mens into our

The young Ladies play music for recreation in their leisure time.

Engliſh and Latine toong,[1] whileſt the yoongeſt[2] ſort in the meane time applie their lutes, citharnes, pricke-ſong, and all kind of muſike, which they vſe onelie for recreation[3] ſake, when they haue leiſure, and are free from attendance vpon the queenes maieſtie, or ſuch as they belong vnto. [How manie of the eldeſt ſort alſo

Old Ladies are skilld in surgery and medicine.

are ſkilfull in ſurgerie and diſtillation of waters, beſide ſundrie other artificiall practiſes perteining to the ornature and commendations of their bodies, I might (if I liſted to deale further in this behalfe) eaſilie declare, but I paſſe ouer ſuch maner of dealing, leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to glauer, and currie fauour with ſome of them. Neuertheleſſe this I will generallie ſaie of them all, that as ech of them are cuning in ſomthing wherby they keepe themſelues occupied in the court, ſo there is in maner none of them, but when they be at home, can

And every Lady can cook choice dishes, mainly after Portuguese recipes.

helpe to ſupplie the ordinarie want of the kitchen with a number of delicat diſhes of their owne deuiſing, wherein the Portingall is their cheefe counſellor, as ſome of them are moſt commonlie with the clearke of the kitchen, who vſeth (by a tricke taken vp of late) to giue

Bills of Fare or 'Cartes' just brought in:

in a breefe rehearſall of ſuch and ſo manie diſhes as are to come in at euerie courſe throughout the whole ſeruice in the dinner or ſupper while: which bill ſome doo call

called Memorials, Billets, or Fillets.

a memoriall, other a billet, but ſome a fillet, bicauſe

[1] I suppose that Sir Thomas More, and Henry VIII., and Lady Jane Grey's parents began 'the higher education of women' in England, by having their daughters properly taught. On 'Education in Early England' see my Forewords. (tho' sadly imperfect) to the *Babees Book*.—F.

[2] younger [3] recreation and solace

ſuch are commonlie hanged on the file, and kept by the ladie or gentlewoman vnto ſome other purpoſe. But whither am I digreſſed?]

I might finallie deſcribe the large allowances in offices, and yearelie reuenues, and therevnto the great plentie of gold and ſiluer plate, the ſeuerall peeces whereof are commonlie ſo great and maſſie, and the quantitie therof ſo abundantlie ſeruing all the houſhold, that [(as I ſuppoſe) Cyniras, Creſus, and Craſſus had not the like furniture: naie] if Midas were now liuing & once againe put to his choiſe, I thinke he could aſke no more, or rather not halfe ſo much as is there to be ſeene and vſed. But I paſſe ouer to make ſuch needleſſe diſcourſes, reſoluing my ſelfe, that euen in this alſo, [as in all the reſt] the exceeding mercie and louing kindneſſe of God dooth wonderfullie appeere towards vs, in that he hath ſo largelie indued vs with theſe his ſo ample benefits.

I pass over the Queen's large household payments and her plate. [See 'Queen Elizabeth's annual expence, civil and military' (A.D. 1578), in 'Household Ordinances,' p. 241-275; and her 'Book of Household,' p. 281-298.]

God's goodness has given us much.

In ſome great princes courts [beyond the ſeas, & which euen for that cauſe are likened vnto hell by diuerſe learned writers that haue ſpent a great part of their time in them, as *Henricus Cornelius Agrippa*, one (for example) who in his epiſtle *Ad aulicum quendam*, ſaith thus: *An non in inferno es amice, qui es in aula, vbi dæmonum habitatio eſt, qui illic ſuis artibus humana licèt effigie regnant, atque vbi ſcelerum ſchola eſt, & animarum iactura ingens, ac quicquid vſpiam eſt perfidiæ ac doli, quicquid crudelitatis & inclementiæ, quicquid effrænatæ ſuperbiæ, & rapacis auariciæ, quicquid obſcenæ libidinis, fœdiſſimæ impudicitiæ, quicquid nefandæ impietatis, & morum peſſimorum, totum illic aceruatur cumulatiſſimè, vbi ſtupra, raptus, inceſtus, adulteria, principum & nobilium ludi ſunt, vbi faſtus & tumor, ira, liuor, fœdáque cupido cum ſocijs ſuis imperauit, vbi criminum omnium procellæ virtutúmque omnium inenarrabile naufragium, &c.* In ſuch great princes courts (I ſaie)] it is a world to ſee what lewd behauiour is vſed among

Some beyond-sea courts are

[1 p. 197] calld 'hell' by Agrippa,

so utterly bad and vicious are they.

The shocking vices of foreign courts

diuerſe of thoſe that reſort vnto the ſame, and what whoredome, ſwearing, ribaldrie, atheiſme, dicing, carding, carowſing, drunkenneſſe, gluttonie, quareling, and ſuch like inconueniences doo dailie take hold, and ſometimes euen among thoſe, in whoſe eſtates [1] the like [1] behauiour is leaſt conuenient [(whereby their talke is verified, which ſay that the[2] thing increaſeth and groweth in the courts of princes, ſauing vertue, which in ſuch places dooth languiſh and dailie vade away)] all which enormities are either vtterlie expelled out of the court of England, or elſe ſo qualified by the diligent endeuour of the chiefe officers of hir graces houſehold, that ſeldome are anie of theſe things apparantlie ſeene there, without due reprehenſion, and ſuch ſeuere correction as belongeth to thoſe treſpaſſes. Finallie, to auoid idleneſſe, and preuent ſundrie tranſgreſſions, otherwiſe likelie to be committed and doone, ſuch order is taken, that euerie office hath either a bible, or the bookes of the acts and monuments of the church of England, or both, beſide ſome hiſtories and chronicles lieng therein, for the exerciſe of ſuch as come into the ſame: whereby the ſtranger that entereth into the court of England vpon the ſudden, ſhall rather imagine himſelfe to come into ſome publike ſchoole of the vniuerſities, where manie giue eare to one that readeth,[3] than into a princes palace, if you conferre [4] the ſame [4] with thoſe of other nations. Would to God all honorable perſonages would take example of hir graces godlie dealing in this behalfe, and ſhew their conformitie vnto theſe hir ſo good beginnings! which if they would, then ſhould manie grieuous offenſes [5] (wherewith God is highlie diſpleaſed) be cut off and reſtreined, which now doo reigne exceedinglie, in moſt noble and gentlemens houſes, wherof they ſee no paterne within hir graces gates.

are driven out of Q. Elizabeth's, or kept under by her officers.

In every office is either a Bible, a Chronicle, or the like,

so that the Court looks like a University School rather than a palace.

Would to God that our nobles' houses were as ruled as our Queen's!

[*Traines of attendants.*]

[I might ſpeake here of the great traines and

[1]—[1] such [2] ? every—F. [3] readeth unto them [4]—[4] this [5] enormities

troopes of seruing men also, which attend vpon the nobilitie of England in their seuerall liueries, and with differences of cognisances on their sleeues, whereby it is knowen to whome they apperteine. I could also set downe what a goodlie sight it is to see them muster in the court, which, being filled with them, dooth yeeld the contemplation of a noble varietie vnto the beholder, much like to the shew of the pecocks taile in the full beautie, or of some medow garnished with infinit kinds and diuersitie of pleasant floures.[1] But I passe ouer the rehearsall hereof to other men, who more delite in vaine amplification than I, and seeke to be more curious in these points than I professe to be.]

The troops of Serving-men in livery, with badges on their sleeves,

when musterd at Court, are as

beautiful as a peacock's tail or a flowery mead.

The [discipline of] firme peace also that is mainteined within a certeine compasse of the princes palace, is such, as is nothing inferiour to that we see dailie practised in the best gouerned holds & fortresses. And such is the seuere punishment of those that strike within the limits prohibited, that without all hope of mercie, benefit of clergie, or sanctuarie, they are sure to loose their right hands at a stroke, and that in verie solemne maner, the forme whereof I will set downe, and then make an end of this chapter, to deale with other matters.

Any man striking another within the Queen's Court, loses his right hand.

*Striking within the court and palace of the prince.*

At such time therefore as the partie transgressing is conuicted by a sufficient inquest impanelled for the same purpose, and the time come of the execution of the sentence, the sergeant of the kings wood-yard prouideth a square blocke, which he bringeth to some appointed place, and therewithall a great beetle, staple, and cords, wherewith to fasten the hand of the offendor vnto the said blocke, vntill the whole circumstance of his execution be performed. The yeoman of the scullarie likewise for the time being, dooth prouide a great fire of coales hard by the blocke, wherein the

How the offender's hand is chopt off.

Coal-fire to heat

[1] Compare Chaucer's Prologue—the Squire. On the evils of serving-men, see Sir T. More's *Utopia*, and my *Ballads from MSS.*, i.—F.

the searing-iron.

ſearing irons are to be made readie, againſt the chiefe ſurgeon to the prince or his deputie ſhall occupie the ſame. Vpon him alſo dooth the ſergeant or chiefe farrour attend with thoſe irons, whoſe office is to deliuer them to the ſaid ſurgeon, when he ſhall be redie, by ſearing, to vſe the ſame. The groome of the ſalarie for the time being, or his deputie, is furthermore appointed to be readie with vineger and cold water, and not to depart from the place vntill the arme of the offendor be bound vp and fullie dreſſed. And as theſe things are thus prouided, ſo the ſergeant ſurgeon is bound from time to time to be readie to execute his charge, and ſeare the ſtumpe, when the hand is taken from it. The ſergeant of the cellar is at hand alſo with a cup of red wine, and likewiſe the chiefe officer of the pantrie with manchet bread, to giue vnto the ſaid partie after the execution doone, and the ſtumpe ſeared, as the ſergeant of the ewerie is with clothes, wherein to wind and wrap vp the arme, the yeoman of the poultrie with a cocke to laie vnto it, the yeoman of the chandrie with ſeared cloths, and finallie the maiſter cooke or his deputie with a ſharpe dreſſing knife, which he deliuereth at the place of execution to the ſergeant of the larder, who dooth hold it vpright in his hand, vntill the execution be performed by the publike officer appointed therevnto. And this is the maner of puniſhment ordeined for thoſe that ſtrike within the princes palace, or limits of the ſame. [Which ſhould firſt haue beene executed on ſir Edmund Kneuet, in the yeare 1541. But when he had made great ſute to ſaue his right hand for the further ſeruice of the king in his warres, and willinglie yeelded to forgo his left, in the end the king pardoned him of both, to no ſmall benefit of the offendor, and publication of the bountifull nature that remained in the prince.] The like priuilege [1] almoſt is [1] giuen to churches and churchyards, although in

Groom of the Cellary with vinegar and cold water.

Serjeant-surgeon to sear the stump.

Red wine and manchet bread for the offender, when his hand's chopt off.

Cloth to wrap the stump in.

Cock to put to it;

knife to cut the hand off with.

Thus are strikers in Court punisht.

Sir Edm. Knevet was condemnd thus to lose his hand; but Hen. VIII. forgave him.

Brawls in churches and churchyards.

[1]—[1] is almost

maner of puniſhment great difference doo appeere. For he that bralleth or quarelleth in either of them, is by and by ſuſpended *Ab ingreſſu eccleſiæ*, vntill he be abſolued: as he is alſo that ſtriketh with the fiſt, or laieth violent hands vpon anie whome ſo euer. But if he happen to ſmite with ſtaffe, dagger, or anie maner of weapon, & the ſame be ſufficientlie found by the verdict of twelue men at his arrainement, beſide excommunication, he is ſure to looſe one of his eares, without all hope of releaſe.[1] But if he be ſuch a one as hath beene twiſe condemned and executed, whereby he hath now none eares, then is he marked with an hot iron vpon the cheeke, and by the letter F, which is ſeared [deepe] into his fleſh; he is from thencefoorth noted as a common barratour and fraie maker, and therevnto remaineth excommunicate, till by repentance he deſerue to be abſolued. [To ſtrike a clearke alſo, (that is to ſaie) a miniſter, is plaine excommunication, and the offendor not to be abſolued but by the prince or his eſpeciall commiſſion. Such alſo is the generall eſtate of the excommunicate in euery reſpect, that he can yeeld no teſtimonie in anie matter ſo long as he ſo ſtandeth. No bargaine or ſale that he maketh, is auaileable in law, neither any of his acts whatſoeuer pleadable, wherby he liueth as [2]an outlaw, & a man altogither out of the princes protection; although it be not lawfull to kill him, nor anie man otherwiſe outlawed, without the danger of fellonie.]

Brawlers in church or churchyard are kept out of church.

Smiters there are excommunicated,

and lose one of their ears for each offence.

On the 3rd offence, they 're burnt on the cheek, and the letter *F* is seard into them.

Excommunication for striking a Clerk.

The penalties of Excommunication.

[2 p. 198]

[1] recouerye

# Of armour and munition.

## Chap. 16.[1]

HOW well or how ſtronglie our countrie hath beene furniſhed in times paſt with armor and artillerie, it lieth not in me as of my ſelfe to make reherſall. Yet that it lacked both in the late time of queen Marie, not onlie the experience of mine elders, but alſo the talke of certeine Spaniards not yet forgotten, did leaue ſome manifeſt notice. Vpon the firſt I need not ſtand, for few will denie it. For the ſecond, I haue heard, that when one of the greateſt peeres of Spaine eſpied our nakedneſſe in this behalfe, and did ſolemnelie vtter in no obſcure place, that 'it ſhould be an eaſie matter in ſhort time to conquer England, bicauſe it wanted armor,' his words were then not ſo raſhlie vttered, as they were politikelie noted. For albeit that for the preſent time their efficacie was diſſembled, and ſemblance made as though he ſpake but merilie, yet at the verie enterance of this our gratious queene vntō the poſſeſſion of the crowne, they were ſo prouidentlie called to remembrance, and ſuch ſpeedie reformation ſought of all hands for the redreſſe of this inconuenience, that our countrie was ſooner furniſhed with armour and munition, from diuerſe parts of the maine, (beſide great plentie that was forged here at home), than our enimies could get vnderſtanding of anie ſuch prouiſion to be made. By this policie alſo was the no ſmall hope conceiued by Spaniards vtterlie cut off, who, of open freends being now become our ſecret enimies, and thereto watching a time wherein to atchieue ſome heauie exploit againſt vs and our countrie,[2] did therevpon change their purpoſes, whereby England obteined reſt, that otherwiſe might haue beene

We were short of armour and artillery in Queen Mary's time,

as a Spanish peer noted.

But as soon as Q. Elizabeth came to the throne, the want was remedied, and we were well supplied,

to the disappointment of the Spaniards.

[1] In 1577 ed. this forms Chap. 12 of Bk 2.—F.

[2] 1588 was the Armada year.—F.

ſure of ſharpe and cruell wars. Thus a Spaniſh word vttered by one man at one time, ouerthrew, or at the leaſt wiſe hindered, ſundrie priuie practiſes of manie at another. In times paſt the cheefe force of England conſiſted in their long bowes.[1] But now we haue in maner generallie giuen ouer that kind of artillerie, and for long bowes in deed doo practiſe to ſhoot compaſſe for our paſtime: which kind of ſhooting can neuer yeeld anie ſmart ſtroke, nor beat downe our enimies, as our countrie men were woont to doo at euerie time of need. Certes the Frenchmen and Rutters deriding our new archerie in reſpect of their corſlets, will not let, in open ſkirmiſh, if anie leiſure ſerue, to turne vp their tailes and crie: "Shoote Engliſh," and all bicauſe our ſtrong ſhooting is decaied and laid in bed. But if ſome of our Engliſhmen now liued that ſerued king Edward the third in his warres with France, the breech of ſuch a varlet ſhould haue beene nailed to his bum with one arrow, and an other fethered in his bowels, before he ſhould haue turned about to ſee who ſhot the firſt. But as our ſhooting is thus in manner vtterlie decaied among vs one waie, ſo our countrie men wex ſkilfull in ſundrie other points, as in ſhooting in ſmall peeces, the caliuer, and handling of the pike, in the ſeuerall vſes whereof they are become verie expert.

*The English Long-Bow of old time.*

Shooting compass is no good.

The French and Teutons turn up their tails, and bid us shoot.

But if the English of Crecy and Poitiers had been here, they'd have put 2 arrows into such a man before he could have turnd to see who shot the first.

Still, we shoot well with the caliver.

Our armour differeth not from that of other nations, and therefore conſiſteth of corſlets, almaine riuets,[2] ſhirts of maile, iackes quilted and couered ouer with leather, fuſtian, or canuas, ouer thicke plates of iron that are ſowed in the ſame, & of which there is no towne or village that hath not hir conuenient furniture. The ſaid armour and munition likewiſe[3] is kept in one ſeuerall place [of euerie towne,] appointed by the con-

Kinds of armour:— rivets, jacks, &c.

Every town and village has its armoury.

[1] See Ascham's *Toxophilus*. When our folk and Government come to their senses, every English boy and man 'll be taught rifle-shooting; ranges will be provided by compulsory powers; and every male over 16 be made sure of his man in any invading force. If then any such force wants to come, let it, and find its grave.—F.

[2] riuerets [3] also

ſent of the whole pariſh, where it is alwaies readie to be had and worne within an houres warning. Sometime alſo it is occupied, when it pleaſeth the magiſtrate either to view the able men, & take note of the well keeping of the ſame, or finallie to ſee thoſe that are inrolled to exerciſe each one his ſeuerall weapon, [at the charge of the towneſmen of each pariſh] according to his appointment. Certes there is almoſt no village ſo poore in England (be it neuer ſo ſmall) that hath not ſufficient furniture in a readineſſe to ſet foorth three or foure ſoldiors, as [1] one archer, one gunner, one pike, & a bilman at the leaſt. No, there is not ſo much wanting as their verie liueries and caps, which are leaſt to be accounted of, if anie haſt required: [ſo that if this good order may continue, it ſhall be vnpoſſible for the ſudden enimie to find vs vnprouided. As for able men for ſeruice, thanked be God, we are not without good ſtore; for by the muſters taken 1574 and 1575, our number amounted to 1,172,674, and yet were they not ſo narrowlie taken, but that a third part of this like multitude was left vnbilled and vncalled.] What ſtore of munition and armour the queenes maieſtie hath in hir ſtorehouſes, it lieth not in me to yeeld account, ſith I ſuppoſe the ſame to be infinit. And whereas it was commonlie ſaid after the loſſe of Calis, that England ſhould neuer recouer [2] the ſtore of [2] ordinance there left [and loſt:] that ſame is at this time prooued falſe, ſith euen ſome of the ſame perſons doo now confeſſe, that this land was neuer better furniſhed with theſe things in anie kings daies that reigned ſince the conqueſt.

Men of arms and armour inspected in every town.

Even the poorest village has arms and armour for 3 or 4 soldiers.

Altogether, we had in 1574-5, 1,172,674 able Men. [See the Nos. for each county, in 'Household Ordinances,' p. 270-1.]

Of munitions and armour,

England never had better store than now.

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## [The names of our greateſt ordi-

*nance are commonlie theſe.*

*Robinet*, whoſe weight is two hundred pounds, and it hath one inch and a quarter within the mouth.

[1] or [2—2] their

*Falconet* weigheth fiue hundred pounds, and his wideneſſe is two inches within the mouth. Names of the guns of the English Artillery.

*Falcon* hath eight hundred pounds, and two inches and a halfe within the mouth.

*Minion* poiſeth eleauen hundred pounds, and hath three inches and a quarter within the mouth. Minion.

*Sacre* hath fifteene hundred poundes, and is three inches and a halfe wide in the mouth. Sacre.

*Demie Culuerijn* weigheth three thouſand pounds, and hath foure inches and a halfe within the mouth.

*Culuerijn* hath foure thouſand pounds, and fiue inches and an halfe within the mouth. Culverin.

*Demie Canon* ſix thouſand pounds, and ſix inches and an halfe within the mouth.

*Canon* ſeauen thouſand pounds, and eight inches within the mouth. Canon.

*E. Canon* eight thouſand pounds, and ſeauen inches within the mouth.

*Baſiliske* 9000 pounds, eight inches, and three quarters within the mouth. By which proportions alſo it is eaſie to come by the weight of euerie ſhot, how manie ſcores it doth flee at point blanke, how much pouder is to be had to the ſame, & finallie how manie inches in height ech bullet ought to carrie. Basilisk.

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| The names of the greatest ordinance. | | Weight of the shot. | Scores of cariage. | Pounds of pouder. | Height of bullet. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Robinet. | hath | 1. li. | 0 | ½ | 1 |
| Falconet. | | 2. li. | 14 | 2 | 1 ¼ |
| Falcon. | | 2. ½. | 16 | 2½ | 2 ¼ |
| Minion. | | 4. ¼. | 17 | 4½ | 3 |
| Sacre. | | 5 | 18 | 5 | 3 ¼ |
| Demie Culuerijn. | | 9 | 20 | 9 | 4 |
| Culuerijn. | | 18 | 25 | 18 | 5 ¼ |
| Demie canon. | | 30 | 38 | 28 | 6 ¾ |
| Canon. | | 60 | 20 | 44 | 7 ¾ |
| E. Canon. | | 42 | 20 | 20 | 6 ¾ |
| Baſiliske. | | 60 | 21 | 60 | 8 ¼ |

I might here take iuſt occaſion to ſpeake of the princes armories. But what ſhall it need? ſith the whole realme is hir armorie, and therefore hir furniture infinit. The Turke had one gun made by one Orban a Dane, the caſter of his ordinance, which could not be Big Turkish guns.

drawen to the ſiege of Conſtantinople, but by ſeauentie yokes of oxen, and two thouſand men; he had two other there alſo whoſe ſhot poiſed aboue two talents in weight, made by the ſame Orban. But to proceed.]

Armories of the English Nobility.

As for the armories of ſome[1] of the nobilitie (whereof I alſo haue ſeene a part) they are ſo well furniſhed, [that] within ſome one barons cuſtodie[2] I haue ſeene three ſcore [or a hundred] corſlets at once, beſide caliuers, hand-guns, bowes, ſheffes of arrowes, pikes, bils, polaxes, flaſkes, touchboxes, targets, &c: the verie ſight wherof appalled my courage. What would the wearing of ſome of them[3] doo then[3] (trow you) if I ſhould [be inforced to] vſe [one of] them in the field: [But thanked be God, our peaceable daies are ſuch, as no man hath anie great cauſe to occupie them at all, but onelie taketh good leiſure to haue them in a readineſſe, and therefore both high and lowe in England.

The mere sight of one frightend me.

But, thank God, we've no need to use arms; only, to keep 'em ready.

*Cymbala pro galeis pro ſcutis tympana pulſant.*]

A Parson can't write of War.

I would write here [alſo] of our maner of going to the warres, but what hath the long blacke gowne to doo with gliſtering armour? what [ſound] acquaintance can there be betwixt Mars and the Muſes? or how ſhould a man write anie thing to the purpoſe of that wherewith he is nothing acquainted? [This neuertheleſſe will I adde of things at home, that ſeldome ſhall you ſee anie of my countriemen aboue eighteene or twentie yeeres old, to go without a dagger, at the leaſt, at his backe or by his ſide, although they be aged burgeſſes, or magiſtrates of anie citie, who in appeerance are moſt exempt from brabling and contention. Our nobilitie weare commonlie ſwords or rapiers with their daggers, as dooth euerie common ſeruing man alſo that followeth his lord and maſter. Some deſperate cutters we haue in like ſort, which carrie two daggers or two rapiers in a ſheath alwaies about them, where-

*Malè musis cum Marte.*

All young men wear daggers.

Noblemen wear swords.

Some Cutters carry 2 daggers or rapiers.

[1] diuers [2] custodie that [3—3] haue done this

with in euerie dronken fraie[1] they are knowen to worke much miſchiefe; their ſwords & daggers alſo are of a great length, and longer than the like vſed in anie other countrie, whereby ech one pretendeth to haue the more aduantage of his enimie. But as manie orders haue beene taken for the intollerable length of theſe weapons, ſo I ſee as yet ſmall redreſſe: but where the cauſe thereof doth reſt, in ſooth for my part I wote not. I might here ſpeake of the exceſſiue ſtaues which diuerſe that trauell by the waie doo carrie vpon their ſhoulders, whereof ſome are twelue or thirteene foote long, beſide the pike of twelue inches: but as they are commonlie ſuſpected of honeſt men to be theeues and robbers, or at the leaſtwiſe ſcarſe true men which beare them; ſo by reaſon of this and the like ſuſpicious weapons, the honeſt traueller is now inforced to ride with a caſe of dags at his ſadle bow, or with ſome pretie ſhort ſnapper, whereby he may deale with them further off in his owne defenſe, before he come within the danger of theſe weapons. Finallie, no man trauelleth by the waie without his ſword, or ſome ſuch weapon, with vs; except the miniſter, who commonlie weareth none at all, vnleſſe it be a dagger or hanger at his ſide. Seldome alſo are they or anie other waifaring men robbed, without the conſent of the chamberleine, tapſter, or oſtler where they bait & lie, who feeling at their alighting whether their capcaſes or budgets be of anie weight or not, by taking them downe from their ſadles, or otherwiſe ſee their ſtore in drawing of their purſes, do by and by giue intimation to ſome one or other attendant dailie in the yard or houſe, or dwelling hard by, vpon ſuch matches, whether the preie be worth the following or no. If it be for their turne, then the gentleman peraduenture is aſked which waie he trauelleth, and whether it pleaſe him to haue another gheſt to

Cutters' long swords,

which they won't shorten.

Travellers carry Long Staves of 12 or 13 feet, with a 12-inch pike at the end: they 're scarce true men.

Honest folk travelling must now carry Pistols

and swords.

Parsons wear a dagger or hanger.

Inn-keepers, &c., accomplices with Robbers.

They weigh the travellers' bags, &c.,

and warn the Robbers who's worth robbing.

The Robber or his mate offers

[1] Remember Marlowe's death in one—his own dagger turnd back into his brain.—F.

himself as a companion to the traveller.

beare him companie at ſupper, who rideth the ſame waie in the morning that he doth, or not. And thus if he admit him, or be glad of his acquaintance, the cheate is halfe wrought. And often it is ſeene that the new gheſt ſhall be robbed with the old, onelie to colour out the matter and keepe him from ſuſpicion. Sometimes when they knowe which waie the paſſenger trauelleth, they will either go before, and lie in wait for him, or elſe come galloping apace after, wherby they will be ſure, if he ride not the ſtronger, to be fingering with his purſe. And theſe are ſome of the policies of ſuch ſhrews, or cloſe booted gentlemen, as lie in wait for fat booties by the high waies, and which are moſt commonlie practiſed in the winter ſeaſon about the feaſt of Chriſtmas, when ſeruing men and vnthriftie gentlemen want monie to plaie at the dice and cards, lewdlie ſpending in ſuch wiſe whatſoeuer they haue wickedlie gotten, till ſome of them ſharplie ſet vpon their cheuiſances, be truſſed vp in a Tiburne tippet, which happeneth vnto them commonlie before they come to middle age. Wherby it appeereth that ſome ſort of youth will oft haue his ſwinge, although it be in a halter.[1]

If the robber knows the traveller's road, he lies in wait for him or overtakes him, and robs him.

Highway robberies happen specially about Christmas.

Some of the thieves get trusst up in a Tyburn tippet.

I might alſo intreat of our old maner of warfare vſed in and before the time of Ceſar, when as the cheefe brunt of our fight was in *Eſſedis* or wagons; but this I alſo paſſe ouer, nothing neuertheleſſe out of *Propertius*, that our ſaid wagons were gorgeous and gailie painted, which he ſetteth downe in theſe foure verſes inſuing, *Arethuſæ ad Lycotam, lib.* 4. *eleg.* 3.

I pass over the old English manner of warfare in chariots, gaily painted.

*Te modò viderunt iteratos Bactra per ortus,*
*Te modò munito Sericus hoſtis equo,*
*Hiberníque Getæ, pictóque Brittannia curru,*
*Vſtus & Eva diſcolor Indus aqua.*]

[1] See the amusing extract from Wm Bulleyn, in my *Babees Book*, p. 240-3.—F.

# Of the nauie of England.

[p. 2001]

## Chap. 17.[1]

[THere is nothing that hath brought me into more admiration of the power and force of antiquitie, than their diligence and care had of their nauies: wherein, whether I conſider their ſpeedie building, or great number of ſhips which ſome one kingdome or region poſſeſſed at one inſtant, it giueth me ſtill occaſion, either to ſuſpect the hiſtorie, or to thinke that in our times we come verie farre behind them. For what a thing is it to haue a ſhip growing on the ſtub, and ſailing on the ſea within the ſpace of fiue and fiftie daies! And yet ſuch a nauie was to be ſeene in the firſt war of Carthage, led thither by Duellius the Romane. In the warres alſo againſt Hieron, two hundred and twentie tall ſhips bare leafe & ſaile within fiue and fortie daies. In the ſecond warre of Carthage, the nauie that went with Scipio, was felled in the wood, and ſeene to ſaile on the ſea fullie furniſhed in ſixe weekes: which vnto them that are ignorant of things doth ſeeme to be falſe and vnpoſſible. In like maner for multitude, we find in *Polybius*, that at one ſkirmiſh on the ſea the Romans loſt ſeauen hundred veſſels, which bare ech of them fiue rowes of ores on a ſide, and the Carthaginenſes fiue hundred. And albeit the formes and apparell of theſe veſſels were not altogither correſpondent to our ſhips and gallies made in theſe daies: yet the capacitie of moſt of them did not onelie match, but farre exceed them; ſo that if one of their biremes onlie conteined ſo much in burden as a ſhip of ours of ſix hundred tun: what ſhall we thinke of thoſe which had ſeauen rowes of ores walking on a ſide? But leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to ſpeake more of theſe forren things than the courſe of the hiſtorie doth permit

I wonder at the navies of ancient kingdoms.

A ship finisht, and fitted, and sailing, in 55 days; nay,

220 ships so done in 45 days;

Scipio's navy in 6 weeks.

In one skirmish the Romans lost 700 quinquiremes, and the Carthaginians 500.

If a bireme equalld our ship of 600 tons, what would a septireme do?

[1] This chapter forms chap. 13 in Bk 2 of 1577 ed.—F.

Pray let me dwell a little longer on the navies of the ancients.

without licence to digreſſe: giue me leaue (I beſeech thee, gentle reader) to wade yet a little further in the report of theſe ancient formes & kinds of veſſels. For albeit that the diſcourſe hereof maketh little to the deſcription of our preſent nauie in England: yet ſhall the report thereof not be vnprofitable and vnpleaſant to ſuch as ſhall reade among the writings of their capacities and moulds. It ſhall not be amiſſe therefore to begin

Xerxes's navy.

at the nauie of Xerxes, of which ech meane veſſell (as appeereth by *Herodot*) was able to receiue two hundred and thirtie ſouldiers, and ſome of them three hundred. Theſe were called triremes, and were indeede gallies that had three rowes of ores on euerie ſide; for the word *Nauis* is indifferentlie applied ſo well to the gallie as ſhip, as to the conuerſant in hiſtories is eaſie to be

Gallies of from 4 to 15 rows of oars on each side:

found. In old time alſo they had gallies of foure rowes, fiue rowes, ſix, ſeauen, eight, nine, twelue, yea fifteene rowes of ores on a ſide; iudge you then of what quantitie thoſe veſſels were. *Plinie, lib. 7.* noteth one Damaſthenes to be the firſt maker of the gallies with two rowes called biremes: *Thucidides* referreth the triremes to Ammocles of Corinthum; the quadriremes were deuiſed by Ariſtotle of Carthage; the quinquiremes by Neſichthon of Salamina; the gallie of ſix rowes by Xenagoras of Syracuſa: from this to the tenth Neſigiton brought vp; Alexander the great cauſed one to be made of twelue; Ptolomeus Soter of fifteene; Demetrius the ſonne of Antigonus of thirtie; Ptolom. Philad. of fortie; Ptol. Triphon of fiftie: all

all above 4 rows, I call 'unwieldy carts.'

which aboue foure were none other (in mine opinion) than vnweldie carts, and more ſeruing for pleaſure and to gaze vpon, than anie vſe in the wars for which they

One galley with 40 rows, 4000 oars, 400 seamen and 3000 soldiers.

ſhould be deuiſed. But of all other I note one of fortie rowes, which Ptolo. Philopater builded, conteining 200 and eightie cubits in length, and eight and fortie cubits in breadth: it held alſo foure thouſand ores, foure hundred mariners, and three thouſand ſouldiers, ſo that in

the ſaid veſſell were ſeauen thouſand and foure hundred perſons: a report incredible, if truth and good teſtimonie did not confirme the ſame. I muſt needs confeſſe therefore, that the ancient veſſels far exceeded ours for capacitie: neuertheleſſe if you regard the forme, and the aſſurance from perill of the ſea, and therewithall the ſtrength and nimbleneſſe of ſuch as are made in our time, you ſhall eaſilie find that ours are of more value than theirs: for as the greateſt veſſell is not alwaies the ſafeſt, ſo that of moſt huge capacitie is not alwaies the apteſt to ſhift and brooke the ſeas: as might be ſeene by the great Henrie, the hugeſt veſſell that euer England framed in our times. Neither were the ſhips of old like vnto ours in mould and maner of building aboue the water (for of low gallies in our ſeas we make ſmall account) nor ſo full of eaſe within, ſith time hath ingendred more ſkill in the wrights, and brought all things to more perfection than they had in the beginning. And now to come vnto our purpoſe at the firſt intended.]

Though the ancients' ships were bigger than ours,

ours are fitter for service.

The Great Henry,[1] the biggest English ship of our times.

The nauie of England may be diuided into three ſortes, of which the one ſerueth for the warres, the other for burden, and the third for fiſhermen, which get their liuing by fiſhing on the ſea. How manie of the firſt order are mainteined within the realme, it paſſeth my cunning to expreſſe: yet ſith it may be parted into the nauie roiall and common fleete, I thinke good to ſpeake of thoſe that belong vnto the prince, and ſo much the rather, for that their number is certeine & well knowne to verie manie. Certes there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautifull [or gallant] ſort of ſhips than the queenes maieſtie of England at this preſent, and thoſe generallie are of ſuch exceeding force, that two of them being well appointed

The English navy consists of 1. war ships; 2. merchant vessels; 3. fishing boats.

No European prince has such fine ships as our Queen has.

[1] See my *Ballads from MSS.* i. 120, on this, and Henry VIII.'s navy. There's an engraving of this *Great Henry* or *Henry Grace* (burnt, Aug. 27, 1553), in the British Museum.—F.

and furniſhed as they ought, will not let to encounter with three or foure of thoſe[1] of other countries, and either bowge them or put them to flight, if they may not bring them home.[2]

The build of our ships is the best for weather.

Neither are the moulds of anie forren barkes ſo conuenientlie made, to brooke [3]ſo well one ſea as another lieng vpon the ſhore[3] in anie part of the continent as thoſe of England. And therefore the common report

All strangers say our ships are the best in the world.

that ſtrangers make of our ſhips amongſt themſelues is dailie confirmed to be true, which is, that for ſtrength, aſſurance, nimbleneſſe and ſwiftneſſe of ſailing, there are no veſſels in the world to be compared with ours. [And all theſe are committed to the regiment and ſafe

Our navy's under an Admiral.

cuſtodie of the admerall, who is ſo called (as ſome imagine) of the Greeke word *Almiras* a capiteine on the ſea, for ſo ſaith *Zonaras in Baſilio Macedone & Baſilio Porphyriogenito,* though other fetch it from *Ad mare* the Latine words, another ſort from *Amyras* the Saracen magiſtrate, or from ſome French deriuation: but theſe things are not for this place, and therefore I paſſe them

Q. Elizabeth has now, A.D. 1582, 24 or 25 great ships, and 3 gallies, whose names and guns, &c., I'll give.[5]

ouer.] The queenes highneſſe hath at this preſent [(which is the foure and twentith of hir reigne)] alreadie made and furniſhed, to the number of [4]foure or fiue[4] and twentie great ſhips, which lie for the moſt part in Gillingham rode, beſide three gallies, of whoſe particular names [and furnitures (ſo far foorth as I can come by them)] it ſhall not be amiſſe to make report at this time.

[1] them

[2] Surely this statement was justified by the facts. And Nelson, Dundonald, and their successors have shown that English sailors since have not degenerated.—F

[3]—[3] the seas [4]—[4] one

[5] See in *Household Ordinances*, p. 267—270, "An account of all the Queen's Ships of War; (the Musters taken in 1574 and 1575; the warlike stores in the Tower and aboard the Navy, in 1578; the CUSTODES ROTULORUM of every county in England and Wales, and the names of all the English Fugitives)."—F.

## [1]The names of ſo manie ſhips belonging to hir maieſtie as I could come by at this preſent. [p. 201]

Names of Queen Elizabeth's 24 Men-of-War.

| | |
|---|---|
| The Bonaduenture. | Foreſight. |
| Elizabeth Ionas. | Swift ſute. |
| White Beare. | Aid. |
| Philip and Marie. | Handmaid. |
| Triumph. | Dread nought. |
| Bull. | Swallow. |
| Tiger. | Genet. |
| Antlope. | Barke of Bullen. |
| Hope. | Achates.* |
| Lion. | Falcon.* |
| Victorie. | George.* |
| Marie Roſe. | Reuenge.* |

[1]—[1] The first of them therefore is called Bonaduenture.

The next hight the Elizabeth Ionas, a name deuised by hir grace in remembraunce of hir owne deliuerance from the fury of hir enemies, from which in one respect she was no lesse myraculously preserued, then was the prophet Ionas from the belly of the Whale.

The White Boare is the thirde. [* Not in the 1577 list, notes.—F.

And after them she hath the Philip and Mary.

The Triumph

The Bull.

The Tygre so called of hyr exceedyng nimblenesse in sayling & swiftnesse of course.

The Antlop.
The Hope.
The Lyon.
The Victorie.
The Mary rose.
The Foresight.
The Cadish.†
The Swift sute.
The Ayde.
The Handmaide.
The Dread not.
The Swallow.
The Genet.
The Barke of Bullen.

[The list of 24 ships (with their men and arms), in the 1578 list in *Household Ordinances*, p. 267-270, contains all those in the note here, except the Cadish; and adds to them the Primrose, and the Faulcon, Aibates (for Achates), and George, named above. The 1578 list has not the Reuenge above. It calls the White Boare and 'Dread not', the White Bear and Dreadnought (as above); and the Genet, Jennett. And adds, "The sum of all other, as well merchant shipps as other, in all places in England, of 100 tunns and upwards, 135. The sum of all barkes and shippes of 40 tunne and upwards to an 100 tunne, 656. There are besides, by estimation, 100 saile of hoyes. Also of small barkes and fishermen an infinite number. So as the number of .... through the realme cannot be lesse than 600, besides London." No doubt Mrs Green's Calendar of State Papers, *temp.* Eliz., gives further details.—F.]

[† Not in the 1587 list above.—F.]

As ancient kings built a city a year,

[It is ſaid, that as kings and princes haue in the yoong daies of the world, and long ſince, framed themſelues to erect euerie yeare a citie, in ſome one place or other of their kingdoms, (and no ſmall woonder that Sardanapalus ſhould begin & finiſh two, to wit, *Anchialus* and *Tharſus* in one daie,) ſo hir grace dooth yearelie build one ſhip or other to the better defenſe of hir frontiers from the enimie. But as of this report I haue no aſſured certeintie, ſo it ſhall ſuffice to haue ſaid ſo much of theſe things: yet this I thinke worthie further to be added, that if they ſhould all be driuen to ſeruice at one inſtant (which God forbid) ſhe ſhould haue a power by ſea of about nine or ten thouſand men, which were a notable companie, beſide the ſupplie of other veſels apperteining to hir ſubiects to furniſh vp hir voiage.]

Q. Elizabeth is said to build 1 ship a year.

She can have 9000 or 10,000 seamen afloat.

Beſide theſe, hir grace hath other in hand alſo, of whom hereafter, as their turnes doo come about, I will not let to leaue ſome further remembrance. She hath likewiſe three notable gallies: the Speed well, the Trie right, and the Blacke gallie, with the fight whereof, and reſt of the nauie roiall, it is incredible to ſaie how greatlie [1] hir grace is delighted: and not without great cauſe [(I ſaie)], ſith by their meanes hir coaſts are kept in quiet, and ſundrie forren enimies put backe, which otherwiſe would inuade vs. The number of thoſe that ſerue for burden with the other, whereof I haue made mention alreadie, and whoſe vſe is dailie ſeene, as occaſion ſerueth, in time of the warres, is to mee vtterlie vnknowne. Yet if [2] the report of one record [2] be anie thing at all to be credited, there are [3] 135 ſhips that exceed 500 tun; topmen vnder 100, and aboue fortie, 656: hoies 100: but of hulkes, catches, fiſherboats, and craiers, it lieth not in me to deliuer the iuſt account, ſith they are hardlie to come by.[3] Of theſe alſo there

3 choice gallies.

The Queen is delighted with her navy.

Number of English Ships.

[1] marueylously [2]—[2] common estimation

[3]—[3] 17 or eighteene hundred of one & other of them, besides fisher boates & small Craiers, which I referre unto the thirde sort.

are ſome of the queenes maieſties ſubiects that haue two or three; ſome, foure or ſix; and (as I heard of late) one man whoſe name I ſuppreſſe for modeſties ſake, hath bene knowne not long ſince to haue had ſixteene or ſeuenteene, and emploied them wholie to the wafting in and out of our merchants, whereby he hath reaped no ſmall commoditie and gaine. I might take occaſion to tell [1] of the notable and difficult voiages made into ſtrange countries by Engliſhmen, and of their dailie ſucceſſe there [2]: but as theſe things are nothing incident to my purpoſe, ſo I ſurceaſe to ſpeake of them. Onelie this will I ad,[3] to the end all men ſhall vnderſtand ſomewhat of the great maſſes of treaſure dailie emploied vpon our nauie, how there are few of thoſe ſhips, of the firſt and ſecond ſort, that being apparelled and made readie to ſale, are not woorth one thouſand pounds, or three thouſand ducats at the leaſt, if they ſhould preſentlie be ſold. What ſhall we [4] thinke then of the greater, but eſpeciallie of the nauie roiall, of which ſome one veſſell is woorth two of the other, as the ſhipwrights haue often told me? It is poſſible that ſome couetous perſon hearing this report, will either not credit it at all, or ſuppoſe monie ſo emploied to be nothing profitable to the queenes coffers: as a good huſband ſaid once when he hard there ſhould be prouiſion made for armor, 'wiſhing the queenes monie to be rather laid out to ſome ſpeedier returne of gaine vnto hir grace, [bicauſe the realme (ſaith he) is in caſe good enough,' and ſo peraduenture he thought.] But if [5]as by ſtore of armour for the defenſe of the countrie, he had likewiſe vnderſtanded [5] that the good keeping of the ſea, is the ſafegard of our land, he would [6] haue altered [6] his cenſure, and ſoone giuen [7] ouer his iudgement. For in times paſt, when

Private ship-owners have from 2 to 16 ships each, that carry merchandise.

Almost every one of our 1st and 2nd class merchant ships is worth, when fitted, £1000;

our men-of-war worth £2000.

The good keeping of the sea is the safeguard of our land.

[1] speake

[2] See Hakluyt's record of the daring and endurance of our Elizabethan seamen. —F.

[2] adde therefore [4] we shall [5—5] he wist [6—6] alter [7] giue

The want of a navy, the cause of our being invaded in old times.

our nation made ſmall account of nauigation, how ſoone did the Romans, then the Saxons, & laſt of all the Danes, inuade this Iland? whoſe crueltie in the end inforced our countrimen, as it were euen againſt their[1] wils, to prouide for ſhips from other places, and build at home of their owne, whereby their enimies were oftentimes diſtreſſed. But moſt of all were the Normans therein to be commended. For in a ſhort proceſſe of time after the conqueſt of this Iland, and good conſideration had for the well keeping of the ſame, they ſuppoſed nothing more commodious for the defenſe of the countrie, than the maintenance of a ſtrong nauie, which they ſpeedilie prouided, mainteined, and thereby reaped in the end their wiſhed ſecuritie, wherewith before their times this Iland was neuer acquainted. Before the comming of the Romans, I doo not read that we had anie ſhips at all, except a few made of wicker and couered with buffle hides, [like vnto the which there are ſome to be ſeene at this preſent in Scotland (as I heare), although there be a little (I wote not well what) difference betweene them. Of the ſame alſo *Solinus* ſpeaketh, ſo far as I remember: neuertheleſſe it may be gathered by his words, how the vpper parts of them aboue the water onelie were framed of the ſaid wickers, and that the Britons did vſe to faſt all the whiles they went to the ſea in them: but whether it were doone for policie or ſuperſtition, as yet I doo not read.]

The Normans' care for a strong navy.

British boats.

[*The Britons fasted all the while they were at the sea in these ships.*]

The Saxons had but few poor ships.

Egbert first knew the necessity for a navy.

In the beginning of the Saxons [regiment] we had [2]ſome ſhips alſo[2]; but as their number and mould was litle and nothing to the purpoſe, ſo Egbert was the firſt prince that euer throughlie began to know this neceſſitie of a nauie, [and vſe the ſeruice thereof] in the defenſe of his countrie. After him alſo other princes, as Alfred, [Edgar,] Ethelred, &c, indeuoured more and more to ſtore themſelues at the full with ſhips of all quantities,

[1] their owne [2]—[2] a fewe

but chieflie [Edgar, for he prouided a nauie of 1600 *aliàs* 3600 ſaile, which he diuided into foure parts, and ſent them to abide vpon foure ſundrie coaſts of the land, to keepe the ſame from pirats. Next vnto him (and worthie to be remembred) is] Etheldred, who made a law, that euerie man holding 310 hidelands, ſhould find a ſhip furniſhed to ſerue him in the warres. Howbeit, and as I ſaid before, when all their nauie was at the greateſt, it was not comparable [for force and ſure building] to that which afterward the Normans prouided; neither that of the Normans anie thing like to the ſame that is to be ſeene now in [theſe] our daies. For the iourneies alſo of our ſhips, you ſhall vnderſtand, that a well builded veſſell will run or ſaile [commonlie] three hundred leagues or nine hundred miles in a weeke, or peraduenture ſome will go 2200 leagues in ſix weekes and an halfe. And ſuerlie, if their lading be readie againſt they come thither, there be of them that will be here, at the weſt Indies, & home againe in twelue or thirteene weekes from Colcheſter; although the ſaid Indies be eight hundred leagues from the cape or point of Cornewall, as I haue beene informed. [This alſo I vnderſtand [1] by report of ſome trauellers, that if anie of our veſſels happen to make a voiage to *Hiſpaniola* or new Spaine, called in time paſt *Quinquexia* and *Haiti*, and lieth betweene the north tropike and the equator; after they haue once touched at the Canaries, (which are eight daies ſailing, or two hundred and fiftie leages, from *S. Lucas de Barameda* in Spaine,) they will be there in thirtie or fourtie daies, & home againe in Cornewall in other eight weekes, which is a goodlie matter, beſide the ſafetie and quietneſſe in the paſſage. But more of this elſewhere.]

Edgar had 1600 or 3600 ships.

Ethelred made every man holding 310 hidelands, provide a warship.

Our ships 'll *sail 900 miles* a week.

Some 'll go from Colchester to the West Indies and back, in 12 or 13 weeks;

[1 p. 202]

and to Haiti and back

in 16 weeks.

# Of faires and markets.

## Chap. 18.[1]

Weekly markets in every large town.

THere are (as I take it) few great townes in England, that haue not their weekelie markets, [one or more granted from the prince,] in which all maner of prouiſion for houſhold is to be bought and ſold, for eaſe and benefit of the countrie round about. Wherby, as it commeth to paſſe that no buier ſhall make anie great iourneie in the purueiance of his neceſſities, ſo no occupier ſhall haue occaſion to trauell far off with his commodities, except it be to ſeeke for the higheſt prices, which commonlie are neere vnto great cities, where round and ſpeedieſt vtterance is alwaies to be had. And as theſe haue beene in times paſt erected for the benefit of the realme, ſo are they in many places too too much abuſed: for the reliefe and eaſe of the buier is not ſo much intended in them, as the benefit of the ſeller. Neither are the magiſtrats for the moſt part [(as men loth to diſpleaſe their neighbours for their one yeares dignitie,)] ſo carefull in their offices, as of right and dutie they ſhould bee. For in moſt of theſe markets, neither aſſiſes[2] of bread, nor orders for goodneſſe [and ſweetneſſe] of graine, and other commodities that are brought thither to be ſold, are anie whit looked vnto; but ech one ſuffered to ſell or ſet vp what and how himſelfe liſteth: & this is one euident cauſe of dearth[3] [and ſcarſitie] in time of great abundance.

They were meant for the relief of the buyer, but are turnd to the benefit of the seller.

Little inspection of goods is now carrid out.

I could (if I would) exemplifie in manie, but I will touch no one particularlie, ſith[4] it is rare to ſee in anie [5]countrie towne[5] [(as I ſaid)] the aſſiſe of bread well kept according to the ſtatute. [And yet if anie countrie baker happen to come in among them on the

[1] This is chap. 11, Bk 2, in 1577 ed.—F.

[2] sizes [3] darth [4] Certes [5—5] market

market daie with bread of better quantitie, they find fault by and by with one thing or another in his ſtuffe; whereby the honeſt poore man, whome the law of nations doo commend, for that he indeuoureth to liue by anie lawfull meanes, is driuen awaie, and no more to come there vpon ſome round penaltie, by vertue of their priuileges.] Howbeit [1] though they are ſo nice in the proportion of their bread, yet [1] in lieu [2] of the ſame, there is [2] ſuch headie ale & beere in moſt of them, as for the mightineſſe thereof among ſuch as ſeeke it out, is commonlie called huffecap, the mad dog, father whoreſonne, angels food, dragons milke, [go by the wall, ſtride wide, and lift leg,] &c. And this is more to be noted, that when one of late fell by Gods prouidence into a troubled conſcience, after he had conſidered well of *his reachleſſe* [3] *life*, and dangerous eſtate: another, thinking belike to change his colour and not his mind, caried him ſtraightwaie [4] to the ſtrongeſt ale, as to the next phyſician. It is incredible to ſaie how our maltbugs lug at this liquor, euen as pigs ſhould lie in a row, lugging at their dames teats, till they lie ſtill againe, and be not able to wag. Neither did *Romulus* and *Remus* ſucke their ſhee woolfe [or ſheepheards wife] *Lupa*, with ſuch eger and ſharpe deuotion, as theſe men hale at huſcap, till they be red as cockes, & litle wiſer than their combs. But how am I fallen from the market into the alehouſe? In returning therefore vnto my purpoſe, I find [5] that in corne great abuſe is dailie ſuffered, to the great preiudice of the towne and countrie, eſpeciallie the poore artificer and houſeholder, which tilleth no land, but laboring all the weeke to buie a buſhell or two of graine on the market daie, can there haue none for his monie: bicauſe bodgers, loders, and common carriers of corne, [6] *doo not* onlie buie vp all, but giue aboue the

Yet a good country baker intruding, is found fault with, and driven away.

There's plenty of heady ale and beer, calld Huffcap,

Dragon's Milk,

Stride-wide, &c.

Our maltbugs lug at alepots like pigs at their dame's teats,

till they're as red as cocks.

Bodgers buy up all the corn.

1—1 I find 2—2 thereof 3 rekelesse 4 straight
5 find therfore 6 Graine

price, to be ſerued of great quantities. Shall I go anie further? Well, I will ſaie yet a little more, and ſomewhat by mine owne experience.

Corn-dealers' dodges to buy up corn, and then raise prices.

At Michaelmaſſe time poore men muſt [1]make monie of[1] their graine, that they may paie their rents. So long then as the poore man hath to ſell, rich men will bring out none, but rather buie vp that which the poore bring, vnder pretenſe of ſeed corne, [or alteration of graine, although they bring none of their owne,] bicauſe one wheat often ſowen without change of ſeed, will ſoone decaie, and be conuerted into darnell. For this cauſe therefore they muſt needs buie in the markets, though they be twentie miles off, and where they be not knowne, promiſing there, [if they happen to be eſpied (which, God wot, is verie ſeldome)] to ſend ſo much to their next market, to [2]be performed[2] I wot not when.

Sometimes they'll get a man, for a pot of Merry-go-down, to buy for them.

If this ſhift serue not (neither dooth the fox vſe alwaies one tracke for feare of a ſnare), they will compound with ſome one of the towne where the market is holden, who for a pot of hufcap or merie go downe, will not let to buie it for them, and that in his owne name. Or elſe they wage one poore man or other, to become a bodger, and thereto get him a licence vpon ſome forged ſurmiſe; which being doone, they will feed him with monie, to buie for them till he hath filled their lofts,[3] and then if he can doo any good for himſelfe, ſo it is; if not, they will giue him ſomewhat for his paines at this time, & reſerue him for an other yeare.

[*Suborned bodgers.*]

[*Bodgers licenced.*]

How manie of [4]the like[4] prouiders ſtumble vpon blind creekes at the ſea coaſt, I wote not well; but that ſome haue ſo doone, [and yet doo,] vnder other mens wings, the caſe [5]is too [too] plaine. But who dare find fault

[1]—[1] sell [2]—[2] performe

[3] What a pity the poor men couldn't *co-operate*, imitate the rich buyer, and have their own bodger to buy for them.—F.

[4]—[4] these [5] cause

with them, when they haue once a licence? [yea] though it be but to ſerue a meane gentlemans houſe with corne, who hath caſt vp all his tillage, bicauſe he boaſteth how he can buie his graine in the market, better cheape than he can ſow his land, as the rich graſier often dooth alſo vpon the like deuiſe, [bicauſe graſing requireth a ſmaller houſehold and leſſe attendance and charge.] If anie man come to buie a buſhell or two for his expenſes vnto the market croſſe, anſwer is made; "Forſooth, here was one euen now that bad me monie for it, and I hope he will haue it." And to ſaie the truth, theſe bodgers are faire chapmen, for there are no more words with them, but "Let me ſee it, what ſhall I giue you? knit it vp, I will haue it, go carie it to ſuch a chamber, [and if you bring in twentie ſeme more in the weeke daie to ſuch an Inne or ſollar where I laie my corne, I will haue it, and giue you [ ] pence or more in euerie buſhell for ſix weekes day of paiment than an other will." Thus the bodgers beare awaie all, ſo that the poore artificer and labourer cannot make his prouiſion in the markets, ſith they will hardlie now adaies ſell by the buſhell, nor breake their meaſure; and ſo much the rather, for that the buier will looke (as they ſaie) for ſo much ouer meaſure in a buſhell, as the bodger will doo in a quarter. Naie, the poore man cannot off get anie of the farmer at home, bicauſe he prouideth altogither to ſerue the bodger, or hath an hope grounded vpon a greedie and inſatiable deſire of gaine, that the ſale will be better in the market: ſo that he muſt [1] giue two pence or a groate more in a buſhell at his houſe, than the laſt market craued, or elſe go without it, and ſleepe with an hungrie bellie. Of the common carriage of corne ouer vnto the parts beyond the ſeas, I ſpeake not; or at the leaſtwiſe if I ſhould, I could not touch it alone, but needs muſt ioine other prouiſion withall, whereby not onelie our freends abroad, but

Some small landholders, and rich graziers, don't grow their own corn.

Bodgers buying up corn.

How the Bodgers trouble the poor.

[1 p. 203]

Export of corn

alſo manie of our aduerſaries and countriemen, the papists, are abundantlie relieued (as the report goeth); but ſith I ſee it not, I will not ſo truſt mine eares as to write it for a truth.] But to [1] returne to our markets againe.[1]

to enemies and Papists, I can hardly believe in.

By this time the poore occupier hath all ſold his crop for need of monie, being readie peraduenture to buie againe yer long. And now is the whole ſale of corne in the great occupiers hands, who hitherto haue threſhed little or none of their owne, but bought vp of other men, ſo much as they could come by. Hencefoorth alſo they begin to ſell, not by the quarter or load at the firſt, [for marring the market,] but by the buſhell or two, or an horſſeload at the moſt, therby to be ſeene to keepe the croſſe,[2] either for a ſhew, or to make men eger to buie, and ſo as they may haue it for monie, not to regard what they paie. And thus corne waxeth deere; but it will be deerer the next market daie. It is poſſible alſo that they miſlike the price in the beginning for [the] whole yeare inſuing, as men ſuppoſing that corne will be litle worth for this, & of better price in the next yeare. [For they haue certeine ſuperſtitious obſeruations, whereby they will giue a geſſe at the ſale of corne for the yeare following. And our countriemen doo vſe commonlie for barleie, where I dwell, to iudge after the price at Baldocke vpon S. Matthewes daie; and for wheat, as it is ſold in ſeed time. They take in like ſort experiment by ſight of the firſt flockes of cranes that flee ſouthward in winter, the age of the moone in the beginning of Ianuarie, & ſuch other apiſh toies, as by laieng twelue cornes vpon the hot hearth for the twelue moneths, &c: whereby they ſhew themſelues to be ſcant good chriſtians: but what care they, ſo they may come by monie?] Here-

Large Dealers' tricks to raise the price of corn.

At first they'll sell only very small lots.

Bodgers' superstitions about the price of corn:

as of the first cranes flying south in winter.

[1]—[1] proceede

[2] market. 'For maring of the market' appears here as a marginal reference. —F.

vpon alſo[1] will they threſh out three parts of the old corne, toward the latter end of the ſummer, when new commeth apace to hand, and caſt the ſame in[2] the fourth vnthreſhed, where it ſhall lie vntill the next ſpring, or peraduenture till it muſt and putrifie. [Certes it is not deintie to ſee muſtie corne in manie o our great markets of England, which theſe great occupiers bring foorth when they can keepe it no longer. But as they are inforced oftentimes vpon this one occaſion ſomwhat to abate the price, ſo a plague is not ſeldome ingendred thereby among the poorer ſort, that of neceſſitie muſt buie the ſame, wherby manie thouſands of all degrees are conſumed, of whoſe deaths (in mine opinion) theſe farmers are not vnguiltie. But to proceed. If they laie not vp their graine or wheat in this maner, they haue yet another policie, whereby they will ſeeme to haue but ſmall ſtore left in their barnes:] for[3] elſe they will gird their ſheues[4] by the band, and ſtacke it vp of new in leſſe roome, to the end it may not onlie ſeeme[5] leſſe in quantitie, but alſo giue place to the corne that is yet to come into the barne, or growing [in] the field. If there happen to be ſuch plentie in the market on anie market daie, that they cannot ſell at their own price, then will they ſet it vp in ſome freends houſe, againſt another or the third daie, & not bring it foorth till[6] they like of the ſale. If they ſell anie at home, beſide harder meaſure, it ſhall be deerer to the poore man [that bieth it] by two pence or a groat in a buſhell, than they may ſell it in the market. But as theſe things are worthie redreſſe, ſo I wiſh that God would once open their eies that deale thus, to ſee their owne errours: for as yet ſome of them little care how manie poore men ſuffer extremitie, ſo that they may fill their purſes, and carie awaie the gaine.

Bodgers sometimes keep corn in hand till it musts and rots.

The poor have to buy it, and it gives 'em the plague.

Bodgers 'll bind up their corn tight, to seem to have little,

and will put off selling till they get their own price.

May God open their eyes to their sins!

[It is a world alſo to ſee how moſt places of the realme are peſtered with purueiours, who take vp egs,

We're pesterd too with

[1] then [2] into [3] Or [4] sheues of [5] appeare [6] untyll

Purveyors, who buy up our country eggs, chickens, &c., and sell 'em elsewhere.

butter, cheeſe, pigs, capons, hens, chickens, hogs, bakon, &c, in one market, vnder pretenſe of their commiſſions, & ſuffer their wiues to ſell the ſame in another, or to pulters of London. If theſe chapmen be abſent but two or three market daies, then we may perfectlie ſee theſe wares to be more reaſonablie ſold, and therevnto the croſſes ſufficientlie furniſhed of all things. In like ſort, ſince the number of buttermen haue ſo much increaſed, and ſince they trauell in ſuch wiſe, that they come to mens houſes for their butter faſter than they can make it; it is almoſt incredible to ſee how the price of butter is augmented[1]: whereas, when the owners were inforced to bring it to the market townes, & fewer of theſe butter buiers were ſtirring, our butter was ſcarſlie woorth eighteene pence the gallon, that now is worth three ſhillings foure pence, & perhaps fiue ſhillings. Wherby alſo I gather that the maintenance of a ſuperfluous number of dealers[2] in moſt trades, tillage alwaies excepted, is one of the greateſt cauſes why the prices of things become exceſſiue: for one of them doo commonlie vſe to out bid another. And whileſt our countrie commodities are commonlie bought and ſold at our priuate houſes, I neuer looke to ſee this enormitie redreſſed, or the markets well furniſhed.]

Rise of Price in Butter

from 18*d.* a gallon to 3*s.* 4*d.* or 5*s.*

Superfluous dealers, and

buying at private houses, instead of open markets, are the chief causes of high prices.

I could ſaie more, but this is euen inough, & more peraduenture than I ſhall be well thanked for: yet true it is, though ſome thinke it no treſpaſſe. This moreouer is to be lamented, that one generall meaſure is not in vſe throughout all England, but euerie market towne hath in[3] maner a ſeuerall buſhell[4]; and the

No general measure: different Bushels everywhere.

[1] Victorian writers can say this too. I recollect fresh butter at 8*d.* and 10*d.* a pound here at Egham, and now we pay 20*d.* The imported Italian butter that we get in London, from Ralli, Greek St, Soho, is 19*d.*—F.

[2] An interesting anticipation of John Stuart Mill's point of the evil of a large middleman class checkt only by competition. Co-operation, with a few middlemen, the agents and servants of the co-operators, is what we want.—F.

[3] in a [4] measure

leſſer it be, the more ſellers it draweth to reſort vnto the ſame. [Such alſo is the couetouſneſſe of manie clearkes of the market, that in taking view of meaſures, they will alwaie ſo prouide, that one and the ſame buſhell ſhall be either too big or too little at their next comming, and yet not depart without a fee at the firſt: ſo that, what by their mending at one time, and empairing the ſame at another, the countrie is greatlie charged, and few iuſt meaſures to be had in anie ſteed.] It is oft found likewiſe, that diuerſe vnconſcionable dealers haue one meaſure to ſell by, & another to buie withall; the like is alſo in weights, [and yet all ſealed and bronded.] Wherefore it were verie good that theſe two were reduced vnto one ſtandard, that is, one buſhell, one pound, one quarter, one hundred, one tale, one number: ſo ſhould things in time fall into better order, and fewer cauſes of contention be mooued in this land. [Of the complaint of ſuch poore tenants as paie rent corne vnto their landlords, I ſpeake not, who are often dealt withall very hardlie. For beſide that in the meaſuring of ten quarters, for the moſt part they loſe one through the iniquitie of the buſhell (ſuch is the greedineſſe of the appointed receiuers thereof), fault is found alſo with the goodneſſe and cleanneſſe of the graine. Wherby ſome peece of monie muſt needs paſſe vnto their purſes to ſtop their mouths withall, or elſe my lord will not like of the corne: "Thou art worthie to looſe thy leaſe, &c." Or if it be cheaper in the market, than the rate allowed for it is in their rents, then muſt they paie monie, and no corne, which is no ſmall extremitie. And thereby we may ſee how each one of vs indeuoureth to fleece and eat vp another.

Cheating by Clerks of the Market.

Dealers have 1 measure to sell by, and another to buy by.

We ought to have 1 Standard for measures and weights.

Tenants who pay rent in corn

are cheated by the Receivers

whom they're oblig'd to fee.

Each one tries to eat up the other.

Another thing there is in our markets worthie to be looked vnto, and that is the recariage of graine from the ſame into lofts and ſollars, of which before I gaue ſome intimation: wherefore if it were ordered, that euerie

Sellers oughtn't to be allowd to carry off their grain unsold.

ſeller ſhould make his market by an houre, or elſe the bailie or clearke of the ſaid market [1] to make ſale therof according to his diſcretion, without libertie to the farmer to ſet vp their corne in houſes and chambers, I am perſuaded that the prices of our graine would ſoone be abated. Againe, if it were enacted that each one ſhould keepe his next market with his graine, and not to run ſix, eight, ten, foureteene, or twentie miles from home, to ſell his corne where he dooth find the higheſt price, and therby leaueth his neighbours vnfurniſhed, I doo not thinke but that our markets would be farre better ſerued than at this preſent they are. Finallie, if mens barns might be indifferentlie viewed immediatlie after harueſt, and a note gathered by an eſtimat, and kept by ſome appointed & truſtie perſon for that purpoſe, we ſhould haue much more plentie of corne in our towne croſſes than as yet is commonlie ſeene: bicauſe each one hideth and hoordeth what he may, vpon purpoſe either that it will be deerer, or that he ſhall haue ſome priuie veine by bodgers, who doo accuſtomablie ſo deale, that the ſea dooth load awaie no ſmall part thereof into other countries & our enimies, to the great hinderance of our common-wealth at home, and more likelie yet to be, except ſome remedie be found.] [2] But what doo I talke of theſe things, or deſire the ſuppreſſion of bodgers, being a miniſter? Certes I may ſpeake of them right well, as feeling the harme in that I am a buier, neuertheleſſe I ſpeake generallie in ech of them.[2]

[1 p. 204]

Corn-sellers ought to sell in the nearest market, and not be allowd to go 20 miles off to get a higher price.

The contents of Barns should be noted, and

more corn brought to the Town-Crosses.

Now, corn is exported,

to our common-wealth's great hurt.

To conclude therefore, in our markets all things are to be ſold, neceſſarie for mans vſe; and there is our prouiſion made commonlie for all the weeke inſuing. Therefore, as there are no great townes without one weekelie market at the leaſt, ſo there are verie few of

[2]—[2] But more of this hereafter in the next booke, where I haue inserted a litle treatize, which I sometimes collected of our weights & measures, and their comparison with those of the auncient Greekes and Romaines.

them that haue not one or two faires or more within the compaſſe of the yeare, aſſigned vnto them by the prince. And albeit that ſome of them are not much better than [Lowſe faire, or] the common kirkemeſſes beyond the ſea, yet there are diuerſe not inferiour to the greateſt marts in Europe, as Sturbridge faire neere to Cambridge, [Briſtow faire,] Bartholomew faire at London, Lin[1] mart, Cold faire at Newport pond for cattell, and diuerſe other, all which, or at leaſtwiſe the greateſt part of them, (to the end I may with the more eaſe to the reader and leſſe trauell to my ſelfe fulfill my taſke in their recitall), I haue ſet downe, according to the names of the moneths wherein they are holden, at the end of this booke, where you ſhall find them at large, as I borowed the ſame from [*I.*] *Stow,* [and the reports of others.]

*Most towns have 1 or 2 fairs a year,*

*some great ones, as Stourbridge Fair, Bartholomew Fair, &c.*

*The names and dates of these I've set down at the end of this book.*

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## Of Parkes and Warrens.

### Chap. 19.[2]

IN euerie ſhire of England there is great plentie of parkes, whereof ſome here and there, [to wit, welnere to the number of two hundred, for hir daily prouiſion of that fleſh,] apperteine to the prince, the reſt to ſuch of the nobilitie and gentlemen as haue their lands and patrimonies[3] lieng [in or] neere vnto the ſame. I would gladlie haue ſet downe the iuſt number of theſe incloſures to be found in euerie countie: but ſith I cannot ſo doo, it ſhall ſuffice to ſaie, that in Kent and Eſſex onelie are to the number of an hundred, [and twentie in the biſhoprike of Durham,] wherein great plentie of fallow deere is cheriſhed and

*The Queen has nearly 200 parks.*

*There are 100 in Kent and Essex, with fallow deer.*

[1] Linne

[2] This, in 1577 ed., is Chap. 15 of Bk 2; and its title is markt with the paragraph sign ¶.—F.

[3] patrimony

Coney-warrens. Skins of black conies are worth more than their bodies.

kept. As for warrens of conies, I iudge them almoſt innumerable, and dailie like to increaſe, by reaſon that the blacke ſkins[1] of thoſe beaſts are thought to coun-eruaile the prices of their naked carcaſes, and this is the onelie cauſe whie the graie are leſſe eſteemed.

Near London, young rabbits and sucklings sell best.

Neere vnto London, their quickeſt merchandize is of the yong rabbets, wherfore the older conies[2] are brought from further off, where there is no ſuch ſpeedie vtterance of rabbets and ſucklings[3] in their ſeaſon, nor ſo great loſſe by their ſkins, ſith they are ſuffered to growe vp to their full greatneſſe with their owners.

Parks are enclosd now with oak palings,

Our parkes are generallie incloſed with ſtrong pale made of oke, of which kind of wood there is great ſtore cheriſhed [in the woodland countries] from time to time in ech of them, onelie for the maintenance of the

to keep the deer in.

ſaid defenſe, and ſafe-keeping of the [fallow] deere from ranging about the countrie. [Howbeit, in times

The old fencing was with stone walls.

paſt diuerſe haue been fenſed in with ſtone walles (eſpeciallie in the times of the Romans, who firſt brought fallow deere into this land (as ſome coniecture) albeit thoſe incloſures were ouerthrowne againe by the Saxons & Danes, as Cauiſham, Towner, and Woodſtocke, beſide other in the weſt countrie, and one alſo at Bolton.

(Bolton has one of the finest clocks in Europe.)

Among other things alſo to be ſeene in that towne, there is one of the faireſt clockes in Europe.

Slate-fencing.

Where no wood is, they are alſo incloſed with piles of ſlate; and therto it is douted of manie whether our bucke or doe are to be reckoned in wild or tame beaſts or not. *Plinie* deemeth them to be wild; *Martial* is alſo of the ſame opinion, where he ſaith, *Imbelles damæ quid niſi præda ſumus?* And ſo in time paſt the like controuerſie was about bees, which the lawiers call *Feras, tit. de acquirendo rerum dominio, & lib. 2. inſtit.* But

[1] See Percy Folio, Loose and Humorous Songs, p. 86, l. 31-4.—F.

[2] We've unluckily lost the distinction between *rabbit* and *coney*.—F.

[3] Calld 'suckers' in *Babees Book*, and Henry VIII.'s Household Ordinances.—F.

*Plinie* attempting to decide the quarell calleth them *Medias inter feras & placidas aues.* But whither am I ſo ſuddenlie digreſſed? In returning therefore vnto our parks, I find alſo] the circuit of theſe incloſures in like manner conteine often times a walke of foure or fiue miles, and ſometimes more or leſſe. Wherby it is to be ſeene what ſtore of ground is emploied vpon that vaine commoditie, which bringeth no manner of gaine or profit to the owner, ſith they commonlie giue awaie their fleſh, neuer taking penie for the ſame, [except the ordinarie fee, and parts of the deere, giuen vnto the keeper by a cuſtome, who beſide three ſhillings foure pence, or fiue ſhillings in monie, hath the ſkin, head, vmbles, chine, and ſhoulders: whereby he that hath the warrant for an whole bucke, hath in the end little more than halfe, which in my iudgement is ſcarſelie equall dealing;] for[1] veniſon in England is neither bought nor ſold,[2] [as in other countries,] but mainteined onelie for [3]the pleaſure of the owner and his friends.[3] [Albeit I heard of late of one ancient ladie, which maketh a great gaine by ſelling yeerelie hir huſbands veniſon[4] to the cookes, (as another of no leſſe name will not ſticke to ride to the market to ſee hir butter ſold,) but not performed without infinite ſcoffes and mockes, euen of the pooreſt pezzants of the countrie, who thinke them as odious matters in ladies and women of ſuch countenance, to ſell their veniſon and their butter, as for an earle to feele his oxen, ſheepe, and lambs, whether they be readie for the butcher or not, or to ſell his wooll vnto the clothier, or to keepe a tan-houſe, or deale with ſuch like affaires as belong not to men of honor, but rather to farmers, or graſiers; for which ſuch, if there be anie, may well be noted (and not vniuſtlie) to degenerate from true nobilitie, and betake themſelues

Parks are 4 or 5 miles round.

Keeper's perquisites on a deer being killd.

Venison 's not bought or sold.

Yet one Lady has actually sold her husband's Venison to the Cooks! and another has ridden to market to see her Butter sold!

An Earl must not turn ox-dealer.

[1] because [2] sold by the right owner

[3]—[3] hys pleasure to the no small decay of husbandry & diminution of mankind.

[4] See Andrew Boorde's amusing bit about venison in his *Dyetary:* my ed., p. 275.—F.

to huſbandrie.[1] And euen the ſame enormitie tooke place ſometime among the Romans, and entred ſo farre as into the verie ſenate, of whome ſome one had two or three ſhips going vpon the ſea, pretending prouiſion for their houſes; but in truth following the trades of merchandize, till a law was made which did inhibit and reſtraine them. *Liuie* alſo telleth of an[2]other law which paſſed likewiſe againſt the ſenators by Claudius the tribune, and helpe onelie of C. Flaminius, that no ſenator, or he that had beene father to anie ſenator, ſhould poſſeſſe anie ſhip or veſſell aboue the capacitie of three hundred amphoras, which was ſuppoſed ſufficient for the cariage and recariage of ſuch neceſſities as ſhould apperteine vnto his houſe: ſith further trading with merchandizes and commodities dooth declare but a baſe and couetous mind, not altogither void of enuie, that anie man ſhould liue but he: or that if anie gaine were to be had, he onelie would haue it himſelfe: which is a wonderfull dealing, and muſt needs proue in time the confuſion of that countrie wherein ſuch enormities are exerciſed.] Where[3] in times paſt, manie large and wealthie occupiers were dwelling within the compaſſe of ſome one parke, and thereby great plentie of corne and cattell ſeene, and to be had among them, beſide a more copious procreation of humane iſſue, whereby the realme was alwaies better furniſhed with able men to ſerue the prince in his affaires; now there is almoſt nothing kept but a ſort of wild and ſauage beaſts, cheriſhed for pleaſure and delight; and yet ſome[4] owners, ſtill deſirous to inlarge thoſe grounds, [as either for the breed and feeding of cattell,] doo not let dailie to take in more, [not ſparing the verie commons whervpon manie townеſhips now and then doo liue,] affirming that we haue alreadie too great ſtore of people in England; and that youth by

[2 p. 205]

The Romans passt a law

against allowing Senators to trade, and so become base and covetous.

[*Tillage and mankind diminished by parkes.*]

Owners of parks even take-in commons, and say that we've too many people in England.

[1] Harrison was not quite up to the Dignity of Labour.—F.

[3] For where [4] the

marrieng too ſoone doo nothing profit the countrie, but fill it full of beggars, [to the hurt and vtter vndooing (they ſaie) of the common wealth.]

*The decaie of the people is the deſtruction of a kingdome,* [1] *neyther is any man borne to poſſeſſe the earth alone.* [1]

Certes, if it be not one curſe of the Lord, to haue our countrie conuerted in ſuch ſort, from the furniture of mankind, into the walks and ſhrowds of wild beaſts, I know not what is anie. How manie families alſo theſe great and ſmall games (for ſo moſt keepers call them) haue eaten vp, and are likelie hereafter to de uoure, ſome men may conieƈture, but manie more lament, ſith there is no hope of reſtraint to be looked for in this behalfe, [becauſe the corruption is ſo generall.] But if a man may preſentlie giue a gheſſe at the vniuerſalitie of this euill by contemplation of the circumſtance,[2] he ſhall ſaie at the laſt, that the twentith part of the realme is imploied vpon deere and conies alreadie, which ſeemeth verie much, if it be[3] dulie conſidered of.

A twentieth of the realm is taken up by deer and conies.

[King Henrie the eight, one of the nobleſt princes that euer reigned in this land, lamented oft that he was conſtreined to hire forren aid, for want of competent ſtore of ſouldiors here at home, perceiuing (as it is indeed,) that ſuch ſupplies are oftentimes more hurtfull than profitable vnto thoſe that interteine them, as may cheeflie be ſeene in Valens the emperor, our Vortiger, and no ſmall number of others. He would oft maruell in priuate talke, how that when ſeauen or eight princes ruled here at once, one of them could lead thirtie or fortie thouſand men to the field againſt another, or two of them 100000 againſt the third, and thoſe taken out onelie of their owne dominions. But as he found the want, ſo he ſaw not the cauſe of this decaie, which grew beſide this occaſion now mentioned; alſo by laieng houſe to houſe, and land to land, whereby manie mens occupiengs were conuerted into one, and the breed of people not a little thereby diminiſhed. The auarice of

Henry VIII. often lamented the want of Englishmen for soldiers,

and wonderd how in early days there were so many.

The causes of our loss of men are, Parks, and turning many small holdings into one large one.

[1]—[1] Left out in ed. 1587.—F. [2] circumstances [3] be not, ed. 1587.—F.

landlords, by increaſing of rents and fines, alſo did ſo wearie the people, that they were readie to rebell with him that would ariſe, ſuppoſing a ſhort end in the warres, to be better than a long and miſerable life in peace.

Evils of Priuileges and Faculties.

Priuileges and faculties alſo are another great cauſe of the ruine of a common wealth and diminution of mankind: for whereas law and nature dooth permit all men to liue in their beſt maner, and whatſoeuer trade they be exerciſed in, there commeth ſome priuilege or other in the waie, which cutteth them off from this or that trade, wherby they muſt needs ſhift ſoile, and ſeeke vnto other countries. By theſe alſo the greateſt commodities are brought into the hands of few, who imbaſe, corrupt, and yet raiſe the prices of things at their owne pleaſures. Example of this laſt I can giue alſo in bookes, which (after the firſt impreſſion of anie one booke) are for the moſt part verie negligentlie handled: whereas if another might print it ſo well as the firſt, then would men ſtriue which of them ſhould doo it beſt; and ſo it falleth out in all other trades. It is an eaſie matter to prooue that England was neuer leſſe furniſhed with people than at this preſent; for if the old records of euerie manour be ſought, and ſearch made to find what tenements are fallen, either downe, or into the lords hands, or brought and vnited togither by other men: it will ſoone appeere, that in ſome one manour, ſeuenteen, eighteene, or twentie houſes are ſhrunke. I know what I ſaie, by mine owne experience: notwithſtanding that ſome one cotage be here and there erected of late, which is to little purpoſe. Of cities and townes, either vtterlie decaied, or more than a quarter or halfe diminiſhed, though ſome one be a little increaſed here and there; of townes pulled downe for ſheepe-walks[1], and no more but the lordſhips now

Bad second editions of books. [The fact is well known. See instances in W. de Worde's Kerving, 2 ed., in *Babees Book*.]

Never so few people in England as now.

Of the destruction of tenements I can speak from my own experience.

[1] See the curious tract on this in Mr J. M. Cowper's *Four Supplications*, E. E. Text Soc., Extra Series.—F.

ſtanding in them, beſide thoſe that William Rufus pulled downe in his time; I could ſaie ſomewhat: but then I ſhould ſwarue yet further from my purpoſe, wherevnto I now returne.]

Wee had no parkes [left] in England at[1] the comming of the Normans, who added this calamitie alſo to the ſeruitude of our nation, making men of the beſt ſort furthermore to become keepers of their game, whileſt they liued in the meane time vpon the ſpoile of their reuenues, and dailie ouerthrew townes, villages, and an infinit ſort of families, for the maintenance of their venerie. Neither was anie parke ſuppoſed in theſe times to be ſtatelie enough, that conteined not at the leaſt eight or ten hidelands, that is, ſo manie hundred acres or families (or, as they haue beene alwaies called in ſome places of the realme, *carrucats* or cartwares) of which one was ſufficient in old time to mainteine an honeſt yeoman.

Parks due to the Normans.

Carucates or Cartwares.

[King John trauelling on a time northwards, to wit, 1209, to warre vpon the king of Scots, becauſe he had married his daughter to the earle of Bullen without his conſent: in his returne ouerthrew a great number of parkes and warrens, of which ſome belonged to his barons, but the greateſt part to the abbats and prelats of the cleargie. For hearing (as he trauelled) by complaint of the countrie, how theſe incloſures were the cheefe decaie of men, and of tillage in the land, he ſware with an oth that he would not ſuffer wild beaſts to feed vpon the fat of his ſoile, and ſee the people periſh for want of abilitie to procure and buie them food that ſhould defend the realme. Howbeit, this act of his was ſo ill taken by the religious and their adherents, that they inuerted his intent herein to another end; affirming moſt ſlanderouſlie how he did it rather of purpoſe to ſpoile the corne and graſſe of the commons and catholikes that held againſt him of both

King John

overthrew many parks and warrens,

swearing that he'd not let wild beasts eat his people's food.

[1] before

eſtates, and by ſo doing to impouerish and bring the north part of the realme to deſtruction, becauſe they refuſed to go with him into Scotland. If the ſaid prince were aliue in theſe daies,—wherein *Andrew Boord* ſaith there are more parks in England than in all Europe (ouer which he trauelled in his owne perſon),—and ſaw how much ground they conſume, [1] I thinke he would either double his othes, or laie the moſt of them open, that tillage might be better looked vnto. But this I hope ſhall not need in time, for the owners of a great ſort of them begin now to ſmell out, that ſuch parcels might be emploied to their more gaine, and therefore ſome of them doo grow to be diſparked.

Andrew Boorde (my ed. p. 274) says there are more parks ['pleasure for harte and hynde'] in England than in all Europe. [1 p. 206]

Still, some owners of Parks now find it pays to dispark them.

Franke Chase.

Next of all, we haue the franke chaſe, which taketh ſomething both of parke and forreſt, and is giuen either by the kings grant or preſcription. Certes it differeth not much from a parke; nay, it is in maner the ſelfe ſame thing that a parke is, ſauing that a parke is inuironed with pale, wall, or ſuch like: the chaſe alwaie open and nothing at all incloſed, as we ſee in Enueeld & Maluerne chaſes. And as it is the cauſe of the ſeiſure of the franchiſe of a parke not to keepe the ſame incloſed, ſo it is the like in a chaſe, if at anie time it be imparked. It is treſpaſſe, and againſt the law alſo, for anie man to haue or make a chaſe, parke, or free warren, without good warrantie of the king by his charter or perfect title of preſcription: for it is not lawfull for anie ſubiect either to carnilate, that is, build ſtone houſes, imbattell, haue the querke of the ſea, or keepe the aſſiſe of bread, ale, or wine, or ſet vp furels, tumbrell, thew, or pillorie, or incloſe anie ground to the aforeſaid purpoſes within his owne ſoile, without his warrant and grant. The beaſts of the chaſe were commonlie the bucke, the roe, the fox, and the marterne. But thoſe of venerie in old time were the hart, the hare, the bore and the woolfe; but as this held not in the time of

A Park is enclos'd [2]: a Chase open, like Enfield and Malvern Chases. [2 No Park at Charlecote in Shakspere's time.]

Parks, &c. can only be made by the King's Charter.

Beasts of the Chase.

Beasts of Venery.

Canutus, ſo in ſteed of the woolfe the beare is now crept in, which is a beaſt commonlie hunted in the eaſt countries, and fed vpon as excellent veniſon, although with vs I know not anie that feed thereon or care for it at all. Certes] it ſhould ſeeme, that forreſts [and franke chaſes] haue alwaies beene had, and religiouſlie preſerued in this Iland, for the ſolace of the prince, and recreation of his nobilitie: howbeit I read not that euer they were incloſed more than at this preſent, or otherwiſe fenſed than by vſuall notes of limitation, whereby their bounds were remembred from time to time, for the better preſeruation of ſuch venerie and vert of all ſorts as were nouriſhed in the ſame. Neither are anie of the ancient laws preſcribed for their maintenance, before the daies of Canutus, now to be had; ſith time hath ſo dealt with them that they are periſhed and loſt. Canutus therefore, ſeeing the dailie ſpoile that was made [almoſt] in all places of his game, did at the laſt make ſundrie ſanctions and decrees, whereby from thenceforth the red and fallow deere were better looked to[1] throughout his whole dominions. We haue in theſe daies diuerſe forreſts in England and Wales, [of which, ſome belong to the king, and ſome to his ſubiects,] as Waltham forreſt, Windleſor, Pickering, Fecknam, Delamore, [Gillingham, Kingſwood, Wencedale, Clun, Rath, Bredon, Weire, Charlie, Leirceſter, Lee, Rokingham, Selwood, New forreſt, Wichwood, Hatfeeld, Sauernake, Weſtbirie, Blacamore Peke,] Deane, Penriſe, & manie other now cleane out of my remembrance: and which, although they are far greater in circuit than manie parkes and warrens, yet are they in this our time leſſe deuourers of the people than theſe latter, ſith, beſide, much tillage [&] manie townes are found in each of them, wheras in parks and warrens we haue nothing elſe than either the keepers [& wareners] lodge, or at leaſt[2] the manor place of the cheef

(In the East, the Bear is hunted and eaten, as good Venison.)

Canute made laws for preserving his deer.

The Forests in England and Wales.

Forests devour less people than parks and warrens.

[1] unto [2] the lest wise

All Essex was once forest, save one hundred.

lord & owner of the ſoile. [I find alſo by good record, that all Eſſex hath in time paſt wholie beene forreſt ground, except one cantred or hundred; but how long it is ſince it loſt the ſaid denomination, in good ſooth I doo not read. This neuertheleſſe remaineth yet in memorie, that the towne of Walden in Eſſex ſtanding in the limits of the aforeſaid countie, doth take hir name thereof. For in the Celtike toong, wherewith the Saxon or Scithian ſpeech dooth not a little participate, huge woods and forreſts were called *Walds;* and likewiſe their Druides were named *Walie* or *Waldie,* bicauſe they frequented the woods, and there made ſacrifice among the okes and thickets. So that if my coniecture in this behalfe be anie thing at all, the aforeſaid towne taketh denomination of[1] *Wald* and *end,* as if I ſhould ſay, 'The end of the wooddie ſoile'; for, being once out of that pariſh, the champaine is at hand. Or it may be that it is ſo called of *Wald* and *dene:* for I haue read it written in old euidences *Waldæne,* with a diphthong. And to ſaie truth, *Dene* is the old Saxon word for a vale or lowe bottome, as *Dune* or *Don* is for an hill or hillie ſoile. Certes if it be ſo, then Walden taketh hir name of the woodie vale, in which it ſometime ſtood. But the firſt deriuation liketh me better; and the higheſt part of the towne is called alſo Chipping Walden, of the Saxon word *ȝipping,* which ſignifieth 'Leaning or hanging,' and may verie well be applied therevnto, ſith the whole towne hangeth as it were vpon the ſides of two hils, wherof the leſſer runneth quite through the middeſt of the ſame. I might here, for further confirmation of theſe things, bring in mention of the Wald of Kent: but this may ſuffice for the vſe of the word *Wald,* which now differeth much from *Wold.* For as that ſignifieth a woodie ſoile; ſo this betokeneth a ſoile without wood, or plaine champaine countrie, without anie ſtore of trees, as may be ſeene in

'Walden' (Essex)

is deriv'd from 'Wald,' wood, and 'end';

or from 'Wald,' and 'dene,' a vale.

In 'Chipping Walden,' 'Chipping' is A.S. [*Gipping, of going vp to anie place.*]

The Weald of Kent.

Difference between 'Wald,' wood, and 'Wold,' open country.

[1] *orig.* of of

Cotſwold, Porkewold, &c. Beſide this] I could ſaie more of our forreſts, and the aforeſaid incloſures [alſo, & therein to prooue by the booke of forreſt law, that the whole countie of Lancaſter hath likewiſe beene forreſt heretofore. Alſo how William the Baſtard made a law, that whoſoeuer did take anie wild beaſt within the kings forreſt ſhould loſe an eare; as Henrie the firſt did puniſh them either by life or lim: which ordinance was confirmed by Henrie the ſecond and his peeres at Woodſtocke, wherevpon great trouble inſued vnder king John and Henrie the third, as appeareth by the chronicles:] but it ſhall ſuffice[1] to haue ſaid ſo much as is ſet downe alreadie.

I'll say no more of Forests, Inclosures,

or Wm. the Bastard's

and Henry I.'s forest laws.

Howbeit, that I may reſtore one antiquitie to light, which hath hitherto lien as it were raked vp in the embers of obliuion, I will giue out thoſe[2] laws that Canutus made for his forreſt: whereby manie things ſhall be diſcloſed concerning the ſame (wherof peraduenture ſome lawiers haue no knowlege,) and diuerſe other notes gathered touching the ancient eſtate of the realme not to be found in other. But before I deale with the great charter (which as you may perceiue, is in manie places vnperfect by reaſon of corruption, [and want alſo of congruitie,] crept in by length of time, not by me to be reſtored), I will note another breefe law, which he made in the firſt yeare of his reigne at Winchester,[3] afterward inſerted into theſe his later conſtitutions, canon 32, & beginneth thus in his owne Saxon tong: *Ic*[4] *will that elc one, &c:* 'I will and grant that ech one ſhall be worthie of ſuch venerie as he by hunting can take either in the plaines or in the woods,[5] within his owne fee or dominion[6]; but ech man ſhall abſtaine from my venerie in euerie place, where I will that my beaſts ſhall haue firme peace and quietneſſe, vpon paine to forfet ſo much as a man may forfet.'

Canute's Forest-Laws.

Canute's 1st Forest-Law.

[1] suffice at this time [2] the same [3] Winchester, and
[4] I [5] woods, or [6] dominion (out of the forest)

Hitherto the ſtatute made by the aforeſaid Canutus, which was afterward confirmed by king Edward ſurnamed the Confeſſor; [& ratified by the Baſtard] in the fourth yeare of his reigne. Now followeth the great charter it ſelfe in [ſuch rude order and] Latine [1] as I find it word for word, and which I would gladlie haue turned into Engliſh, if it might haue founded to anie benefit of the vnſkilfull and vnlearned.

[1 p. 207]

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Canute's Forest-Laws.

## Incipiunt constitutiones Canuti regis de foresta.[2]

*HAe ſunt ſanctiones de foreſta, quas ego Canutus rex cum conſilio primariorum hominum meorum condo & facio, vt cunctis regni noſtri Angliæ eccleſijs & pax & iuſtitia fiat, & vt omnis delinquens ſecundum modum delicti, & delinquentis fortunam patiatur.*

*Pegened.* 1. *Sint iam deinceps quatuor ex liberalioribus hominibus, qui habent ſaluas ſuas debitas conſuetudines (quos Angli* Pegened *appellant) in qualibet regni mei prouincia conſtituti, ad iuſtitiam diſtribuendam, vna cum pœna merita & materijs forreſtæ cuncto populo meo, tam Anglis quàm Danis per totum regnum meum Angliæ, quos quatuor primarios foreſtæ appellandos cenſemus.*

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[2] The following translation is from John Manwood's 'Brefe Collection of the Lawes of the Forest' (date, according to the Museum Catalogue, 1592), printed for private circulation; the translation was left out in the author's full Treatise on Forest Laws, published in 1615, after his death, which embodied his two earlier works.—F.

"These are the Lawes of the Forest, which I King Canutus with the Counsell of my cheefe men do make and establish, to that end that Peace & Justice might be ministred to all congregations of our Realme of England: and that euery man that doth offend, may be punished according to the manner of the offence, and of him that doth offend.

1. Nowe from hencefoorth, let there be foure men of the best account, which haue their free customes & duties serued (which Englishmen do call 'Pegened,' appointed throughout the Prouince of my realme to administer Justice to al my people throughout all my Realme of England, as well to Englishmen as to Danes, together

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2. *Sint ſub quolibet horum, quatuor ex mediocribus hominibus (quos Angli* Leſpegend *nuncupant, Dani verò* yoong men *vocant) locati, qui curam & onus tum viridis tum veneris ſuſcipiant.*

*Lespegend.* [*Nunc fortè Fringald.*]

3. *In adminiſtranda autem iuſtitia nullatenus volo vt tales ſe intromittant: mediocréſque tales poſt ferarum curam ſuſceptam, pro liberalibus ſemper habeantur, quos Dani* Ealdermen *appellant.*

*Ealdermen.*

4. *Sub horum iterum quolibet ſint duo minutorum hominum, quos* Tineman *Angli dicunt, hi nocturnam curam & veneris & viridis tum ſeruilia opera ſubibunt.*

*Tineman.*

5. *Si talis minutus ſeruus fuerit, tam citò quàm in foreſta noſtra locabitur, liber eſto, omnéſque hos ex ſumptibus noſtris manutenebimus.*

6. *Habeat etiam quilibet primariorum quolibet anno de noſtra warda, quam* Michni *Angli appellant, duos equos, vnum cum ſella, alterum ſine ſella, vnum gladium, quínque lanceas, vnum cuſpidem, vnum ſcutum, & ducentos ſolidos argenti.*

*Michni*

7. *Mediocrium quilibet vnum equum, vnam lanceam, vnum ſcutum, & 60 ſolidos argenti.*

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with condigne punishment for the offences of the Forest: which foure men of the Forest, we haue determined to call them *Primarios*, that is to saie, the cheife men.

2. Let there be vnder euerie one of those foure cheife men of the Forest, foure meane men placed, which Englishmen call 'Lespegend,' but Danes do call them 'yong men'; which shall take vpon them the charge and burthen, both of Vert and Venison.

3. But in the execution of Justice, I will that in no wise such foure cheife men, doe let in or suffer such meane men to ioyne with them therin. For after that they haue taken vpon them the charge of the wilde beastes, they shal alwaies be accounted for freemen, which the Danes doe call 'Eldermen.'

4. Againe, vnder euery one of these meane men, let there bee two of the least men of account of the Forest, (which Englishmen do call 'Tyne-men':) these persons shall vndertake the seruile labour, and also the night charge of Vert and Venison.

5. If such a seruile officer shall fortune to be a bondman: so soone as he shall be placed in our Forest, let him be made Free of his bondage: & all these persons we will maintaine of our owne costes.

6. And also, euery one of the saide foure cheefe men, shall haue for euery yeere of our allowance, (which the Danes doe call 'Michni,') two Horses, one of them with a Saddell, an other of them without a Saddell: One Sworde, 5 Jauelins, one speare, one shilde, and x. li. in money.

7. And euery one of our said meane men, shall haue for euery yeare, one Horse, one Jaueline, one shilde, and iii li. in Money.

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8. *Minutorum quilibet, vnum lanceam, vnam arcubaliſtam, & 15 ſolidos argenti.*

9. *Sint omnes tam primarij, quàm mediocres, & minuti, immunes, liberi, & quieti ab omnibus prouincialibus ſummonitionibus, & popularibus placitis, quæ* Hundred laghe *Angli dicunt, & ab omnibus armorum oneribus, quod* Warſcot *Angli dicunt, & forinceſis querelis.*

*Hundred law.*

[*Warscot.*]

10. *Sint mediocrium & minutorum cauſæ, & earum correctiones, tam criminalium quam ciuilium per prouidam ſapientiam & rationem primariorum iudicatæ & deciſæ: primariorum verò enormia ſi quæ fuerint (ne ſcelus aliquod remaneat inultum) noſmet in ira noſtra regali puniemus.*

11. *Habeant hi quatuor vnam regalem poteſtatem (ſalua [ſemper] nobis noſtra præſentia) quatérque in anno generales foreſtæ demonſtrationes & viridis & veneris foriſfactiones, quas* Muchehunt *dicunt, vbi teneant omnes calumniam de materia aliqua tangente foreſtam, eántque ad triplex iudicium, quod Angli* Ofgangfordell *dicunt. Ita autem acquiratur illud triplex iudicium. Accipiat ſecum quinque, & ſit ipſe ſextus, & ſic iurando acquirat*

*Muchehunt.*

*Ofgangfordell. Purgatio ignis, triplex ordalia.*

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8. And euery one of the saide seruile persons, shall haue for euery yeere, one Jaueline, one Crosbowe, and xv shillings of money.

9. Let, as well all the saide foure cheefe men, as also the saide meane men, and the foresaide seruile officers, be exempted and discharged from paying of any tribute, & also freed and aquited from al prouincial sommons, and popular plees, which Englishmen do cal *Hundred laghe:* and also from all charges of Armoure, which Englishmen do call 'Warscot,' and also from foreine sutes.

10. The causes & offences of these meane men & seruile persons: & the correction of them, as wel such causes & offences as are Criminall, as those that are Ciuil, shal be adjudged & decided by the prouident wisdome and discretion of those foure cheefe men: but the offences of those foure cheefe men, if any shal fortune to be, lest that any haynous offence should remaine vnreuenged, Wee our owne selfes shal punish the same in our Royall displeasure.

11. These foure cheefe men, shall haue one Roial authoritie (sauing vnto vs our owne Roial presence:) And foure times in the yeere they shall keepe theire generall Sessions or Plees of the Forest, & all forfeitures, as well of Vert, as of Venison: (which Englishmen do call 'Much-hunt,') where they shall hold Plee of any matter concerning the Forest. And they shall proceede to a three folde Judgement, which Englishmen do call 'of Gangfardell': and this threefolde Judgement is thus to be had. Hee that is accused, must take with himselfe fiue other persons, and himselfe must be the sixt person: and so in swearing he shal haue a threefold Judgement, or three-

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*triplex iudicium, aut triplex iuramentum. Sed purgatio ignis nullatenus admittatur, niſi vbi nuda veritas nequit aliter inueſtigari.*

12. *Liberalis autem homo.* 1. Pegen, *modo crimen ſuum non ſit inter maiora,*[1] *habeat fidelem hominem qui poſſit pro eo iurare iuramentum.* 1. Forathe: *ſi autem non habet, ipſemet iuret, nec pardonetur ei aliquod iuramentum.*

*Pegen.* *Forathe.*

13. *Si aduena vel peregrinus qui de longinquo venerit ſit calumniatus de foreſta, & talis eſt ſua inopia vt non poſſit habere plegium ad primam calumniam, qualem * nullus Anglus iudicare poteſt: tunc ſubeat captionem regis, & ibi expectet quouſque vadat ad iudicium ferri & aquæ: attamen ſi quis extraneo aut peregrino de longè venienti * * ſibi ipſi nocet, ſi aliquod iudicium iudicauerint.*

14. *Quicúnque coram primarios homines meos foreſtæ in falſo teſtimonio ſteterit & victus fuerit, non ſit dignus impoſterum ſtare aut portare teſtimonium, quia legalitatem ſuam perdidit, & pro culpa ſoluat regi decem ſolidos quos Dani vocant* Halfehang, *alias* Halfehang.

*Halfehang.*

folde oath. But for any person to haue his triall or purgation by Fier, is in nowise to be allowed or admitted, except it be where the manifest trueth cannot otherwise be found out.

12. But a freeman, (which Englishmen call 'Pegen') hauing his offence depending: although he bee not within the compasse of the Seas, yet hee may haue a trustie or faithfull friend that may sweare his oath for him: (which Englishmen call 'Foreath'), but if he haue not such a trustie man to sweare for him, he him selfe shall sweare the oath, neither shall he be pardoned for any oath.

13. If a straunger or pilgrime, which hath come from a far Contrey, be accused of the offence of the Forest: and his pouerty is such that he cannot haue a Pledge, such as he ought to haue: at the first accusation no Englishman may adiudge him therof: then he must indure the Kinges imprisonment, and there remaine vntill he may proceed forward to iudgement of the Iron, and Water. And yet notwithstanding, if any person do hurt vnto him that is such a straunger or pilgrime, comming from a far Countrey: if those foure cheefe men shal determine any iudgement against the same stranger, the same Judgement shall be vnto him that did hurte the same straunger.

14. Whosoeuer shall beare false witnes before my said foure cheefe men of the Forest, & shal be conuicted thereof, afterwardes he is not worthy any more to be allowed a witnes, or to beare any witnes, for because he hath lost his ability therin, & for that offence he shal paie vnto the King ten shillinges: which the Danes do call *Halfeshang, alias Halshang.*

[1] mariora

Canute's Forest-Laws.

15. *Si quis vim aliquam primarijs foreſtæ meæ intulerit, ſi liberalis ſit amittat libertatem & omnia ſua, ſi villanus abſcindatur dextra.*

16. *Si alteruter iterum peccauerit, reus ſit mortis.*

17. *Si quis* [1]*autem contra*[1] *primarium pugnauerit, in plito emendet ſecundum pretium ſui ipſius, quod Angli* Pere & pite *dicunt, & ſoluat primario quadraginta ſolidos.*

*Pere & Pite.*

18. *Si pacem quis fregerit ante mediocres foreſtæ, quod dicunt* Gethbrech, *emendet regi decem ſolidis.*

*Gethbrech.*

19. *Si quis mediocrium aliquem cum ira percuſſerit, emendetur prout interfectio feræ regalis mihi emendari ſolet.*

20. *Si quis delinquens in foreſta noſtra capietur, pœnas luet ſecundum modum & genus delicti.*

21. *Pœna & forisfactio non vna eadémque erit liberalis (quem Dani* Ealderman *vocant) & illiberalis: domini & ſerui: noti & ignoti: nec vna eadémque erit cauſarum tum ciuilium tum criminalium, ferarum foreſtæ,*

*Ealderman.*

15. If any man shall offer any force to my said cheefe men of my Forest, if he be a freeman that shal so offend, he shall lose his libertie or freedome, and all that he hath: but if he be a bondman, then his right hand shalbe cutt.

16. But if either of them shall offend againe, then he shal be adiudged guilty of death for the same.

17. But if any man shall contend in sute with any one of our cheefe men aforesaide against him, then he shall make recompence for the same to the King, according to the worth of him selfe, which Englishmen do call 'Pere et Pite': and also shall paie vnto our cheefe man for the same, fourty shillinges.

18. If any man shall breake the peace of the King, in the presence of our meane men of the Forest aforesaide (which Englishmen do call 'Geth-brech') he shall yeeld recompence to the King for the same, ten shillinges.

19. If any of our meane men aforesaid with his wrath shall strike any man, let him make such recompence to the King for the same, as was accustomed to be made to me for the killing of a roial wilde beast.

20. If any man be taken offending in our Forest, it is conuenient for him to be punished, according to the maner and kind of his offence.

21. The punishment of a freeman (whom the Danes do call 'Eldermen,') shal not be one and the selfe same punishment of a man that is seruile, or not free: Of a seruant and a maister: Of a man that is knowen, and of him that is not knowen: Nor the punishment of Criminall causes, & of Ciuil causes shalbe one, and the self same: Nor of wilde beasts of the Forest, & royall wild beasts: nor the destroying

[1]—[1] *contra autem cum*

Canute's Forest-Laws.

*& ferarum regalium: viridis & veneris tractatio: nam crimen veneris ab antiquo inter maiora & non immeritò numerabatur: viridis verò (fractione chaceæ noſtræ regalis excepta) ita puſillum & exiguum eſt, quòd vix eareſpicit noſtra conſtitutio: qui in hoc tamen deliquerit, ſit criminis foreſtæ reus.*

22. *Si liber aliquis feram foreſtæ* [1]*ad curſum impulerit,*[1] *ſiue caſu, ſiue præhabita voluntate, ita vt curſu celeri cogatur fera anhelare, decem ſolidis regi emendet, ſi illiberalis dupliciter emendet, ſi ſeruus careat corio.*

23. *Si vero harum*[2] *aliquot interfecerit, ſoluat dupliciter & perſoluat, ſitque pretij ſui reus contra regem.*

24. *Sed ſi regalem feram, quam Angli*[3] Staggon *appellant, alteruter coegerit anhelare, alter per vnum annum, alter per duos careat libertate naturali: ſi verò ſeruus, pro vtlegato habeatur, quem Angli* Frendleſman *vocant.*

*Staggon [or Stagge.]*

*Frendlesman.*

25. *Si verò occiderit, amittat liber ſcutum libertatis, ſi ſit illiberalis careat libertate, ſi ſeruus vita.*

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of Vert & of Venison. For the offence of Venison or hunting, not vnworthely haue bene accounted amongest the greatest offences of the Forest euen of auncient time. But the offence of Vert (except it be for the breach of our Roiall free chace) it is so little, and of so smal an account, that this our Constitution or Law, doth scantly respect the same. Yet notwithstanding, he that shall offend in this offence, let him be accounted gilty of an offence of the Forest.

22. If any freeman shall chase away a Dere, or a wilde beast out of the Forest: whether the same were done by chaunce, or of a set purpose, so that thereby the wilde beast is forced by swift running to lyll out the tong, or to breath with his tong out of his mouth: he shall paie to the King ten shillings for amends for the same offence: but if he be a seruile person, then he shall double the same recompence: but if he be a bondman, then he shall lose his Skinne.

23. But if any of these men shall kill a wilde beast of the Forest, let him paie double recompence for the same: And also let him paie besides, euen to the vttermost valew that he is worth: and he shal be accounted as an offender against the King.

24. But if either of them shall chase a Roiall wilde beaste of the Forest (which Englishmen doe-call a 'Stagon') and thereby shall force him to hang out the tounge with swifte running, then the one of them which is a freeman, shall lose his naturall libertie for one whole yeere: and the other of them that is not a freeman, shall lose his naturall libertie for two whole yeeres. But if he be a bondman, then afterwards hee shall bee taken for an out-law, (which Englishmen do call 'Frendlesman.')

25. But if a freeman shall slea a wilde beaste, he shall lose the defence of his

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[1]—[1] fugerit [2] horum [3] Angli à

Canute's Forest-Laws.

26. *Epiſcopi, abbates, & barones mei non calumniabuntur pro venatione, ſi non regales feras occiderint: & ſi regales, reſtabunt rei regi pro libito ſuo, ſine certa emendatione.*

27. *Sunt aliæ (præter feras foreſtæ) beſtiæ, quæ* [1 p. 208] *[1]dum inter ſepta & ſepes foreſtæ continentur, emendationi ſubiacent: quales ſunt capreoli, lepores, & cuniculi. Sunt & alia quàm plurima animalia, quæ quanquam infra ſepta foreſtæ viuunt, & oneri & curæ mediocrium ſubiacent foreſtæ, tamen nequaquam cenſeri poſſunt, qualia ſunt[2] bubali, vaccæ, & ſimilia. Vulpes & lupi, nec foreſtæ nec veneris habentur, & proinde eorum interfectio nulli emendationi ſubiacet. Si tamen infra limites occiduntur, fractio ſit regalis chaceæ, & mitiùs emendetur. Aper verò quanquam foreſtæ ſit, nullatenus tamen animal veneris haberi eſt aſſuetus.*

*Bubali olim in Anglia.*

28. *Boſco nec ſubboſco noſtro ſine licentia primariorum foreſtæ nemo manum apponat, quòd ſi quis fecerit reus ſit fractionis regalis chaceæ.*

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libertie, but if he be not a Freeman, then he shalbe imprisoned: but if he be a bondman, then he shal lose his life.

26. My Bishops, Abbottes, and Barons, shall not be accused for hunting, if they do not kill wild beastes that be Roial beastes: but if they doe kill Roiall beastes of the Forest, then they shall depend vpon the King for his determination of that matter, without any certaine fine.

27. Besides the wilde beastes of the Forest, there are other wilde beastes, which so long as they are remaining within the bandes and limittes of the Forest, they are subject to the punishment of the Lawes of the Forest: such are, wild Gotes, Hares, and Conies. And there are also diuers other wilde beastes, which although they do liue and remaine within the bounds and limits of the Forest, & are subject to the charge & burthen of the Regarders of the Forest, yet they cannot be accounted or taken to be of the Forest: Such are wilde Horses, Bugalls, wilde Kine, and such like. Foxes and Wolfes, are not accounted beastes of the Forest, nor of Venerie, and therefore the killing of them is not subiect to any recompence for the same: yet notwithstanding, if they be killed within the boundes of the Forest, it is a breach of the King's Roiall free chase, and for that cause the offendor must make a recompence: but a wilde Beare, although he be of the Forest, yet he is not accustomed to be accounted a beast of Venerie.

28. No man shal laie his hande to our great Wood, or vnderwood, within our demeanes, without licence of our verderors, or cheefemen of the Forest, the which if any man shall doe the contrarie, he shalbe gilty of the breach of the Kinges Roial free chase.

[2] sunt equi,

29. *Si quis verò ilicem aut arborem aliquam, quæ*[1] *victum feris ſuppeditat ſciderit, præter fractionem regalis chaceæ, emendet regi viginti ſolidis.* *Ilices aliquando in Britannia [niſi intelligatur de quercu.]*

30. *Volo vt omnis liber homo pro libito ſuo habeat venerem ſiue viridem in planis ſuis ſuper terras ſuas, ſine chacea tamen; & deuitent omnes meam, vbicúnque eam habere voluero.*

31. *Nullus mediocris habebit nec cuſtodiet canes, quos Angli* Greihounds *appellant. Liberali verò, dum genuiſciſſio eorum facta fuerit coram primario foreſtæ licebit, aut ſine genuiſciſſione dum remoti ſint à limitibus foreſtæ per decem miliaria: quando verò propiùs*[2] *venerint, emendet quodlibet miliare vno ſolido. Si verò infra ſepta foreſtæ reperiatur, dominus canis forisfaciet & decem ſolidos regi.* *Greihounds.*

32. *Velteres verò quos* Langeran *appellant, quia manifeſtè conſtat in ijs nihil eſſe periculi, cuilibet licebit ſine genuiſciſſione eos cuſtodire. Idem de canibus quos* Ramhundt *vocant.* *Velter Langeran.* *Ramhundt.*

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29. But if any man shall cut downe a Holly Tree within the Forest, or any other tree which doth beare frute or foode for the wilde beastes of the Forest, he shall paie vnto the King twentie shillinges for amendes or recompence, ouer and besides the breach of the Kinges Roial free chase.

30. I will that euery freeman may take Vert and Venison at his owne pleasure, vpon his owne ground in his owne Plaines or Fildes, being without my free chase: but euery man must refraine from my Venery, wheresoeuer I will haue the same.

31. None of the meane men shall haue or keepe any Doggs which Englishmen doe call 'Grey-hounds': but it is Lawfull for a freeman to haue and keepe Grey-hounds when they are hoxed, that is to say, that they shall haue their knees cut before a Verderor of the Forest. And it is Lawfull for freemen to keepe Grey-hounds without cutting of their knees when they doe dwell without the Forest, and from the bounds of the Forest ten miles distant; but when they doe come nearer to the Forest then ten miles, they must paie a recompence vnto the King, for euery mile a shilling. But when those Grey-hounds be founde within the bounds of the Forest, the owner of the Dogg shall forfeit, both the same Dogg, and also ten shillings, to the King.

32. But it shal be lawful for euery bodie to keepe little Dogs called *Velters* (that is to saie little houndes, which Englishmen doe cal *Langeran*) without cutting of their knees, because it doth manifestly appeare that there is no danger of them: and the same is of little dogges called *Spanels*, which Englishmen do call 'Ramhundt': but this is ment of those that are so little, that they may sit in a mans lapp.

[1] qui [2] proprius

33. *Quòdſi caſu inauſpicato huiuſmodi canes rabidi fiant & vbíque vagantur, negligentia dominorum, reddun-*
[*Pretium hominis mediocris.*] *tur illiciti, & emendetur regi pro illicitis, &c. Quòd ſi intra ſepta foreſtæ reperiantur, talis exquiratur herus, & emendet ſecundum pretium hominis mediocris, quòd ſecundum legem* [1]*Werinorum.* 1. *Churingorum,*[1] *eſt ducentorum ſolidorum.*

34. *Si canis rabidus momorderit feram, tunc emendet*
[*Pretium liberi hominis.*] *ſecundum pretium hominis liberalis, quod eſt duodecies ſolidis centum. Si verò fera regalis morſafuerit, reus ſit maximi criminis.*

And theſe are the conſtitutions of *Canutus* concerning the forreſt, verie barbarouſlie tranſlated by thoſe that tooke the ſame in hand. Howbeit, as I find it, ſo I ſet it downe, without anie alteration of my copie in anie iot or tittle.

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## [2] Of gardens and orchards.

### Chap. 20.

Trade made our folk rich and idle.

AFter ſuch time as Calis was woone from the French, and that our countriemen had learned to trade into diuerſe countries (wherby they grew rich) they began to wax idle alſo, and therevpon not onlie left off their former painfulneſſe

33. If that such doggs by misfortune doe become madd or wilde, and do runne about euery where by the negligence of their maister, and doe become vnlawfull: then the owner of the same doggs shall paie a recompence to the King for their vnlawfulnes. If that they be founde within the boundes of the Forest, such a maister must be sought out, and he must paie a recompence to the King for the same according to the valewe of a meane man, which, according to the auncient Lawe, is ten poundes.

34. If a greedy rauening dogg shall bite a wild beast, then the owner of the same dogg shall yeeld a recompence to the King for the same, according to the valew of a freeman, which is twelue times a hundred shillings. If a Roial beast shall be bitten, then the owner of the dogg shalbe gilty of the greatest offence."—F.

[1]—[1] merimorum

[2] This chapter (misnumberd 19) does not appear anywhere in the ed. of 1577.—F.

and frugalitie, but in like fort gaue themſelues to liue in exceſſe and vanitie, whereby manie goodlie commodities failed, and in ſhort time were not to be had amongſt vs. Such ſtrangers alſo as dwelled here with vs, perceiuing our ſluggiſhneſſe, and eſpieng that this idleneſſe of ours might redound to their great profit, foorthwith imploied their endeuours to bring in the ſupplie of ſuch things as we lacked, continuallie from forren countries; which yet more augmented our idlenes. For hauing all things at reaſonable prices as we ſuppoſed, by ſuch means from them, we thought it meere madneſſe to ſpend either time or coſt about the ſame here at home. And thus we became enimies to our owne welfare, as men that in thoſe daies repoſed our felicitie in following the wars, wherewith we were often exerciſed both at home and other places. Beſides this, the naturall deſire that mankind hath to eſteeme of things farre fought, bicauſe they be rare and coſtlie, and the irkeſome contempt of things neere hand, for that they are common and plentifull, hath borne no ſmall ſwaie alſo in this behalfe amongſt vs. For hereby we haue neglected our owne good gifts of God, growing here at home, as vile and of no valure, and had euerie trifle and toie in admiration that is brought hither from far countries, aſcribing I wot not what great forces and ſolemne eſtimation vnto them, vntill they alſo haue waxen old; after which, they haue beene ſo little regarded, if not more deſpiſed amongſt vs than our owne. Examples hereof I could ſet downe manie, & in manie things, but ſith my purpoſe is to deale at this time with gardens and orchards, it ſhall ſuffice that I touch them onelie, and ſhew our inconſtancie in the ſame, ſo farre as ſhall ſeeme & be.conuenient for my turne. I comprehend therefore vnder the word 'garden,' all ſuch grounds as are wrought with the ſpade by mans hand, for ſo the caſe requireth. Of wine I haue written alreadie elſe-where ſufficientlie, which commoditie (as I

Foreigners imported supplies from abroad;

our men became idlers, and

took to wars.

We set far-fetcht goods

above home-grown ones.

By 'garden' I mean all spade-dug grounds.

Wine was once much grown here,

but now hardly at all.

haue learned further ſince the penning of that booke) hath beene verie plentifull in this Iland, not onlie in the time of the Romans, but alſo ſince the conqueſt, as I haue ſeene by record: yet at this preſent haue we none at all; or elſe verie little to ſpeake of, growing in this Iland: which I impute not vnto the ſoile, but the negligence of my countrimen. Such herbes, fruits, and roots alſo, as grow yeerelie out of the ground, of ſeed, haue beene verie plentifull in this land, in the time of the firſt Edward, and after his daies: but in proceſſe of time they grew alſo to be neglected, ſo that from Henrie the fourth till the latter end of Henrie the ſeuenth, & beginning of Henrie the eight, there was litle or no vſe of them in England,[1] but they remained either vnknowne, or ſuppoſed as food more meet for hogs & ſauage beaſts to feed vpon, than mankind. Whereas in my time their vſe is not onelie reſumed among the poore commons,—I meane of melons, pompions, gourds, cucumbers, radiſhes, ſkirets,[2] parsneps, carrets, cabbages, nauewes,[3] turneps, and all kinds of ſalad herbes,—but alſo fed vpon as deintie diſhes at the tables of delicate merchants, gentlemen, and the nobilitie, who make their prouiſion yearelie for new ſeeds out of ſtrange countries, from whence they haue them aboundantlie. Neither doo they now ſtaie with ſuch of theſe fruits as are wholeſome in their kinds, but aduenture further vpon ſuch as are verie dangerous and hurtfull, as the verangenes, muſhroms, &c: as if nature had

From Hen. IV. to Hen. VIII. vegetables were little us'd in England,

but now the poor use melons, radishes, turnips, &c.,

and so do our gentlefolk.

Some too eat dangerous herbs, as verangenes (?) and mushrooms.

[1] No vegetables are mentiond by John Russell in his different bills of fare for dinners in his 'Boke of Nurture,' ab. 1440 A.D., *Babees Book*, p. 164—175.—F.

[2] *Skirret* is in my book, p. 214, l. 1, *Sium Sisarum*, an umbelliferous plant with a small root like a little carrot, no longer cultivated in England, or very rarely.—R. C. A. PRIOR.

[3] *Navew*, Brassica Napus, is probably only a variety of the turnip, from which it differs in the smaller and less orbicular root, and the leaves being glabrous and not rough. It is that which is cultivated for making Colza oil, and for sheep-feed. The differences between *Brassica Napus*, *B. campestris*, and *B. Rapa* (the turnip) are really very slight, as you will see in any botanical work on British plants.—R. C. A. PRIOR.

ordeined all for the bellie, or that all things were to be eaten, for whoſe miſchiefous operation the Lord in ſome meaſure hath giuen and prouided a remedie.

Hops were once plentiful here, then were dis-us'd, but now are reviv'd, and are nowhere better.

Hops in time paſt were plentifull in this land: afterwards alſo their maintenance did ceaſe; and now being reuiued, where are anie better to be found? where anie greater commoditie to be raiſed by them? onelie poles are accounted to be their greateſt charge. But ſith men haue learned of late to ſow aſhen keies in aſhyards by themſelues, that inconuenience in ſhort [1 p. 209] time will be redreſſed. Madder hath growne abundantlie in this Iland, but of long time neglected, and now a little reuiued, and offereth it ſelfe to prooue no ſmall benefit vnto our countrie, as manie other things elſe, which are now fetched from vs; as we before time, when we gaue our ſelues to idleneſſe, were glad to haue them other. If you looke into our gardens annexed to our houſes, how woonderfullie is their beauty increaſed, not onelie with floures, which *Col*[*u*]*mella* calleth *Terrena ſydera*, ſaieng;

Madder has been lately grown again.

We've beautiful gardens, not only with flowers,

*Pingit & in varios terreſtria ſydera flores,*

and varietie of curious and coſtlie workmanſhip, but alſo with rare and medicinable hearbes[2] ſought vp in the land within theſe fortie yeares: ſo that in compariſon of this preſent, the ancient gardens were but dunghils and laiſtowes to ſuch as did poſſeſſe them. How art alſo helpeth nature, in the dailie colouring, dubling and inlarging the proportion of our floures, it is incredible to report: for ſo curious and cunning are our gardeners now in theſe daies, that they preſume to doo in maner what they liſt with nature, and moderate hir courſe in things as if they were hir ſuperiours. It is a world alſo to ſee how manie ſtrange hearbs, plants, and annuall fruits, are dailie brought vnto vs from the Indies, Ameri-

but also rare medicinable herbs.

Art helps Nature in colouring and doubling flowers.

Our gardeners do what they like with Nature.

We import

[2] See John Russell's list of those for the bath of Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester, in *The Babees Book*, p. 183-5.—F.

foreign herbs and annuals from all parts of the world.

cans, Taprobane, Canarie Iles, and all parts of the world: the which, albeit that in reſpect of the conſtitutions of our bodies they doo not grow for vs, bicauſe that God hath beſtowed ſufficient commodities vpon euerie countrie for hir owne neceſſitie; yet for delectation ſake vnto the eie, and their odoriferous ſauours vnto the noſe, they are to be cheriſhed, and God to be glorified alſo in them, bicauſe they are his good gifts, and created to doo man helpe and ſeruice. There is not almoſt one noble man, gentleman, or merchant, that hath not great ſtore of theſe floures, which now alſo doo begin to wax ſo well acquainted with our ſoiles, that we may almoſt accompt of them as parcell of our owne commodities. They haue no leſſe regard in like ſort to cheriſh medicinable hearbs fetched out of other regions neerer hand: inſomuch that I haue ſeene in ſome one garden to the number of three hundred or foure hundred of them, if not more; of the halfe of whoſe names, within fortie yeeres paſſed we had no maner knowledge. But herein I find ſome cauſe of iuſt complaint, for that we extoll their vſes ſo farre that we fall into contempt of our owne, which are in truth more beneficiall and apt for vs than ſuch as grow elſewhere, ſith (as I ſaid before) euerie region hath abundantlie within hir owne limits whatſoeuer is needfull and moſt conuenient for them that dwell therein. How doo men extoll the vſe of Tabacco in my time, whereas in truth (whether the cauſe be in the repugnancie of our conſtitution vnto the operation thereof, or that the ground dooth alter hir force, I cannot tell) it is not found of ſo great efficacie as they write. And beſide this, our common germander or thiſtle benet is found & knowne to bee ſo wholeſome and of ſo great power in medicine, as anie other hearbe, if they be vſed accordinglie. I could exemplifie after the like maner in ſundrie other, as the *Salſa parilla, Mochoacan, &c:* but I forbeare ſo to doo, becauſe I couet to be breefe. And trulie the eſtimation and credit that we yeeld and

Every rich man has great store of them.

Of medicinable herbs I've seen from 300 to 400 in one garden.

But men praise foreign herbs too much,

specially Tobacco,

which isn't of much good. Our Thistle Benet is as valuable as any foreign herb.

giue vnto compound medicines made with forren drugs, is one great cauſe wherefore the full knowledge and vſe of our owne ſimples hath bene ſo long raked vp in the imbers. And as this may be verified, ſo to be one found concluſion, for the greater number of ſimples that go vnto anie compound medicine, the greater confuſion is found therein, becauſe the qualities and operations of verie few of the particulars are throughlie knowne. And euen ſo our continuall deſire of ſtrange drugs, whereby the phyſician and apothecarie onlie hath the benefit, is no ſmall cauſe that the vſe of our ſimples here at home dooth go to loſſe, and that we tread thoſe herbes vnder our feet, whoſe forces if we knew, & could applie them to our neceſſities, we wold honor & haue in reuerence as to their caſe behooueth. Alas! what haue we to doo with ſuch Arabian & Grecian ſtuffe as is dailie brought from thoſe parties, which lie in another clime? And therefore the bodies of ſuch as dwell there, are of another conſtitution, than ours are here at home. Certes they grow not for vs, but for the Arabians and Grecians. And albeit that they maie by ſkill be applied vnto our benefit, yet to be more ſkilfull in them than in our owne, is follie; and to vſe forren wares when our owne maie ſerue the turne, is more follie; but to deſpiſe our owne, and magnifie aboue meaſure the vſe of them that are ſought and brought from farre, is moſt follie of all: for it ſauoureth of ignorance, or at the leaſtwiſe of negligence, and therefore woorthie of reproch.

Compound medicines of foreign drugs

have led to the disuse of our own simples.

Arab and Greek stuff

grows for Arabs and Greeks.

Our simples are the best for us.

Among the Indians, who haue the moſt preſent cures for euerie diſeaſe, of their owne nation, there is ſmall regard of compound medicins, & leſſe of forren drugs, becauſe they neither know them nor can vſe them, but worke woonders euen with their owne ſimples. With them alſo the difference of the clime dooth ſhow hir full effect. For whereas they will heale one another in ſhort time with application of one ſimple, &c:, if a

Indians, who are the best doctors,

work wonders with their own simples.

Spaniard or Engliſh man ſtand in need of their helpe, they are driuen to haue a longer ſpace in their cures, and now and then alſo to vſe ſome addition of two or three ſimples at the moſt, whoſe forces vnto them are throughlie knowne, becauſe their exerciſe is onelie in their owne, as men that neuer ſought or heard what vertue was in thoſe that came from other countries.

Marcus Cato used Roman simples, and studied them.

And euen ſo did Marcus Cato, the learned Roman, indeuor to deale in his cures of ſundrie diſeaſes, wherein he not onelie vſed ſuch ſimples as were to be had in his owne countrie, but alſo examined, and learned the forces of each of them, wherewith he dealt ſo diligentlie, that in all his life time, he could atteine to the exact knowledge but of a few, and thereto wrote of thoſe moſt learnedlie, as would eaſilie be ſeene, if thoſe his bookes were extant. For the ſpace alſo of 600 yeeres, the colewort onelie was a medicine in Rome for all diſeaſes, ſo that his vertues were thoroughlie knowne in thoſe parts.

For 600 years Colewort was the only medicine in Rome.

Pliny complains of the later rage for outlandish drugs.

In *Plinies* time the like affection to forren drugs did rage among the Romans, whereby their owne did grow in contempt. Cheing out therefore of this extreame follie, lib. 22. cap. 24, he ſpeaketh after this maner: *Non placent remedia tam longè naſcentia, non enim nobis gignuntur, immò ne illis quidem, alioquin non venderent; ſi placet etiam ſuperſtitionis gratiâ emantur, quoniam ſupplicamus, &c. Salutem quidem ſine his poſſe conſtare, vel ob id probabimus, vt tanto magis ſui tandem pudeat.* For my part I doubt not, if the vſe of outlandiſh drugs had not blinded our phyſicians of England in times paſſed, but that the vertues of our ſimples here at home would haue beene far better knowne, and ſo well vnto vs, as thoſe of India are to the practiſioners of thoſe partes, and therevnto be found more profitable for vs than the forren either are or maie be. This alſo will I ad, that euen-thoſe which are moſt common by reaſon of their plentie, and moſt vile bicauſe of their abundance,

These have stopt the study of our own simples.

are not without ſome vniuerſall and eſpeciall efficacie, if it were knowne, for our benefit: ſith God in nature hath ſo diſpoſed his creatures, that the moſt needfull are the moſt plentifull, and ſeruing for ſuch generall diſeaſes as our conſtitution moſt commonlie is affected [1] withall. Great thanks therefore be giuen vnto the phyſicians of our age and countrie, who not onelie indeuour to ſearch out the vſe of ſuch ſimples as our ſoile dooth yeeld and bring foorth, but alſo to procure ſuch as grow elſewhere, vpon purpoſe ſo to acquaint them with our clime, that they in time, through ſome alteration receiued from the nature of the earth, maie likewiſe turne to our benefit and commoditie, and be vſed as our owne.

God has made the most needful herbs the most plentiful.

[1 p. 210]

The chiefe workeman, or as I maie call him the founder, of this deuiſe, is *Carolus Cluſius*, the noble herbariſt, whoſe induſtrie hath woonderfullie ſtirred them vp vnto this good act. For albeit that *Matthiolus*, *Rembert*, *Lobell*, and other, haue trauelled verie farre in this behalfe, yet none hath come neere to *Cluſius*, much leſſe gone further in the finding and true deſcriptions of ſuch herbes as of late are brought to light. I doubt not but if this man were in England but one ſeuen yeeres, he would reueale a number of herbes growing with vs, whereof neither our phyſicians nor apothecaries as yet haue anie knowledge. And euen like thankes be giuen vnto our nobilitie, gentlemen, and others, for their continuall nutriture and cheriſhing of ſuch homeborne and forren ſimples in their gardens; for hereby they ſhall not onlie be had at hand and preſerued, but alſo their formes made more familiar to be diſcerned, and their forces better knowne than hitherto they haue beene.

If Clusius, the noble herbalist,

could be 7 years in England, he'd find many unknown useful herbs here.

And euen as it fareth with our gardens, ſo dooth it with our orchards, which were neuer furniſhed with ſo good fruit, nor with ſuch varietie as at this preſent. For beſide that we haue moſt delicate apples, plummes, peares, walnuts, filberds, &c: and thoſe of ſundrie ſorts, planted within fortie yeeres paſſed, in compariſon of

Orchards.

Fruits.

Foreign fruits here: almonds figs, oranges, lemons.

which moſt of the old trees are nothing woorth: ſo haue we no leſſe ſtore of ſtrange fruit, as abricotes, almonds, peaches, figges, corne-trees[1] in noble mens orchards. I haue ſeene capers, orenges, and lemmons, and heard of wild oliues growing here, beſide other ſtrange trees, brought from far, whoſe names I know not. So that England for theſe commodities was neuer better furniſhed, neither anie nation vnder their clime more plentifullie indued with theſe and other bleſſings from the moſt high God, who grant vs grace withall to vſe the ſame to his honour and glorie! and not as inſtruments and prouocations vnto further exceſſe and vanitie, wherewith his diſpleaſure may be kindled, leaſt theſe his benefits doo turne vnto thornes and briers vnto vs for our annoiance and puniſhment, which he hath beſtowed vpon vs for our conſolation and comfort.

Grafters make the same tree bear fruits of different kinds.

We haue in like ſort ſuch workemen as are not onelie excellent in graffing the naturall fruits, but alſo in their artificiall mixtures, whereby one tree bringeth foorth ſundrie fruits, and one and the ſame fruit of diuers colours and taſts, dallieng as it were with nature and hir courſe, as if her whole trade were perfectlei knowne vnto them: of hard fruits they will make tender, of ſowre ſweet, of ſweet yet more delicate, beereuing alſo ſome of their kernels, other of their cores, and finallie induing them with the ſauour of muſke, ambre, or ſweet ſpices at their pleaſures. Diuerſe alſo haue written at large of theſe ſeuerall practiſes, and ſome of them how to conuert the kernels of peaches into almonds, of ſmall fruit to make farre greater, and to remooue or ad ſuperfluous or neceſſarie moiſture to the trees, with other things belonging to their preſeruation, and with no leſſe diligence than our phyſicians doo commonlie ſhew vpon our owne diſeaſed bodies, which

Writers on grafters' manœuvres.

[1] *Corne* trees are probably *cornels*, from one of which, the *C. mas*, L., the berries are commonly eaten in Italy, and sherbet made from them in the East. In Italy they are called *cornia* and *corniola*.—R. C. A. PRIOR.

to me dooth ſeeme right ſtrange. And euen ſo doo our gardeners with their herbes, whereby they are ſtrengthened againſt noiſome blaſts, and preſerued from putrifaction and hinderance; whereby ſome ſuch as were annuall, are now made perpetuall, being yeerelie taken vp, and either reſerued in the houſe, or hauing the roſſe pulled from their rootes, laid againe into the earth, where they remaine in ſafetie. What choiſe they make alſo in their waters, and wherewith ſome of them doo now and then keepe them moiſt, it is a world to ſee; inſomuch that the apothecaries ſhops maie ſeeme to be needfull alſo to our gardens and orchards, and that in ſundrie wiſe: naie, the kitchen it ſelfe is ſo farre from being able to be miſſed among them, that euen the verie diſhwater is not without ſome vſe amongeſt our fineſt plants. Whereby, and ſundrie other circumſtances not here to bee remembred, I am perſuaded, that albeit the gardens of the *Heſperides* were in times paſt ſo greatlie accounted of, becauſe of their delicacie: yet if it were poſſible to haue ſuch an equall iudge, as by certeine knowledge of both were able to pronounce vpon them, I doubt not but he would giue the price vnto the gardens of our daies, and generallie ouer all Europe, in compariſon of thoſe times, wherein the old exceeded. *Plinie* and other ſpeake of a roſe that had three ſcore leaues growing vpon one button: but if I ſhould tell of one which bare a triple number vnto that proportion, I know I ſhall not be beleeued, and no great matter though I were not, howbeit, ſuch a one was to be ſeene in Antwarpe 1585, as I haue heard, and I know who might haue had a ſlip or ſtallon thereof, if he would haue ventured ten pounds vpon the growth of the ſame, which ſhould haue bene but a tickle hazard, and therefore better vndoone, as I did alwaies imagine. For mine owne part, good reader, let me boaſt a little of my garden, which is but ſmall, and the whole *Area* thereof little aboue 300 foot of ground, and yet, ſuch hath beene

Gardeners turn annual into perpetual herbs.

Even our dishwater is us'd for plants!

The Gardens of the Hesperides were not equal to ours now-a-days.

Pliny talks of a rose with 60 leaves on one bud.

At Antwerp in 1585 was a rose with 180 leaves, and I could have had a slip off its tree for £10.

Harrison's own Garden, 300 ft. square,

my good lucke in purchaſe of the varietie of ſimples, that notwithſtanding my ſmall abilitie, there are verie neere three hundred of one ſort and other conteined therein, no one of them being common or vſuallie to bee had. If therefore my little plot, void of all coſt in keeping, be ſo well furniſhed, what ſhall we thinke of thoſe of Hampton court, Noneſuch, Tibaults, Cobham garden, and ſundrie other apperteining to diuerſe citizens of London, whom I could particularlie name, if I ſhould not ſeeme to offend them by ſuch my demeanour and dealing?]

has 300 simples in it.

Largest English gardens.

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## [Of waters generallie.

### Chap. 21.[1]

THere is no one commoditie in England, whereof I can make leſſe report than of our waters. For albeit our ſoile abound with water in all places, and that in the moſt ample maner: yet can I not find by ſome experience that almoſt anie one of our riuers hath ſuch od and rare qualities as diuers of the maine are ſaid to be indued withall. *Vitruuius* writeth of a well in Paphlagonia, whoſe water ſeemeth as it were mixed with wine, & addeth thereto that diuerſe become drunke by ſuperfluous taking of the ſame. The like force is found *In amne Liceſio,* a riuer of Thracia, vpon whoſe bankes a man ſhall hardlie miſſe to find ſome traueller or other ſleeping for drunkenneſſe, by drinking of that liquor. Neere alſo vnto Epheſus are certeine welles, which taſte like ſharpe vineger, and [2]therefore are much eſteemed of by ſuch as are ſicke and euill at eaſe in thoſe parts. At Hieropolis is a ſpring of ſuch force (*as Strabo* ſaith) that the water thereof mixed with certaine herbes of choiſe, dooth colour wooll with ſuch a gloſſe, that the die thereof

None of our rivers have the same odd qualities that old writers told lies about.

[2 p. 211]

[1] *This chapter (mainly old lies) is not in the edition of 1577.—F.*

contendeth with ſkarlet, murreie, and purple, and oft ouercommeth the ſame. The Cydnus[1] in Tarſus of Cilicia, is of ſuch vertue, that who ſo batheth himſelfe therein, ſhall find great eaſe of the gowt that runneth ouer all his ioints. In one of the fortunate Iles (ſaith *Pomponius* the Coſmographer) are two ſprings, one of the which bringeth immoderate laughter to him that drinketh thereof, the other ſadneſſe and reſtraint of that effect, whereby the laſt is taken to be a ſouereigne medicine againſt the other, to the great admiration of ſuch as haue beholden it. At Suſis in Perſia there is a ſpring, which maketh him that drinketh downe anie of the water, to caſt all his teeth: but if he onlie waſh his mouth withall, it maketh them faſt, & his mouth to be verie healthfull. So there is a riuer among the Gadarens, wherof if a beaſt drinke, he foorthwith caſteth hoofe, haire, and hornes, if he haue anie. Alſo a lake in Aſſyria, neere vnto the which there is a kind of glewie matter to be found, which holdeth ſuch birds as by hap doo light thereon ſo faſt as birdlime, by means wherof verie manie doo periſh and are taken that light vpon the ſame: howbeit, if anie portion hereof happen to be ſet on fire by caſualtie or otherwiſe, it will neuer be quenched but by caſting on of duſt, as *Caietanus* dooth report. Another at Halicarnaſſus called Salmacis, which is noted to make ſuch men effeminate as drinke of the water of the ſame. Certes it maie be (ſaith *Strabo*) that the water and aire of a region maie qualifie the courage of ſome men, but none can make them effeminate, nor anie other thing becauſe of ſuch corruption in them, ſooner than ſuperfluous wealth, and inconſtancie of liuing and behauiour, which is a bane vnto all natures, *lib.* 4. All which, with manie other not now comming to memorie, as the Letheus, Styx, Phlegeton, Cocitus, &c: haue ſtrange & incredible reports made of them by the new and ancient writers, the

What old riuers are said to haue done:—

cur'd the gout,

caus'd laughter,

sadness,

loss of teeth,

restoration of 'em;

loss of beasts' hoofs and horns;

caught birds,

caus'd effeminacy.

This is all gammon.

[1] *orig.* Cydims

like wherof are not to be found in England, which I impute wholie to the bleſſing of God, who hath ordeined nothing amongſt vs in this our temperate region, but that which is good, wholeſome, and moſt commodious for our nation. We haue therefore no hurtfull waters amongſt vs, but all wholeſome and profitable for the benefit of the people. Neuertheles as none of them is to be found without hir fiſh: ſo we know by experience, that diuerſe turne aſh, ſome other elme, and oken ſtakes or poles that lie or are throwne into them into hard ſtone, in long continuance of time, which is the ſtrangeſt thing that I can learne at this preſent wherevpon to reſt for a certentie. Yet I read of diuerſe welles, wherevnto our old writers aſcribe either wonderfull vertues, or rare courſes, as of one vpon the ſhore, beyond the which the ſea floweth euerie daie twiſe a large mile and more; and yet is the ſurge of that water alwaies ſeuen foot from the ſalt ſea: whereby it ſhould ſeeme that the head of the ſpring is mooueable. But, alas! I doo not eaſilie beleeue it, more than that which is written of the Lilingwan lake in Wales, which is neere to the Seuerne, and receiueth the flowing ſea into hir chanell as it were a gulfe, and yet is neuer full: but when the ſea goeth awaie by reaſon of the ebbe, it caſteth vp the water with ſuch violence, that hir banks are ouerflowne and drowned, which is an abſurd report. They ad alſo, that if all the people of the countrie ſtood neere to the ſame, with their faces toward the lake in ſuch maner that the daſhing of the water might touch and wet their clothes, they ſhould haue no power to go from thence, but mawgre their reſiſtance be drawne into that gulfe, and periſh; whereas if they turned their backs vnto the ſame, they ſhould ſuffer no ſuch inconuenience, though they ſtood neuer ſo neere. Manie other ſuch like toies I could ſet downe of other welles and waters of our countrie. But whie ſhould I write that, for other men to read, whereto I giue no credit my

All the water in England is good.

Some of our waters turn wood into stone.

Lies about

a Welsh lake.

There are plenty more such.

ſelfe, more than to the report which *Iohannes du Choul* dooth make in his deſcription of Pilats lake, *In monte Pilati in Gallia*, or *Boccatius* of the Scaphigiolo in the Appenine hils, or *Fœlix Malliolus* of Pilats lake *In monte fracto* (whereof[1] *Iacobus de Voragino*, biſhop of Gene, & *Ioachimus Vadianus in Pompon. Melam* doo alſo make mention), ſith I take them but for fables, & far vnworthie that anie good man ſhould ſtaine his paper with ſuch friuolous matters as are reported of them, being deuiſed at the firſt by Satanas the father of lies, for the holding of the ignorant & credulous in their ſuperſtitions and errors. Such alſo is the tale that goeth of Wenefrids well, & nothing inferior to that of Mercurie neere to port Caperia in Rome, wherein ſuch as went by would dip branches of baie, and ſprinkle the ſame vpon themſelues: and ſo manie as ſtood about them, calling vpon Mercurie, and crauing pardon for their ſinnes, as if that ceremonie had bene of force vnto forgiueneſſe and remiſſion of their treſpaſſes. And ſo it appeareth partlie by Cicero, who (being a man neither thinking well of their owne gods, nor liking of the augures,) dooth write in his firſt *De legibus* (except my memorie faile me), *aſperſione aquæ labem tolli corpoream, & caſtimoniam corporis præſtari*, which maketh me to thinke further, that they thought it equall with our late holie-water, wherewith it maie be compared. I might further alſo (if I would) make relation of diuerſe welles, which haue wrought manie miracles in time of ſuperſtition, as S. Butolphs well in Hadſtocke, S. Germans well at Falkeburne, Holie well at S. Albones and London, and ſundrie other in other places: but as their vertues are now found out to be but baits to draw men and women vnto them, either for gaine vnto the places where they were, or ſatisfaction of the lewd diſpoſition of ſuch as hunted after other game, ſo it ſhall ſuffice to haue touched them far off. Onlie this will I ad, that we

But what's the good of writing 'em when I know they're lies?

Satan invented 'em.

St Winifred's well, and one near Rome,

did as much good as our late 'holy-water.'

As to wells working Miracles, as Holy Well in London, &c., they were but baits to draw money or satisfy lust.

[1] *orig.* where-

haue no hurtfull waters, no not vnto our ſheepe, though it pleaſe *Cardan* to auouch otherwiſe; for our waters are not the cauſes, but the ſignes of their infections when they drinke, as I elſewhere haue noted in the chapter of cattell, as alſo that we haue a ſpring neere Saffron Walden, and not farre from the houſe of the lord Audleie, which is of ſuch force, that it looſeth the bodie of him that drinketh therof in verie gentle maner, and beſide that, is verie delectable & pleaſant to be taken, as I haue found by experience. I heare alſo of two welles neere London, of which the one is verie excellent water, the other will beare no ſope, and yet ſo ſituat that the one is hard by the other. And thus much of waters.]

A spring near Lord Audley's, at Saffron Walden, looses the bowels.

I've drunk of it.

Of 2 wells near London, one won't bear soap.

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## Of woods and marishes.

### Chap. 22.[1]

*Great abundance of wood sometime in England.*

IT ſhould ſeeme by ancient records, and the teſtimonie of ſundrie authors, that the whole countries of Lhoegres and Cambria, now England and Wales, haue ſometimes beene verie well repleniſhed with great woods & groues, although at this time the ſaid commoditie be not a little decaied in both, and in ſuch wiſe that a man [2] ſhall oft ride ten or twentie miles in ech of them, and find verie little, or rather none at all, except it be neere vnto townes, gentlemens houſes, & villages, where the inhabitants haue planted a few elmes, okes, haſels, or aſhes, about their dwellings, for their defenſe from the rough winds, and keeping of the ſtormie weather from annoiance of the ſame. This ſcarſitie at the firſt grew (as it is thought) either by the induſtrie of man, for maintenance of tillage (as we vnderſtand the like to be doone of late by the Spaniards in the weſt Indies, where they fired whole woods of

[2 p. 212]

Now we've but little, except near our dwellings.

[1] This is chap. 16, Bk 2, in 1577 ed.—F.

verie great compaſſe, therby to come by ground whereon to ſow their graines,) or elſe thorough the couetouſneſſe of ſuch, as, in preferring of paſture for their ſheepe and greater cattell, doo make ſmall account of firebote and timber: or finallie, by the crueltie of the enimies, whereof we haue ſundrie examples declared in our hiſtories. Howbeit, where the rocks and quarrie grounds are, I take the ſwart of the earth to be ſo thin, that no tree of anie greatneſſe, other than ſhrubs and buſhes, is able to grow or proſper long therein, for want of ſufficient moiſture wherewith to feed them with freſh humour, or at the leaſtwiſe of mould, to ſhrowd, ſtaie vpright, and cheriſh the ſame in the bluſtering winters weather, till they may grow vnto anie greatneſſe, and ſpread or yeeld their rootes downe right into the ſoile about them: and this either is or may be one other cauſe, wherefore ſome places are naturallie void of wood. But to proceed. Although I muſt needs confeſſe that there is good ſtore of great wood or timber here and there, euen now in ſome places of England, yet in our daies it is far vnlike to that plentie, which our anceſtors haue ſeene heretofore, when ſtatelie building was leſſe in vſe. For albeit that there were then greater number of meſuages and manſions almoſt in euery place; yet were their frames ſo ſlight and ſlender, that one meane dwelling houſe in our time is able to counteruaile verie manie of them, if you conſider the preſent charge, with the plentie of timber that we beſtow vpon them. In times paſt, men were contented to dwell in houſes, builded of ſallow, willow, plumtree, hardbeame, and elme, ſo that the vſe of oke was in maner dedicated wholie vnto churches, religious houſes, princes palaces, noblemens lodgings, & nauigation: but now all theſe are reiected, and nothing but oke anie whit regarded. And yet ſee the change, for when our houſes were builded of willow, then had we oken men; but now that our houſes are come to be made of oke, our men

On rocks the sward is too thin to grow trees.

We have far less timber than our forefathers had.

The frames of their houses were slight,

and made of willow, hornbeam, elm, &c.

Now, oak only is us'd.

Yet with willow houses they had oaken men: now with oaken houses,

we have willow and straw men.

*Desire of much wealth and ease abateth manhood, & ouerthroweth a manlie courage.*

are not onlie become willow, but a great manie [through Perſian delicacie crept in among vs] altogither of ſtraw, which is a ſore alteration. In thoſe the courage of the owner was a ſufficient defenſe to keepe the houſe in ſafetie, but now the aſſurance of the timber, [double doores, lockes and bolts,] muſt defend the man from robbing. Now haue we manie chimnies; and yet our tenderlings complaine of rheumes, catarhs and poſes. Then had we none but reredoſſes; and our heads did neuer ake. For as the ſmoke in thoſe daies was ſuppoſed to be a ſufficient hardning for the timber of the houſe, ſo it was reputed a far better medicine to keepe the goodman and his familie from the quacke or poſe, wherewith, as then, verie few were [oft] acquainted.

Chimnies. (see p. 239.)

In old days we'd none: the smoke hardend the timber, and kept colds off the men.

Our timber frames are now of far better design than of old,

and all the crooked oak is us'd up in them.

[Of the curiouſneſſe of theſe piles I ſpeake not, ſith our workemen are growne generallie to ſuch an excellencie of deuiſe in the frames now made, that they far paſſe the fineſt of the old. And ſuch is their huſbandrie in dealing with their timber, that the ſame ſtuffe which in time paſt was reiected as crooked, vnprofitable, and to no vſe but the fire, dooth now come in the fronts and beſt part of the worke. Wherby the common ſaieng is likewiſe in theſe daies verified in our manſion houſes, which earſt was ſaid onelie of the timber for ſhips, that 'no oke can grow ſo crooked but it falleth out to ſome vſe,' & that neceſſarie in the nauie. It is a world to ſee moreouer how diuerſe men being bent to building, and hauing a delectable veine in ſpending of their goods by that trade, doo dailie imagine new deuiſes of their owne, to guide their workemen withall, and thoſe more curious and excellent alwaies than the former. In the proceeding alſo of their workes, how they ſet vp, how they pull downe, how they inlarge, how they reſtreine, how they ad to, how they take from, whereby their heads are neuer idle, their purſes neuer ſhut, nor their bookes of account neuer made perfect.

Our amateur (?) architects are very clever.

And they never tire of altering their buildings.

*Deſtruunt, ædificant, mutant quadrata rotundis*

ſaith the poet. So that if a man ſhould well conſider of all the od crotchets in ſuch a builders braine, he would thinke his head to haue euen inough of thoſe affaires onelie, & therefore iudge that he ſhould not well be able to deale in anie other. But ſuch commonlie are our workemaſters, that they haue beſide this veine afore mentioned, either great charge of merchandizes, little leſſe buſineſſe in the commonwealth, or finallie, no ſmall dealings otherwiſe incident vnto them, wherby gaine ariſeth, and ſome trouble oft among withall. Which cauſeth me to wonder not a little how they can plaie the parts ſo well, of ſo manie ſundrie men, whereas diuerſe other, of greater forecaſt in apparance, can ſeldome ſhift well or thriue in anie one of them. But to our purpoſe.]

And yet with all the odd crochets filling our builders' brains, they manage other businesses.

We haue manie woods, forreſts, and parks, which cheriſh trees abundantlie, although in the woodland countries there is almoſt no hedge that hath not ſome ſtore of the greateſt ſort, beſide infinit numbers of hedgerowes, groues, and ſprings, that are mainteined of purpoſe for the building and prouiſion of ſuch owners as doo poſſeſſe the ſame. Howbeit, as euerie ſoile dooth not beare all kinds of wood, ſo there is not anie wood, parke, hedgerow, groue, or forreſt, that is not mixed with diuerſe,[1] as oke, aſh, haſell, hawthorne, birch, beech, hardbeame, hull, ſorſe, [quicken, aſpe, poplers,] wild cherie, and ſuch like, wherof oke hath alwaies the preheminence, as moſt meet for building [and the nauie,] whervnto it is reſerued. This tree bringeth foorth alſo a profitable kind of maſt, whereby ſuch as dwell neere vnto the aforeſaid places doo cheriſh and bring vp innumerable heards of ſwine. In time of plentie of this maſt, our red and fallow deere will not let to participat [thereof] with our hogs, more than our[2] nete: yea, our common pultrie alſo, if they may come

In hedgerows, &c., trees are grown,

as hazel, hawthorn, hornbeam, holly, sorb (see p. 366, 367), mountain-ash, aspen, and specially oak.

Acorns are eaten by swine, deer, and poultry.

[1] many [2] our other

vnto them. But as this abundance dooth prooue verie pernicious vnto the firſt, ſo theſe[1] egs which theſe latter doo bring foorth (beſide blackeneſſe in color and bitterneſſe of taſt,) haue not ſeldome beene found to breed diuerſe diſeaſes vnto ſuch perſons as haue eaten of the ſame. I might ad in like ſort the profit inſuing by the barke of this wood, whereof our tanners haue great vſe in dreſſing of leather, and which they buie yearelie in Maie by the fadame, as I haue oft ſeene: but it ſhall not need at this time to enter into anie ſuch diſcourſe; onlie this I wiſh, that our ſole and vpper leathering may haue their due time, and not be haſted on by extraordinarie ſlights, as with aſh, barke, &c. Whereby, as I grant that it ſeemeth outwardlie to be verie thicke & well doone: ſo, if you reſpect the ſadnes therof, it dooth prooue in the end to be verie hollow, & not able to hold out water. [Neuertheleſſe we haue good lawes for redreſſe of this enormitie, but it commeth to paſſe in theſe, as in the execution of moſt penall ſtatutes. For the gaines to be gotten by the ſame being giuen to one or two hungrie and vnthriftie perſons, they make a ſhew of great reformation at the firſt, & for a litle while, till they find that following of ſute [2] in law againſt the offendors, is ſomwhat too chargeable and tedious. This, therefore, perceiued, they giue ouer the law, and fall to the admiſſion of gifts and rewards to winke at things paſt, and when they haue once gone ouer their ground with this kind of tillage, then doo they tender licences, and offer large diſpenſations vnto him that ſhall aſke the ſame, thereby to doo what him liſteth in his trade for an yearelie penſion, whereby the bribour now groweth to ſome certeine reuenues, & the tanner to ſo great libertie, that his lether is much worſe than before. But is not this a mockerie of our lawes, & manifeſt illuſion of the good ſubiect whom they thus pill & poll? Of all oke growing in England, the parke oke is the

*The like haue I seene where hens doo feed vpon the tender blades of garlike.*

Oak-bark is bought by tanners in May.

I do want our shoe-leather well tannd.

If quickly done it has no 'sadness' or lasting.

We have laws against this hasty tanning,

[2 p. 213]

but the rascally tanners bribe the rascally administrators of the law,

and make worse leather than ever.

Park oaks are

[1] the

ſofteſt, and far more ſpalt and brickle than the hedge oke. And of all in Eſſex, that growing in Bardfield parke is the fineſt for ioiners craft: for oftentimes haue I ſeene of their workes made of that oke ſo fine and faire, as moſt of the waineſcot that is brought hither out of Danſke, for our waineſcot is not made in England. Yet diuerſe haue aſſaied to deale without okes to that end, but not with ſo good ſucceſſe as they haue hoped, bicauſe the ab or iuice will not ſo ſoone be remoued and cleane drawne out, which ſome attribute to want of time in the ſalt water. Neuertheleſſe, in building, ſo well the hedge as the parke oke go all one waie, and neuer ſo much hath beene ſpent in a hundred years before, as is in ten yeare of our time; for euerie man almoſt is a builder, and he that hath bought any ſmall parcell of ground, be it neuer ſo little, will not be quiet till he haue pulled downe the old houſe (if anie were there ſtanding), and ſet vp a new after his owne deuiſe. But wherevnto will this curioſitie come?]

more brittle than hedge oaks.

In Essex, the Bardfield-Park oak is the best.

Our wainscot is not made in England, but brought out of Denmark.

In the last 10 years we've us'd as much oak as in the former 100 years.

Every man's pulld down his old house and rebuilt it.

Of elme [we haue great ſtore in euerie high waie and elſewhere, yet] [1] haue I not ſeene thereof anie [1] togither in woods or forreſts, but where they haue beene firſt planted, and then ſuffered to ſpread at their owne willes. Yet haue I knowen great woods of beech and haſell in manie places, eſpeciallie in Barkeſhire, Oxfordſhire, and Buckinghamſhire, where they are greatlie cheriſhed, & conuerted to ſundrie vſes by ſuch as dwell about them. [Of all the elms that euer I ſaw, thoſe in the ſouth ſide of Douer court, in Eſſex neere Harwich, are the moſt notable, for they grow (I meane) in crooked maner, that they are almoſt apt for nothing elſe but nauie timber, great ordinance, and beetels; and ſuch thereto is their naturall qualitie, that being vſed in the ſaid behalfe, they continue longer, and more long than anie the like trees in whatſoeuer parcell elſe of this land, without cuphar, ſhaking, or cleauing, as I find.]

Elm woods not planted.

Beech and hazel woods.

In Essex, the Dover-court elms are the most noteworthy.

[1]—[1] I haue not seene any great store

Ash.

Aſh commeth vp euerie where of it ſelfe, and with euerie kind of wood. And as we haue verie great plentie, and no leſſe vſe of theſe in our huſbandrie, ſo

Plane, yew, lime, black cherry.

are we not without the plane, the vgh, the ſorſe, the cheſtnut, the line, the blacke cherrie, and ſuch like. And, although that we inioy them not in ſo great plentie now in moſt places, as in times paſt, or the other afore remembred; yet haue we ſufficient of them all for our neceſſarie turnes and vſes, eſpeciallie

Yew in Yorkshire and Kent.

of vgh; as may be ſeene betwixt Rotheram and Sheffield, and ſome ſteeds of Kent alſo, as I haue beene informed.]

Fir.

The firre, frankincenſe, and pine, we doo not altogither want, eſpeciallie the firre, whereof we haue ſome ſtore in Chatleie moore in Darbiſhire, Shropſhire, Anderneſſe, and a moſſe neere Manchester, [not far from Leirceſters houſe: although that in time paſt, not onelie all Lancaſterſhire, but a great part of the coaſt betweene Cheſter and the Solme were well ſtored.] As for the

Frankincense and Pine.

frankincenſe and pine, they haue beene planted [onelie] in colleges and cloiſters, by the cleargie and religious heretofore.[1] Wherefore (in mine opinion) we may rather ſaie that we want them altogither: for except they grew[2] naturallie, and not by force, I ſee no cauſe whie they ſhould be accounted for parcell of our com-

Aspen, for arrows. Poplars, for bowls, troughs.

modities. [We haue alſo the aſpe, whereof our fletchers make their arrowes. The ſeuerall kinds of poplars of our turners haue great vſe for bolles, treies, troughs,

Alder, whose bark dies hose black.

diſhes, &c. Alſo the alder, whoſe barke is not vnprofitable to die blacke withall, and therfore much vſed by our countrie wiues in colouring their knit hoſen.] I

Great sales of wood.

might here take occaſion to ſpeake of the great ſales yeerelie made of wood, whereby an infinit quantitie[3] hath bin deſtroied within theſe few yeers: but I giue ouer to trauell[4] in this behalfe. Howbeit [5]thus

[1] in tymes past [2] dyd growe [3] deale
[4] deale [5—5] thys

much[5] I dare affirme, that if woods[1] go ſo faſt to decaie in the next hundred yeere of Grace, as they haue doone and are like to doo in this, ſometimes for increaſe of ſheepwalks, and ſome maintenance of prodigalitie and pompe (for I haue knowne a [well burniſhed] gentleman * that hath borne threeſcore at once in one paire of galigaſcons to ſhew his ſtrength and brauerie), it is to be feared that [the fennie bote,] broome, turffe, gall, heath, firze, brakes, whinnes, ling, dies, haſſacks, flags, ſtraw, ſedge, reed, ruſh, and [alſo] ſeacole, will be good merchandize euen in the citie of London, wherevnto ſome of them [2]euen now[2] haue gotten readie paſſage, and taken vp their innes in the greateſt merchants parlours. A man would thinke that our laws were able inough to make ſufficient prouiſion for the redreſſe of this error & enormitie likelie to inſue. But ſuch is the nature of our countriemen, that as manie laws are made, ſo they will keepe none; or if they be vrged to make anſwer, they will rather ſeeke ſome crooked conſtruction[3] of them[3] to the increaſe of their priuat gaine, than yeeld themſelues[4] to be guided by the ſame for a common wealth and profit [to their countrie.] So that in the end, whatſoeuer the law ſaith, we will haue our willes, whereby the wholeſome ordinances of the prince are contemned, the trauell of the nobilitie & councellors as it were derided, the common wealth impoueriſhed, & a few onelie inriched by this peruerſe dealing. Thus[6] manie thouſand perſons doo ſuffer hinderance by this their lewd [7]behauior. Hereby[8] the wholeſome laws of the prince are oft defrauded, [and] the good meaning magiſtrate in conſultation about the common wealth [9]vtterlie neglected.[9] I would wiſh that I might liue no longer than to ſee foure things in this land reformed, that is: the want of diſcipline in the church: the couetous dealing of moſt of our merchants

Woods are us'd up too faſt. I know a man who turnd 60 into one pair of breeches.

* *This gentleman ought such an heate with this sore loade that he was faine to go to Rome for physicke, yet it could not saue his life, but hee must needs die homewards.*

Our laws ought to stop this;

but our folk walk thro' laws whenever they can gain by it.

They will have their wills, and let the commonweal go to the bad.

I only want to live till four things are reformd: 1. Church discipline;

[1] woods doe [2]—[2] alreadie [3]—[3] therof [4] themselves willing
[6] whereas [7] crooked [8] whereby [9]—[9] seduced

2. Merchants' covetousness;

in the preferment of [the commodities of] other countries, and hinderance of their owne: the holding of

3. Fairs not on Sundays, but Wednesdays;

faires[1] and markets vpon the ſundaie to be aboliſhed and referred to the wedneſdaies: and that euerie man,[2] in

4. 1 acre of every 40 to be planted with wood.

whatſoeuer [part of the champaine] ſoile enioieth fortie[3] acres of land and vpwards, after that rate, either by free deed, copie hold, or fee farme, might plant one acre of wood, or ſowe the ſame with [oke] maſt,[4] haſell, beech, and ſufficient prouiſion be made that it may be cheriſhed and kept.[4] But I feare me that I ſhould then liue too long, and ſo long, that I ſhould either be wearie of the world, or the world of me; and yet they are not ſuch things but they may eaſilie be brought to paſſe.

Now any trifle justifies cutting down woods, turning corn land into pasture, and pulling down houses.

Certes euerie ſmall occaſion in my time is enough to cut downe a great wood, and euerie trifle ſufficeth to laie infinit acres of corne ground vnto paſture. As for the taking downe of houſes, a ſmall fine will beare out a great manie.

Would to God we settled these things by law, as the Romans did;

Would to God we might once take example of the Romans, who, in reſtreint of ſuperfluous graſing, made an exact limitation, how manie head of cattell ech eſtate might keepe, and what numbers of acres ſhould ſuffice for that and other purpoſes.

[5 p. 214]

Neither was wood euer[5] better cheriſhed, or manſion houſes mainteined, than by their lawes and ſtatutes. [Such alſo was their care in the maintenance of nauigation, that it was a great part of the charge of their conſuls, yeerelie to view and looke vnto the ſilles whereon great timber did grow, leaſt their vnneceſſarie faults for the ſatiſfaction of the priuat owner, and his couetous mind might prooue a preiudice vnto the common wealth, in the hinderance of ſufficient ſtuffe for

and as they do now in Venice.

the furniture of their nauie. Certes the like hereof is yet obſerued in Venice. Read alſo, I praie you, what *Suetonius* writeth of the conſulſhip of Bibulus and Ceſar. As for the wood that Ancus Martius dedicated

[1] Compare *Stubs's Anatomie*, p. 218. Turnbull.—F. [2] man wyth [3] foure [4]—[4] beside that which remayneth already to be cherished and kept

toward the maintenance of the common nauie, I paſſe it ouer, as hauing elſewhere remembred it vnto another end.] But what doo I meane to ſpeake of theſe, ſith my purpoſe is onlie to talke of [our owne] woods? Well, take this then for a finall concluſion in woods, that [beſide ſome countries are alreadie driuen to ſell their wood by the pound, which is an heauie report:] within theſe fortie yeeres we ſhall haue little great[1] timber growing aboue[2] fortie yeeres old; for it is commonlie ſeene that thoſe yoong ſtaddles which we leaue ſtanding at one & twentie yeeres fall, are vſuallie at the next ſale cut downe without any danger of the ſtatute, and ſerue for fire bote, if it pleaſe the owner to burne them.

Within 40 years we shall have little timber left growing.

Mariſes and fennie bogges we haue many in England, [though not now ſo many as ſome of the old Roman writers doo ſpecifie,] but more in Wales, if you haue reſpect vnto the ſeuerall quantities of the countries. Howbeit, as they are verie profitable in [the] ſummer halfe of the yeere, ſo are a number of them [which lie lowe and neere to great riuers,] to ſmall commoditie in the winter part, as common experience dooth teach. Yet this I find of manie[3] moores, that in times paſt they haue beene harder ground, and ſundrie of them well repleniſhed with great woods, that now are void of buſhes. And for example hereof, we may ſee the triall (beſide the roots that are dailie found in the deeps of Monmouth, where turfe is digged, alſo in Wales, Aburgauennie, and Merioneth,) in ſundrie parts of Lancaſhire, where [great ſtore of firre hath growen in times paſt, as I ſaid,] and the people go vnto this daie into their fens and mariſes with long ſpits, which they daſh here and there vp to the verie cronge into the ground. In which practiſe, (a thing commonlie doone in winter), if they happen to ſmite vpon [4]anie firre trees which lie there at their whole lengths, or

*Marises and fennes*

Many moors were once hard ground well wooded.

In Lancashire, people in winter prod for fir-trees with long spits,

[1] new [2] aboue two and [3] manie of these [4]—[4] a tree or blocke

and then dig 'em out and draw 'em home in harvest-time.

So in Shropshire.

Noah's-Flood fools (of whom the race is not yet extinct in 1876).

If men would but ditch and drain more, they'd make more dry soil.

Lincoln was formerly ring with woods.

The Peak Hills were also coverd with woods, which are all gone now.

other blocks,[4] they note the place, and about harueſt time, when the ground is at the drieſt, they come againe and get them[1] vp, and afterward carieng them[1] home, applie them[1] to their vſes. The like doo they in Shropſhire with [2]the like,[2] which hath beene felled in old time, within 7 miles of Salop. Some of them foolifhlie ſuppoſe the ſame to haue lien there ſince Noies floud: and other, more fond than the reſt, imagine them to grow euen in the places where they find them, without all conſideration that in times paſt, the moſt part, if not all Lhoegres and Cambria, was generallie repleniſhed with wood, which being felled, or ouerthrowne vpon ſundrie occaſions, was left lieng in ſome places ſtill on the ground, and in proceſſe of time became to be quite ouergrowne with earth and moulds, which moulds wanting their due ſadneſſe, are now turned into moorie plots. Wherby it commeth to paſſe alſo, that great plentie of water commeth betweene the new looſe ſwart and the old hard earth, that being drawen awaie [by ditching and dreanes (a thing ſoone doone, if our countrie-men were painfull in that behalfe),] might ſoone leaue a drie ſoile to the great lucre and aduantage of the owner. We find in our hiſtories, that Lincolne was ſomtime builded by Lud, brother to Caſſibelan, who called it Cair Ludcoit, of the great ſtore of woods that inuironed the ſame: but now the commoditie is vtterlie decaied there, ſo that if Lud were aliue againe, he would not call it his citie in the wood, but rather his towne in the plaines: for the wood ([3]as I heare[3]) is waſted altogither about the ſame. The hilles called the Peke were in like ſort named Mennith [5]and Orcoit,[5] that is, the wooddie hilles [and forreſts.] But how much wood is now to be ſeene in thoſe places, let him that hath beene there teſtifie, if he liſt; for I heare of [6]no ſuch ſtore there as hath beene

[1] it [2]—[2] fire wood [3]—[3] I say
[5]—[5] Coit [6]—[6] none

in time paſt[6] by [1]thoſe that[1] trauell that waie. And thus much of woods and mariſes, and ſo far as I can deale with the ſame.

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## Of baths and hot welles.

### Chap. 23.[2]

AS almightie GOD hath in moſt plentifull maner beſtowed infinit, and thoſe verie notable, benefits, vpon this Ile of Britaine, whereby it is not a little inriched: ſo in hot and naturall baths (whereof we haue diuerſe in ſundrie places), it manifeſtlie appeereth that he hath not forgotten England. There are ſundrie[3] baths therefore to be found in this realme, of which the firſt is called ſ[aint] Vincents, the ſecond Halliewell[4]; both being places (in my opinion) more obſcure than the other two, and yet not ſeldome ſought vnto by ſuch as ſtand in need. For albeit the fame of their forces be not ſo generallie ſpread, yet in ſome caſes they are thought to be nothing inferior to the other, as diuerſe haue often affirmed by their owne experience and triall. The third place wherein hot baths are to be found is neere vnto Buxſton, a towne in Darbiſhire, ſituat in the high Peke, not paſſing ſixteene miles from Mancheſter, or Marke[t]cheſterford, and twentie from Darbie, where about eight or nine ſeuerall welles are to be ſeene; of which three are counted to be moſt excellent: but of all, the greateſt is the hoteſt, void of corruption, and compared (as *Iones* ſaith) with thoſe of Summerſetſhire, ſo cold indeed, as a quart of boiling water would be made if fiue quartes of running water were added therevnto; whereas on the other ſide, thoſe of Bath likened vnto theſe, haue ſuch heat appropriated vnto them, as a gallon of hot

God hasn't forgotten to give us hot baths and wells,

as 1. St. Vincents, 2. Halliwell (? in Shoreditch,

3. Buxton in Derbyshire,

which has 8 or 9 wells, 3 being most excellent.

[1]—[1] such as

[2] This is Chap. 14, Bk 2, in 1577 ed.—F.

[3] foure

[4] Hally Well

The best Buxton bath.

water hath when a quart of cold is mixed with the ſame. Herevpon the effect of this bath worketh more temperatlie and pleaſantlie (as he writeth) than the other. And albeit that it maketh not ſo great ſpeed in cure of ſuch as reſort vnto it for helpe; yet it dealeth more effectuallie and commodiouſlie than thoſe in Summerſetſhire, and infer withall leſſe greeuous accidents in the reſtreining of naturall iſſues, ſtrengthening the affeebled members, aſſiſting the liuelie forces, diſperſing annoious oppilations, and qualifieng of ſundrie griefes, as [his] experience hath oft confirmed. The like vertues haue the other two, but not in ſuch meaſure[1]: and therefore their operation is not ſo ſpeedilie perceiued.

4. Kings Newnham, not far from (? 12 miles east of) Coventry in Warwickshire.

[The fourth place where baths are, is kings Newnam, and within certeine miles of Couentrie, the water wherof (as it is thought) proceedeth from ſome rocke of allume, and this I vnderſtand by diuerſe glouers which haue beene there, and alſo by mine owne experience, that it hath a taſt much like to allume liquor, and yet nothing vnpleſant nor vnſauorie in the drinking. There are three welles in all, but the chiefeſt and beſt of them riſeth out of an hill, and runneth toward the ſouth, & from thence infinit plentie of water without [2]any notable diminution of the ſpring is dailie caried into ſundrie parties of the realme, & droonke by ſuch as haue need to occupie the ſame. Of the other two, one is reſerued for ſuch as be comelie perſonages and void of lothſome diſeaſes: the other is left common for tag and rag; but clenſed dailie as the other is, whereby it becommeth the wholeſomer. Manie diſeaſes alſo are cured in the ſame, as the palſie, dimneſſe of ſight, dulneſſe of hearing, but eſpeciallie the collike and the ſtone, old ſores and greene wounds; ſo that I ſuppoſe there was neuer anie compound medicine of greater and more ſpeedie force in theſe behalfes, than the vſe of this ſimple liquor is to ſuch as doo frequent it. The

(I've tasted its water, like alum.)

[2 p. 215]

This water is sent all over the country.

Of the other 2 wells, one's kept for comely folk, and the 2nd left for tag and rag.

These wells cure colic, stone, old sores and fresh wounds.

[1] measure and degree

ſaid water hath a naturall propertie alſo following it which is rare, for if a leafe, or ſticke of aſh, oke, &c: doo fall into the ſame, within a ſhort ſpace, ſuch ſtore of fine ſand (comming no doubt out of the earth with the water) will congeale and gather about it, that the forme being reſerued, and the inner part not lightlie altered, it will ſeeme to become an hard ſtone, and much like vnto that which is ingendred in the kidneis of a man, as I haue ſeene by experience. At the firſt entrance it is verie cold, but after a ſeaſon it warmeth the goer in, caſting him into an indifferent heat. And this is furthermore remembred of it, that no man hath yet ſuſteined anie manner of impeachment through the coldneſſe of the ſame. The vertue thereof was found 1579, about Whitſuntide, by a man who had wounded himſelfe, & comming by the ſame water, thought onelie to waſh the blood from his hand therewith, and ſo to go home and ſeeke for helpe by ſurgerie: finallie finding the paine well aſſwaged, & the wound faire clenſed, he departed, and miſliking his vſuall medicins, he eftſoones came againe, and ſo often indeed vnto the ſaid water, till his hand was healed outright without anie other practiſe. By this meanes alſo he became a counſellor to other being hurt or in paine, that they ſhould trie the vertue of this ſpring, who, finding eaſe alſo, gaue out ſuch commendation of the ſaid water, that now at this preſent their fame is fullie equall, and the reſort vnto them nothing inferior to that of the old baths. Beſide this, the cures of ſuch diſeaſes as their forces do extend vnto, is much more ſpeedie than we may haue at the other; and this is one commoditie alſo not ſmallie to be conſidered of. The fift place of baths or medicinable welles is at an hamlet called Newton, a little from ſaint Neots, or (as we pronounce it) ſaint Needs, which is ten or twelue miles from Cambridge, where two ſprings are knowne to be, of which the one is verie ſweet and freſh, the other brack-

The Newnham baths also petrify leaves and bits of wood,

and in 1579 the water heald a man's wounded hand.

5. Newton, near St Neots, in Huntingdonshire. It has 2 springs.

One Newton spring good for leprosy: the other for dim sight.

iſh & ſalt; this is good for ſcabs and leaperie (as it is ſaid), the other for dimneſſe of ſight. Verie manie alſo doo make their repaire vnto them for ſundrie diſeaſes, ſome returning whole, and ſome nothing at all amended, bicauſe their cure is without the reach and working of thoſe waters. Neuer went people ſo faſt from the church, either vnto a faire or market, as they go to theſe wels, and thoſe neere Rugbie, both places being diſcouered in this 1579 of Grace. I heare of another well to be found alſo about Ratcliffe neere London, euen at the ſame ſeaſon. But ſith rumors are now ſpred almoſt of euerie ſpring, & vaine tales flie about in maner of euerie water, I ſurceaſe to ſpeake at all of anie other, till further experience doo trie whether they be medicinable or not: and yet I doubt not but moſt of theſe alredie mentioned haue heretofore bin knowne & remembred alſo, though confuſedlie by the writers of old time; & yet in proceſſe of time either neglected or forgotten, by meanes of ſundrie troubles and turmoiles made in this realme by Danes, and other outward enimies, whereby their manifold benefit hath woonderfullie beene miſſed.]

6. Wells near Rugby;

7. at Ratcliffe near London;

8. Bath, in Somersetshire (where I, parson Harrison, have been?)

The[1] laſt place of our baths, is a citie in Summerſetſhire, which taketh his name of the hot waters there to be ſeene and vſed. At the firſt it was called Cair Bledud, and not Cair Bledune, as ſome would haue it, for that is the old name of the ancient caſtell at Malmeſburie, which the Saxons named Yngleburne, *Ptolomie* afterward called it *Thermæ*, other *Aquæ ſolis*, [or *Scamannia*, or *Acmanceſter*,] but now it hight generallie Bath in Engliſh, and vnder that name it is likelie to continue.

a very ancient city, with carven stones in its walls.

The citie of it ſelfe is a verie ancient thing, no doubt, as may yet appeare by diuerſe notable antiquities ingraued in ſtone, to be ſeene in the wals thereof; and firſt of all betweene the ſouth gate and the weſt, and betwixt the weſt gate and the north.

[1] The fourth and

The firſt is the antike head of a man, made all flat, with great locks of haire, much like to the coine that I haue ſeene of *Antius* the Romane. The ſecond betweene the ſouth and the north gate is an image, as I take it, of Hercules, for he held in each hand a ſerpent, and ſo dooth this. Thirdlie, there ſtandeth a man on foot with a ſword in his one hand, and a buckler ſtretched out in the other. There is alſo a branch that lieth folded and wreathed into circles, like to the wealth of Alcimedon. There are, moreouer, two naked images, whereof the one imbraceth the other, beſide ſundrie antike heads, with ruffeled haire, a greiehound running, and at his taile certeine Romane letters, but ſo defaced, that no man liuing can read them at this preſent. There is, moreouer, the image of Lacaon, inuironed with two ſerpents, and an other inſcription: and all theſe betweene the ſouth and the weſt gates, as I haue ſaid before.

Sculptur'd stones in the walls of Bath;

one with a Latin inscription now defac't,

Now, betweene the weſt and north gate are two inſcriptions, of which ſome words are euident to be read, the reſidue are cleane defaced. There is alſo the image of a naked man, and a ſtone in like ſort, which hath *Cupidines & labruſcas intercurrentes*, and a table hauing at each hand an image vined and finelie floriſhed both aboue and beneath. Finallie (ſauing that I ſaw afterward the image of a naked man graſping a ſerpent in each hand), there was an inſcription of a toome or buriall, wherein theſe words did plainelie appeare, *Vixit annos xxx*: but ſo defuſedlie written, that letters ſtood for whole words, and two or three letters combined into one. Certes, I will not ſaie whether theſe were ſet into the places where they now ſtand by the gentiles, or brought thither from other ruines of the towne it ſelfe, and placed afterward in thoſe wals, in their neceſſarie reparations. But howſoeuer the matter ſtandeth, this is to be gathered by our hiſtories, that Bladud firſt builded that

others, with

inscriptions that can be read;

also, an inscription on a tomb.

The City of Bath.

citie there, and, peraduenture, might alſo kindle the ſulphurous veines, of purpoſe to burne continuallie [there] in the honour of *Minerua;* by which occaſion the ſprings thereabout did in proceſſe of time become hot & not vnprofitable, for ſundrie kinds of diſeaſes. Indeed the later pagans dreamed, that *Minerua* was the cheefe goddeſſe and gouerneſſe of theſe waters, bicauſe of the neereneſſe of hir temple vnto the ſame.

*Chap.* 25.

*Solinus* addeth furthermore, how that in hir ſaid temple, the fire which was continuallie kept, did neuer conſume into dead ſparkles; but ſo ſoone as the embers thereof were cold, they congealed into clots of hard ſtone: all which I take to be nothing elſe than the effect of the aforeſaid fire, of the ſulphurous veine kindled in the earth, from whence the waters doo come. That theſe baths or waters are deriued from ſuch, the marchaſites,[1] [which the Grecians call *Pyritis, per antonomaſiam* (for being ſmit with the iron, it yeeldeth more ſparkes than anie flint or calcedonie, and therefore ſeemeth to deſerue the name aboue the reſt), and beſides theſe other] ſtones mixed with ſome copper, and dailie found vpon the moun[2]teins thereabouts will beare ſufficient witneſſe, though I would write the contrarie. Doctor Turner alſo, the father of Engliſh phyſicke, and an excellent diuine, ſuppoſeth that theſe ſprings doo draw their forces from ſulphur: or if there be anie other thing mingled withall, he geſſeth that it ſhould be ſalt peter, bicauſe he found an obſcure likelihood of the ſame, euen in the croſſe bath.[3] But that they participate with anie allume at all, he could neuer till his dieng daie be induced to beleeue. I might here (if I thought it neceſſarie) intreat of the notable ſituation of[4] [the citie,] which ſtandeth in a pleaſant bottome, inuironed on euerie ſide with great hils, out of the which come ſo manie ſprings of pure water by ſundrie waies vnto the citie, and in ſuch abundance, as that

*[The Pyritis is found almost in euerie veine of mettall in great plentie, diuersities and colour, and somtimes mixed with that mettall of whose excrements it consisteth.]*

[2 p. 216]

Dr Turner, the Father of English Physic, thinks the Bath waters hold sulphur and salt-petre, but not alum.

Bath's very pleasantly situated, in a bottom ringd with hills whence streams run.

[1] marchasites &

[3] crosse Bath

[4] of Bath itself

euerie houſe is ſerued with the ſame by pipes of lead, the ſaid mettall being the [more] plentious and leſſe of value vnto them, bicauſe it is [1] not had [1] far off from thoſe quarters. It ſhould not be amiſſe alſo to ſpeake of the foure gates, number of pariſh churches, bridges, religious houſes diſſolued, and their founders, if place did ſerue therefore: but for ſo much as my purpoſe is not to deale in this behalfe, I will omit the mention of theſe things, and go in hand with the baths themſelues, wherof in [the title of] this chapiter I proteſted to intreat.

The city of Bath is well supplied with water,

and has 4 gates, bridges, &c.

There are two ſprings of water (as *Leland* ſaith) in the weſt ſouth weſt part of the towne, whereof the biggeſt is called the croſſe bath, of a certeine croſſe that was erected ſometime in the middeſt thereof. This bath is much frequented by ſuch as are diſeaſed with leaprie, pockes, ſcabs, and great aches: yet of it ſelfe, it is verie temperate and pleaſant, hauing eleuen [2] or twelue arches of ſtone in the ſides thereof, for men to ſtand vnder, when raine dooth ought annoie them.

*Crosse bath.*

This is the biggest,

and is us'd for leprosy, scabs, &c.

The common bath, or, as ſome call it, the hot bath, is two hundred foot or thereabout from the croſſe bath, leſſe in compaſſe within the wall than the other, and with onelie ſeauen arches, wrought out of the maine incloſure. It is worthilie called the hot bath, for at the firſt comming into it, men thinke that it would ſcald their fleſh, and loſe it from the bone; but after a ſeaſon, and that the bodies of the commers thereto be warmed throughlie in the ſame, it is more tollerable and eaſie to be borne. Both theſe baths be in the middle of a little ſtreet, and ioine to S. Thomas hoſpitall, ſo that it may be thought that Reginald, biſhop of Bath, made his houſe neere vnto theſe common baths, onelie to ſuccour ſuch poore people as ſhould reſort vnto them.

*Common bath.*

This is the hot bath, and at first men think it'll scald the flesh off their bones.

The kings bath is verie faire and large, ſtanding almoſt in the middle of the towne, at the weſt end of

*Kings bath.*

[1]—[1] had not

[2] a leuen

The hot wells in Bath.

the cathedrall church. It is compaſſed about with a verie high ſtone wall, and the brims thereof are mured round about, where in be two and thirtie arches for men and women to ſtand in ſeparatlie, who, being of the gentrie for the moſt part, doo reſort thither indifferentlie, but not in ſuch laſciuious ſort as vnto other baths and hot houſes of the maine, whereof ſome write more a great deale than modeſtie ſhould reueale and honeſtie performe. There went a ſluce out of this bath, which ſerued in times paſt the priorie with water, which was deriued out of it vnto two places, and commonlie vſed for baths, but now I doo not thinke that they remaine in vſage.

*Hot houses in some countries little better than brodels.*[1]

As for the colour of the water of all the bathes, it is moſt like to a deepe blew, and reeketh much after the maner of a ſeething pot, commonlie yeelding ſomwhat a ſulpherous taſte, and verie vnpleaſant ſauour. The water [alſo] that runneth from the two ſmall baths, goeth by a dike into the Auon by weſt, and beneath the bridge; but the ſame that goeth from the kings bath turneth a mill,[2] and after goeth into Auon aboue Bath bridge, where it loſeth both force and taſt, and is like vnto the reſt. In all the three baths a man maie euidentlie ſee how the water bubbleth vp from the ſprings. This is alſo to be noted, that at certeine times all entrances into them is vtterlie prohibited, that is to ſaie, at high noone and midnight; for at thoſe two ſeaſons, and a while before and after, they boile verie feruentlie, and become ſo hot, that no man is able to indure their heat, or anie while ſuſteine their force and vehement working. They purge themſelues, furthermore, from all ſuch filth as the diſeaſed doo leaue in each of them, wherfore we doe forbeare the raſh entrance into them at that time; and ſo much the rather, for that we would not, by contraction of anie new diſeaſes, depart more greeuouſlie affected than we

*Colour of the water of the baths. Taste of the water.*

*Fall or issue of the water.*

At noon and midnight the waters boil so hotly that no man may go into them.

[1] bordelles [2] myl

came vnto the citie, which is in deed a thing that each one ſhould regard. For theſe cauſes, [therefore,] they are commonlie ſhut vp from halfe an houre after ten of the clocke in the forenoone, to halfe an houre after one in the afternoone, and likewiſe at midnight: at which times the keeper of them reſorteth to his charge, openeth the gates, and leaueth [(or ſhould leaue)] free paſſage vnto ſuch as come vnto them. Hitherto *Leland.*

*Not good to enter into baths at all seasons.*

What coſt [1] of late hath [1] beene beſtowed vpon theſe baths by diuerſe of the nobilitie, gentrie, communaltie, and cleargie, it lieth not in me to declare: yet, as I heare, they are not onelie verie much repared and garniſhed with ſundrie curious peeces of workemanſhip, partlie touching their commendation, and partlie for the eaſe and benefit of ſuch as reſort vnto them; but alſo better ordered, clenlier kept, & more friendlie prouiſion made for ſuch pouertie as dailie repaireth thither. But, notwithſtanding all this, ſuch is the generall eſtate of things in Bath, that the rich men maie ſpend while they will, and the poore beg whileſt they liſt for their maintenance and diet ſo long as they remaine there: and yet I denie not but that [2] there is verie good order [3] in that citie [3] for all degrees. But where ſhall a man find anie equall regard of poore and rich, though God dooth [4] giue theſe his [good] gifts freelie [&] vnto both alike? I would here intreat further of the cuſtoms vſed in theſe baths, what number of phyſicians dailie attend vpon thoſe waters, for no man (eſpeciallie ſuch as be able to interteine them) dooth enter into theſe baths before he conſult with the phyſician; alſo, what diet is to be obſerued, what particular diſeaſes are healed there, and to what end the commers thither doo drinke oftimes of that medicinable liquor; but then I ſhould exceed the limits of a deſcription. Wherefore I paſſe it ouer to others, hoping

Much money has bee ı laid out on the baths in Bath lately.

The rich spend while they will, and the poor beg while they please, for their living in Bath.

Lots of Physicians attend at the baths.

[1]—[1] hath of late [2] yt [3]—[3] there [4] do

I hope some one 'll finish the description of the treatment at Bath that Dr Turner began.

that ſome man yer long will vouchſafe to performe that at large, which the famous clearke, Doctor Turner, hath brieflie yet happilie begun, touching the effects & working of the ſame. For hitherto I doo not know of manie that haue trauelled in the natures of thoſe baths of our countrie, with anie great commendation; much leſſe of anie that hath reuealed them at the full for the benefit of our nation, or commoditie of ſtrangers [that reſort vnto the ſame.]

## [1]Of antiquities found.[1]

### Chap. 24.[2]

The antiquities found here witness the ancient rule of the Romans over our island. [4 p. 217]

HAuing taken[3] ſome occaſion to ſpeake here and there in this treatiſe of antiquities, it ſhall not be amis to deale yet more, in this chapter, with ſome of them apart, & by themſelues, whereby the ſecure authoritie of the Romans ouer this I[4]land maie in ſome caſes more manifeſtlie appeare. For ſuch was their poſſeſſion of this Iland on this ſide of the Tine, that they held not one or two, or a few places onelie vnder their ſubiection, but all the whole countrie from eaſt[5] to weſt, from the Tine to the Britiſh ſea, ſo that there was no region void of their gouernance: notwithſtanding that vntill the death of Lucius, and extinction of his iſſue, they did permit the ſucceſſors of Lud and Cimbaline to reigne and rule amongeſt them, though vnder a certeine tribute, as elſe-where I haue declared. The cheefe cauſe that vrgeth me to ſpeake of antiquities, is the paines that I haue taken to gather great numbers of them togither, intending (if euer my Chronologie ſhall happen to come abroad) to ſet downe the liuelie portraitures of euerie emperour ingrauen[6] in the ſame: alſo the faces

I've got together a great many of these, and mean to engrave all the Emperors in my 'Chronology,' if it's ever publisht.

[1]—[1] Of the Antiquities, or auncient Coines found in England.

[2] Chap. 17, Book 2, in 1577 ed.—F. [3] take [5] East the [6] ingraued

of Pompeie, Craſſus, the ſeuen kings of the Romans, Cicerō, and diuerſe other, which I haue prouided readie for the purpoſe, beſide the monuments and liuelie images of ſundrie philoſophers, and kings of this Iland, ſince the time of Edward the Confeſſor. Wherof, although preſentlie I want a few, yet I doo not doubt but to obteine them all, if [1]friendſhip at the leaſtwiſe procured for[1] monie ſhall be able to preuaile. But as it hath doone hitherto, for the charges to be emploied vpon theſe braſen or copper images, will hereafter put by the impreſſion of [2]that treatiſe:[2] whereby it maie come to paſſe, that long trauell ſhall ſoone proue to be ſpent in vaine, and much coſt come to verie ſmall ſucceſſe. Whereof yet I force not greatlie, ſith by this means I haue reaped ſome commoditie vnto my ſelfe, by ſearching of the hiſtories, which often miniſter ſtore of examples readie to be vſed [in my function,] as occaſion ſhall mooue[3] me. But to proceed with my purpoſe.

I've coins of nearly all the Emperors,

but the money wanted to buy 'em 'll probably stop the printing of my 'Chronology.'

Before the comming of the Romans, there was a kind of copper monie currant here in Britaine, as *Cæſar* confeſſeth in the fift booke of his Commentaries, [but I find not of what maner it was.] Hereto[4] he addeth a report of certeine rings, of a proportionate weight, which they vſed in his time, in ſtead likewiſe of monie. But as hitherto it hath not bene my lucke [(I ſaie)] to haue the certeine view of anie of theſe, ſo after the comming of the Romans, they inforced vs to abandon our owne, and receiue ſuch imperiall [monies or] coines,[5] as for the paiment of their[6] legions was dailie brought ouer vnto them.[7] What coines the Romans had, it is eaſie to be knowne, and from time to time much of it is found in manie places of this Iland, as well of gold and ſiluer, as of copper, braſſe, and other mettall, much like ſteele, almoſt of euerie

Cæsar's account of the early coins in Britain.

I've never had the luck to get sight of any.

Plenty of Roman coins and antiquities have been found here.

[1]—[1] eyther friendship or [2]—[2] my booke [3] compell [4] whereunto
[5] coine [6] ye [7] us

emperour. So that I account it no rare thing to haue of the Roman coine, albeit that it ſtill repreſent an image of our captiuitie, and maie be a good admonition for vs, to take heed how we yeeld our ſelues to the regiment of ſtrangers. Of the ſtore of theſe monies, found vpon the Kentiſh coaſt, I haue alreadie made mention in the deſcription of Richborow, and chapter of Iles adiacent vnto the Britiſh Albion, and there ſhewed alſo how ſimple fiſhermen haue had plentie of them, and that the[1] conies in making profers and holes to breed in, haue ſcraped them out of the ground in verie great abundance. In ſpeaking alſo of S. Albans, in the chapter of townes and villages, I haue not omitted to tell what plentie of theſe coines haue bene gathered there: wherfore I ſhall not need here to repeat the ſame againe. Howbeit this is certeine, that the moſt part of all theſe antiquities to be found within the land, & diſtant from the ſhore, are to be gotten either in the ruines of ancient cities and townes decaied, or in incloſed burrowes, where their legions accuſtomed ſometime to winter, as by experience is dailie confirmed. What ſtore hath beene ſeene of them in the citie of London, which they called Auguſta, of the legion that ſoiourned there, & likewiſe in Yorke named alſo Victrix, of the legion *Victoria*, or *Altera Roma* (becauſe of [the] beautie and fine building of the ſame), I my ſelfe can partlie witneſſe, that haue ſeene, & often had of them, if better teſtimonie were wanting. The like I maie affirme of Colcheſter, where thoſe of *Claudius*, *Adrian*, *Traian*, *Veſpaſian*, and other, are oftentimes plowed vp, or found by other means: alſo of Cantorburie, Andredeſcheſter[2] (now decaied), Rocheſter, then called Durobreuum, Wincheſter, and diuerſe other beyond the Thames, which for breuitie ſake I doo paſſe ouer in ſilence. Onlie the chiefe of all and where moſt are found in deed, is neere vnto Carleon and Cairgwent in

I've already stated (in Bk I. Ch. 10, see p. 366 here), how many Roman coins, &c., have been found in Kent

and St Alban's.

Most are discoverd in old towns and enclosures where the Roman Legions winterd.

That very many have come from London and York,

I can witness,

as I can of Colchester.

[1] the very

[2] Andreschester

Roman coins, &c., found at Doddington,

Southwales, about Kencheſter, three miles aboue Hereford, Aldborow, Ancaſter, Bramdon, Dodington,[1] [where a ſpurre and peece of a chaine of gold were found in king Henrie the eight his daies, beſides much of the ſaid Roman coine,] Bincheſter, Camalet, Lacocke vpon Auon, [and] Lincolne, Dorcheſter, Warwike, and Cheſter, where they are often had in verie great abundance. It ſeemeth that Ancaſter hath beene a great thing, for manie ſquare & colored pauements, vaults, and arches are yet found, and often laid open by ſuch as dig and plow in the fields about the ſame. And amongſt theſe, one Vreſbie or Roſebie, a plowman, did ere vp not long ſince a ſtone like a trough, couered with another ſtone, wherein was great foiſon[2] of the aforeſaid coines. The like alſo was ſeene not yet fortie yeares agone about Grantham. But in king Henrie the eight his daies, an huſbandman had far better lucke at Harleſton, two miles from the aforeſaid place, where he found not onelie great plentie[3] of this coine, but alſo an huge braſſe pot, and therein a large helmet of pure gold, richlie fretted with pearle, and ſet with all kind of coſtlie ſtones: he tooke vp alſo chaines much like vnto beads of ſiluer, all which, as being (if a man might gheſſe anie certeintie by their beautie) not likelie to be long hidden, he preſented to queene Katharine then lieng at Peterborow, and therewithall a few ancient rolles of parchment written long agone, though ſo defaced with mouldineſſe, and rotten for age, that no man could well hold them in his hand without falling into peeces, much leſſe read them by reaſon of their blindneſſe.

Warwick, Chester, &c.

Roman pavements, &c., found at Ancaster.

A ploughman ploughd up a trough with many coins.

In Henry VIII.'s time a husbandman at Harleston found coins, a brass pot with a gold helmet in it, and chains,

which he gave to Q. Katharine at Peterborough, and some old rolls of parchment.

In the beginning of the ſame kings daies alſo at Killeie a man found as he eared, an arming girdle, harneſſed with pure gold, and a great maſſie pomell with a croſſe hilt for a ſword of the ſame mettall, beſide ſtuds and harneſſe for ſpurs, and the huge long ſpurs of[4]

Another man ploughing at Killeie found a gold girdle, &c.

[1] Dodington, Cirnechester [2] abundaunce [3] store [4] also of

like ſtuffe, whereof [one] doctor Ruthall got [a]part into his hands. The boroughs or buries, wherof I ſpake before, were certeine plots of ground, wherin the Romane ſouldiers did vſe to lie when they kept in the open fields as choſen places, from whence they might haue eaſie acceſſe vnto their aduerſaries, if anie outrage were wrought, or rebellion mooued againſt them. And as theſe were the vſuall aboads for thoſe able legions that ſerued dailie in the wars, ſo had they other certeine habitations for the old and forworne ſouldiers, whereby diuerſe cities grew in time to be repleniſhed with Romane colonies, as Cairleon, Colcheſter, Cheſter, and ſuch other, of which, Colcheſter bare the name of Colonia long time, and wherein *A. Plautius* builded a temple vnto the goddeſſe of Victorie (after the departure of *Claudius*) which *Tacitus* calleth *Aram ſempiternæ dominationis*, a perpetuall monument of that our Britiſh ſeruitude. But to returne vnto our borowes, they were generallie walled about with ſtone wals, and ſo large in compaſſe that ſome did conteine thirtie, fourtie, three ſcore, or eightie acres of ground [1] within their limits: they had alſo diuerſe gates or ports vnto each of them, and of theſe, not a few remaine to be ſeene in our time, as one, for example, not far from great Cheſterford in Eſſex, neere to the limits of Cambridgſhire, which I haue often viewed, and wherein the compaſſe of the verie wall with the places where the gates ſtood is eaſie to be diſcerned: the like alſo is to be ſeene [at a place] within two miles ſouth of Burton, called the Borow hils. In theſe, therefore, and ſuch like, [and likewiſe at Euolſburg, now S. Neots, or S. Needs, and ſundrie other places, eſpeciallie vpon the ſhore and coaſts of Kent, as Douer, Rie, Romneie, Lid, &c:] is much of their coine alſo to be found, and ſome peeces or other are dailie taken vp, which they call Borow pence, Dwarfs monie, Hegs pence, Feirie groats, Iewes monie, & by other fooliſh names not woorthie to be

The Roman boroughs or camps in the open

were generally walld with stone walls,

[1 p. 218]

and had gates, as may be seen by one near Great Chesterford in Essex,

by others at the Borow Hills, south of Burton, St Neot's, Dover, Rye, Romney, &c.

Coins from them are calld Dwarfs' money, Fairy groats, &c.

remembred. At the comming of the Saxons, the Britons vſed theſe holds as reſcues for their cattell in the daie and night, when their enimies were abroad; the like alſo did the Saxons againſt the Danes, by which occaſions (and now and then by carieng of their ſtones to helpe forward other buildings neere at hand), manie of them were throwne downe and defaced, which otherwiſe might haue continued for a longer time, and ſo your honour[1] would ſaie, if you ſhould happen to peruſe the thickeneſſe and maner of building of thoſe [ſaid] wals and borowes. It is not long ſince a ſiluer ſaucer of verie ancient making was found neere to Saffron Walden, in the open field among the Sterbirie hils, and eared vp by a plough, but of ſuch maſſie greatneſſe, that it weighed better than twentie ounces, as I haue heard reported. But if I ſhould ſtand in theſe things vntill I had ſaid all that might be ſpoken of them, both by experience and teſtimonie of *Leland* in his Commentaries of Britaine, and the report of diuerſe, yet liuing, I might make a greater chapter than would be either conuenient or profitable to the reader: wherefore [2]ſo much onelie[2] ſhall ſerue the turne for this time as[3] I haue ſaid alreadie of antiquities found within our Iland, eſpeciallie of coine, whereof I purpoſed chiefelie to intreat.[4]

When the Romans left, their Camps were us'd as holds for cattle, and destroyd, or they'd have lasted longer, as you, my Lord Cobham, know.

*Sterbirie a place where an armie hath lien.*

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## Of the coines of England.

### Chap. 25.[5]

THe Saxon coine before the conqueſt is [in maner] vtterlie vnknowne to me: howbeit if my coniecture be anie thing, I ſuppoſe that [6]one ſhilling[6] of ſiluer in thoſe daies did counter-

I know nothing of the Saxon coins before the Conquest.

[1] ſelues [2]—[2] these [3] that [4] treate
[5] This is chap. 20, Book 3, in 1577 ed.—F. [6]—[6] the shillynges

peiſe our common ounce, though afterward it came to paſſe that it aroſe to twentie pence, and ſo continued vntill the time of king Henrie the eight, who firſt brought it to three ſhillings and foure pence, & afterward our ſiluer coine vnto braſſe & copper monies, by reaſon of thoſe ineſtimable charges, which diuerſe waies oppreſſed him.[1] [And, as I gather ſuch obſcure notice of the ſhilling which is called in Latine *Solidus*, ſo I read more manifeſtlie of another which is the 48 part of a pound, and this alſo currant among the Saxons of our Ile, ſo well in gold as in ſiluer, at ſuch time as 240 of their penies made vp a iuſt pound, fiue pence went to the ſhilling, and foure ſhillings to the ounce. But to proceed with my purpoſe. After the death of K. Henrie,] Edward his ſonne began to reſtore the aforeſaid coine againe vnto fine ſiluer: ſo queene Marie, his ſucceſſour, did continue his good purpoſe, notwithſtanding that in hir time the Spaniſh monie was verie common in England, by reaſon of hir mariage with Philip, king of Spaine.

*Copper monie.*

A Saxon shilling worth 5*d.*

Spanish money common here in Q. Mary's days.

*Siluer restored.*

After hir deceaſe the ladie Elizabeth, hir ſiſter, and now our moſt gratious queene, [2]ſouereigne and[2] princeſſe, did finiſh the matter wholie, vtterly aboliſhing the vſe of copper [and braſen] coine, and conuerting the ſame into [guns and great ordinance, ſhe reſtored ſundrie coines of] fine ſiluer, as peeces of halfepenie farding, of a penie, of three halfe pence, peeces of two pence, of three pence, of foure pence (called the groat), of ſix pence vſuallie named the teſtone, and ſhilling of twelue pence, whereon ſhe hath imprinted hir owne image, and emphaticall ſuperſcription. Our gold is either old or new. The old is that which hath remained ſince the time of king Edward the third, or beene coined by ſuch other princes as haue reigned ſince his deceaſſe, without [anie] abaſing [or diminution] of the fineſſe of that mettall. Therof alſo we haue yet

Q. Elizabeth turnd the copper and brass coin into guns, and made silver bits of ½*d.*, 1*d.*, 1½*d.*, 3*d.*, and the groat, testern, and shilling of 12*d.*

*Old gold.*

[1] him, But as King

[2]—[2] and souereigne

remaining, the riall, the George noble, the Henrie riall, the ſalut, the angell, and their ſmaller peeces, as halfes or quarters, though theſe in my time are not ſo common to be ſeene. I haue alſo beheld the ſouereigne of twentie ſhillings, and the peece of thirtie ſhillings; I haue heard likewiſe of peeces of fortie ſhillings, three pounds, fiue pounds, and ten pounds. But ſith there were few of them coined, and thoſe onelie at the commandement of[1] kings, yearelie to beſtow where their maieſties thought good in lieu of new yeares gifts and rewards: it is not requiſit that I ſhould remember them here amongſt our currant monies.[2]

Old gold coins now left.

I've seen a 30s. gold piece.

Gold coins from £2 to £10 as NewYears'Gifts.

The new gold is taken for ſuch as began to be coined in the latter daies of king Henrie the eight, at which time the fineſſe of the mettall began to be verie much alaied, & is not likelie to be reſtored, for ought that I can ſee: and yet is it[3] ſuch as hath beene coined ſince by his ſucceſſors princes of this realme, in value and goodneſſe equall and not inferiour to the coine and currant gold of other nations, where each one dooth couet [chiefelie] to gather vp our old finer gold: ſo that the angels, rials, and nobles, are more plentifullie ſeene in France, [Italie,] and Flanders, than they be by a great deale within the realme of England, [if you regard the paiments which they dailie make in thoſe kinds of our coine.] Our peeces now currant are of ten ſhillings, fiue ſhillings, and two ſhillings and ſix pence onelie: and thoſe of ſundrie ſtamps and names, as halfe ſouereigns [(equall in weight with our currant ſhilling, whereby that gold is valued at ten times ſo much ſiluer)], quarters of ſouereigns (otherwiſe called crownes), and halfe crownes: likewiſe angels, halfe angels, and quarters of angels; or if there be anie other, in good ſooth I know them not, as one ſcarſelie acquainted with any ſiluer at all, much leſſe then (God it wot) with any ſtore of gold.

*New gold,*

of less fine metal,

tho' equal to that of foreign nations.

Our old fine gold is more plentiful abroad than here.

Our present Elizabethan current money.

[1] of the [2] coynes [3] it &

Henry VIII. first coind the silver shilling of 12*d.*

The firſt currant ſhilling or [ſiluer] peeces of twelue pence [ſtamped within memorie,] were coined by K. Henrie the eight [in the twentith yeare of his reigne,] [&] thoſe of fiue ſhillings, and of two ſhillings and ſix pence, & the halfe ſhilling by king Edward the ſixt: but the od peeces aboue remembred vnder the groat by our high and mightie princeſſe queene Elizabeth, the name of the groat, penie, two pence, [1]halfe penie[1] and farding, [in old time the greateſt ſiluer monies if you reſpect their denominations onelie,] being more ancient than that I can well diſcuſſe of the time of their beginnings. Yet thus much I read, that king Edward the firſt in the eight yeare of his reigne, did firſt coine the penie and ſmalleſt peeces of ſiluer roundwiſe, which before were ſquare, and woont to beare a double croſſe with a creſt, in ſuch ſort that the penie might eaſilie be broken, either into halfes or quarters: by which ſhift onelie the people [2]came by [ſmall monies, as] halfe pence and fardings, that otherwiſe were not ſtamped nor coined of ſet purpoſe.

Edw. VI. the silver 5*s.*, 2*s.* 6*d.*, and 6*d.* pieces.

Q. Elizabeth the silver groat, 1*d.*, 2*d.*, ¾*d.*

Edw. I. first coind round silver pennies, &c., instead of square ones.

[2 p. 219]

Foreign coins current in England: ducats, crusadoes, portigues,

Of forren coines we haue all[3] the ducats, the ſingle,[4] double, [and the double double,] the cruſadoes, with the long croſſe and the ſhort: the portigue, a peece verie ſolemnelie kept of diuerſe, & yet oft times abaſed with waſhing, or[5] abſolutelie counterfeited: and finallie the French and Flemiſh crownes, onlie currant among vs, ſo long as they hold weight. But of ſiluer coines, [as the ſoules turnois, whereof ten make a ſhilling, as the franke dooth two ſhillings, and three franks the French crowne, &c: we haue] none at all: yet are the dalders, and ſuch, often times brought ouer, but neuertheleſſe exchanged as bullion, according to their fineneſſe and weight, and afterward conuerted into coine, by ſuch as haue authoritie.

French and Flemish crowns.

Thalers, &c., are exchang'd as bullion.

In old time we had ſundrie mints in England, and thoſe commonlie kept in abbaies and religious houſes

[1—1] ob [3] both [4] single and the [5] or else

before the conqueſt, where true dealing was commonlie ſuppoſed moſt of all to dwell: as at Ramſeie, [1]S. Edmundſburie,[1] Canturburie, Glaſſenburie, [Peterborow], and ſuch like, ſundrie exemplificats of the grants whereof are yet to be ſeene in writing, [eſpeciallie that of Peterborow vnder the confirmation of pope Eugenius: wherevnto it appeereth further by a charter of king Edgar (which I haue), that they either held it or had another in Stanford.] But after the Normans had once gotten the [2]kingdome into their fingers,[2] they truſted themſelues beſt with the ouerſight of their mints, and therefore erected diuerſe of their owne, although they afterward permitted ſome for ſmall peeces of ſiluer vnto ſundrie of the houſes aforeſaid. In my time diuerſe mints are ſuppreſſed, as Southwarke, Briſtow, &c: and all coinage is brought into one place, that is to ſaie, the Tower of London, where it is continuallie holden and peruſed, but not without great gaine to ſuch as deale withall. There is alſo coinage of tin holden yearelie at two ſeuerall times, that is to ſaie, Midſummer and Michaelmas in the weſt countrie; which at the firſt hearing, I ſuppoſed to haue beene of monie of the ſaid mettall, and granted by priuilege from ſome[3] prince vnto the towns of Haileſtone, Trurie, and Loſtwithiell. Howbeit, vpon further examination of the matter, I find it to be nothing ſo, but an office onlie erected for the prince, wherin he is allowed the ordinarie cuſtomes of that[4] mettall: and ſuch blocks of tin as haue paſſed the hands of his officers, are marked with an eſpeciall ſtampe, whereby it is knowne that the cuſtome due for the ſame hath ordinarilie beene anſwered. It ſhould ſeeme (and in my opinion is verie likelie to be true) that while [the] Romans reigned here, Kingſtone vpon Thames [(ſometime a right noble citie and place where the Saxon kings were vſuallie crowned)] was the chiefe place of their coinage for this

Old Mints in England.

The Normans kept these Mints in their own hands.

I've seen the Mints at Southwark, Bristol, &c., suppresst, and all coinage centred in the Tower.

In Cornwall tin is stampt twice a year, when the Prince's dues are paid on it.

At Kingston-upon-Thames was probably a Roman Mint.

[1]—[1] Bury [2]—[2] masterye [3] the [4] the

prouince. For in earing of the ground about that towne in times paſt, and now of late (beſides the curious foundation of manie goodlie buildings that haue beene ripped vp [by plowes], and diuerſe coines of braſſe, ſiluer, and gold, with Romane letters in painted pots[1] found there) in the daies of cardinall Woolſeie, one ſuch [huge] pot was diſcouered full as it were of new ſiluer latelie coined; another with plates of ſiluer readie to be coined; and the third with chaines of ſiluer [and ſuch broken ſtuffe] redie (as it ſhould appeere) to be melted into coinage,[2] whereof let this ſuffice to countenance out my coniecture. [Of coins currant before the comming of the Romans I haue elſewhere declared, that there were none at all in Britaine: but as the Ilanders of Scylira, the old Romans, Armenians, Scythians, Seritans, Sarmatians, Indians, and Eſſences did barter ware for ware, ſo the Britons vſed braſſe or rings of iron, brought vnto a certeine proportion, in ſteed of monie, as the Lacedemonians & Biſantines alſo did, & the Achiui (as *Homer* writeth) who had (ſaith he) rough peeces of braſſe and iron in ſteed of coine, wherewith they purchaſed their wines.]

Coins, and silver newly coind,

and plates ready for coining, found at Kingston-upon-Thames.

The Britons us'd brass or rings of iron for money.

[1] pots that haue beene [2] coine

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p. 337, l. 8 from foot, *sallow*. *Saule*: m. A Sallow, Willow, or Withy tree. (And see *Saulx*.)—Cotgrave.

'Who that buyldith his hous al of *salwes*,
And priketh his blynde hors over the falwes,
And suffrith his wyf to go seken halwes,
Is worthy to ben honged on the galwes.'

Chaucer, *Prol. to Wife of Bath's Tale*, l. 655-8, ed. Morris, ii. 226.

p. 339, l. 10 from foot, Hull, *prov.* holly. Fr. *Houx*: m. The Hollie, Holme or Hulver-tree.—Cotgrave. See *Hulvyr*, and Mr Way's note, in *Promptorium*.

p. 339, l. 10 from foot, *sorfe*. Lat. *sorbus*. . . Colum[ella]. A tree hauing a streita stemme, and thinne barke, somewhat fattie, firste yelowe, and after whitish; a leafe like a laurell, but thinner and lesse; a fruyte or bearie small & in facion of an egge. Some haue thought it our *Seruis* tree.—Cooper's *Thesaurus*, 1584.

Fr. *Corne*: f. The Service or Sorb-apple. *Cornier*: m. The Service tree, Sorb-apple tree.—Cotgrave.

Dr Prior says that *Service* and *Sorb* "have nothing to do with each other. See

Servius ad Virgil. Georg. iii. 379: 'Sorbium, cervisia vel potus ex fructu sorbi.' The *cormier* is quite a different tree, a 'cornel,' the fruit of which is eaten in Italy, and used to make sherbet in Persia. It is not uncommon in our shrubberies, with golden yellow blossoms in March. See *Meibomius de Cerevisiis.*"

In his excellent 'Popular Names of British Plants,' 1870, Dr Prior says: "SORB, L. *sorbus*, from *sorbeo*, drink down, in allusion to a beverage made from the fruit. (See *Service-Tree.*) A name formerly given to *Pyrus domestica*, L., at present to *Pyrus torminalis*, L.

"SERVICE-, or, as in Ph. Holland's Pliny more correctly spelt, SERVISE-TREE, from L. *cervisia*, its fruit having from ancient times been used for making a fermented liquor, a kind of beer:

'Et pocula læti
Fermento atque acidis imitantur vitea *sorbis.*'—Virg. Georg. iii. 379.

Diefenbach remarks: (Or. Eur. 102), 'bisweilen bedeutet *cervisia* einen nicht aus Getreide gebrauten Trank;' and Evelyn tells us in his *Sylva* (ch. xv.), that 'ale and beer brewed with these berries, being ripe, is an incomparable drink.' The *Cerevisia* of the ancients was made from malt, and took its name, we are told by Isidore of Seville, from *Ceres, Cereris*, but this has come to be used in a secondary sense without regard to its etymological meaning, just as in *Balm-tea* we use *tea* in the sense of an infusion, without regard to its being properly the name of a different plant, *Pyrus domestica*, Sm.

"SERVICE, WILD-, the rowan tree, *Pyrus aucuparia*, Gärt. [See Rowan.]

"QUICKEN, or QUICK-BEAM, or WICKEN, a tree ever moving, A.S. *cwic-beam*, from *cwic*, alive, and *beam* tree, translated in Ælfric's glossary 'tremulus,' a name applied by him to the aspen, but which has been transferred to this, the wild-service or roan tree, probably through some confusion between *cwic* and *wicce*, &c., a witch, and the roan being regarded as a preservative against witch-craft. See ROAN. *Wicker* is merely a different spelling of the same word. *Whick* is given in Levins's *Manipulus* as meaning 'alive', 'vivus'. *Pyrus aucuparia*, L."

p. 352. *Doctor Turner.* 'A Booke of the natures and properties / as well of the bathes in England as of other bathes in Germanye and Italye / very necessarye for all sycke persones that can not be healed without the helpe of natural bathes / lately ouersene and enlarged by william Turner Doctor of Physick, God saue the Quene. Imprinted at Collen . . . M. D. LXVIII . . . *, 4 leaves: B—D 5 in sixes.' 'Following the title is the "Preface of the Author vnto his wellbeloued neighboures of bath Bristow / Wellis / Winsam / and Charde," dated 10 March 1557-8, from Basle.'—W. C. Hazlitt—*Collections and Notes*, 1876. Turner's *Herball*, 1568, and *homish apothecarye*, are capital books, and worth reprinting.

p. 358, *Richborow.* Harrison, Bk I., cap. 10, p. 29: 'Of such Ilands as are to be seene vpon the coast of Britaine.' p. 30, col. 2, l. 49: "Sometime *Rutupium* or (as Beda calleth it) *Reptacester*, stood also in this Iland; but now, thorough alteration of the chanell of the *Dour*, it is shut quite out, and annexed to the maine. It is called in these daies 'Richborow,' and, as it should seeme, builded upon an indifferent soile or high ground. The large brickes also yet to be seene there, in the ruinous walles, declare either the Romane or the old British workemanship. But as time decaieth all things, so *Rutupium*, named *Ruptimuth*, is now become desolate, and out of the dust thereof, Sandwich producted, which standeth a full mile from the place where *Reptacester* stood. The old writers affirme, how *Arthur* & *Mordred* fought one notable battell here, wherin *Gwallon*

or *Gawan* was slaine; at which time the said rebell came against his souereigne with 70000 Picts, Scots, Irish, Norwegiens, &c., and with *Ethelbert* the first christian king of Kent did hold his palace in this towne, and yet none of his coine hath hitherto beene found there, as is dailie that of the Romanes, whereof manie peeces of siluer and gold, as well as of brasse, copper, and other mettall, haue often beene shewed unto me.

"It should appeere in like sort, that of this place, all the whole coast of Kent therabout was called *Littus Rutupinum*, which some doo not a little confirme by these words of *Lucane*, to be read in his sixt booke, soone after the beginning:

*Aut vaga cum Tethis, Rutupinaque littora feruent,*
*Vnda Calidonios fallit turbata Britannos.*

The last verse of one couple and first of an other.

Or when the wandering seas
and Kentish coasts doo worke,
And Calidons of British bloud,
the troubled waues beguile.

Meaning in like sort by the latter, the coast neere *Andredeswald*, which in time past was called *Littus Calidonium*, of that wood or forrest, as Leland also confirmeth. But as it is not my mind to deale anie thing curiouslie in these by-matters, so in returning againe to my purpose, and taking my iourney toward the Wight, I must needs passe by Selesey, which sometime (as it should seeme) hath beene a noble Iland, but now in maner a Byland or *Peninsula* wherin the cheefe see of the bishop of Chichester was holden by the space of three hundred twentie nine yeares, and vnder twentie bishops."

Seolesey, of Seles there taken.

I can't find the fisherman and coney passages.

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